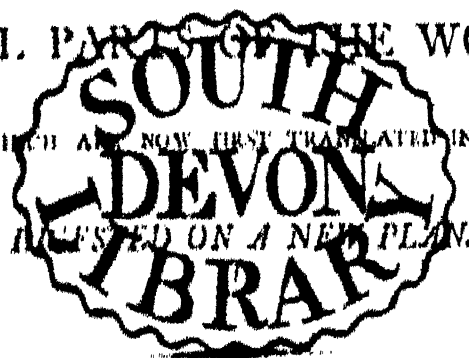


A
GENERAL COLLECTION
OF THE
BEST AND MOST INTERESTING
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;
MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.



BY JOHN PINKERTON,
AUTHOR OF "MODERN GEOGRAPHY", &c. &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE SIXTEENTH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW;
AND CADELL AND DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1814.

CONTENTS

OF THE

SIXTEENTH VOLUME.

<i>Thunberg's Account of the Cape of Good-Hope</i>	1
<i>Voyage to Congo by Angelo and Carli</i>	148
<i>Merolla's Voyage to Congo</i>	195
<i>The strange Adventures of Andrew Battel, of Leigh in Essex, sent by the Portuguese, Prisoner to Angola</i>	317
<i>Bosman's Description of the Coast of Guinea</i>	337
<i>Proyart's History of Loango, Kakongo, and other Kingdoms in Africa</i>	548
<i>Adanson's Voyage to Senegal, the Isle of Gorée, and the River Gambia</i>	598
<i>Santos' History of Eastern Ethiopia</i>	675
<i>Rechon's Voyage to Madagascar</i>	738
<i>Clafs's History of the Canary Islands</i>	808
<i>Brown's Journeys in the Interior of Africa</i>	827
<i>Park's Travels in Africa</i>	839

LIST OF THE PLATES IN VOLUME XVI.

1	VIEW of Table-Mountain, Cape of Good-Hope	To face the Title
2	Island of Teneriffe, October 21, 1792	Page 744

A
GENERAL COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

AFRICA.

AN ACCOUNT OF
THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
AND
SOME PARTS OF THE INTERIOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

*By C. P. THUNDERB, M.D. Professor of Botany at Upsal, &c. &c.**

ON the 16th of April 1772, after a prosperous voyage, we reached the Cape of Good Hope, and we arrived safely in the road of Table Bay, dropped our anchor, fired our guns, and, with mutual joy, congratulated each other.

Immediately on our arrival, the superintendant over the ships came to us from the town, accompanied by a surgeon; the former to fetch off the letters and papers for the Company, and the latter to get information with respect to the number of people that had died during the voyage, and of those that were still indisposed. The number of the latter was now not very great, but that of the former amounted to a hundred and fifteen, of which, ten died before we left the Texel, and two had unfortunately fallen overboard. The other ships in our company suffered a still greater mortality, viz. the Hoencoop one hundred and fifty-eight in all, of whom one hundred and thirty-six died while we were in the Texel. The William V. lost in all two hundred and thirty men, and the Jonge Samuel, of Zealand, one hundred and three.

We were hardly come to an anchor, before a crowd of black slaves and Chinese came in their small boats to sell and barter, for clothes and other goods, fresh meat, vegetables, and fruit, all of which our crew were eager to procure.

* Extracted from his *Travels* 1795, 4 vols. 8vo,

In the road we found, among others, a Swedish ship, which had arrived but a short time before at this southernmost point of Africa, and had brought my friend, Professor Sparrman.

On the 17th, I went with the captain on shore, and took a lodging at M. Hendrik Fehrfsen's house.

Being safely arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, my first care was to wait on the lieutenant-governor, Baron Joachim von Plettenberg, and the other gentlemen of the regency, to whom I was recommended, in order to deliver to them the letters I had brought with me. And as the respectable and universally-beloved veteran, Governor Tulbagh, had, in consequence of age and gout, on the 11th of August in the preceding year, exchanged this life for a better, I delivered the letters directed for him to Baron Plettenberg, who received me with the greatest kindness, and promised to assist me in my design of travelling into the interior part of the country, during the term of my residence in that quarter of the globe.

Whereas in my native country, to the northward of the equator, the most delightful of the seasons, spring, was now approaching; here, to the south of the line, winter was stealing upon us, so that I could not as yet, or for several months to come, travel to any advantage through the interior parts of the country, but must wait till the beginning of September. The intervening months I employed in informing myself of the internal economy and institutions of the Company, and examined the plants and animals in the environs of the town, and in the neighbouring mountains, making also short excursions into the country, which I was in hopes of penetrating deeper into afterwards, and of viewing it with a curious and observing eye.

The Cape of Good Hope is the extreme point of Africa, and of the Old World, to the southward, and is probably the most capital promontory in the whole world.

Bartholomew Diaz, a Portuguese, was the first who discovered this promontory in 1487, and King Emanuel gave it the name of the Cape of Good Hope. Vasco de Gama visited it next in 1497, by order of the same monarch. According to the observations of M. de la Caille, it is situated in latitude $33^{\circ} 35'$ S. and in longitude $35^{\circ} 2'$ E.

The ships that anchor in Table Bay, in a considerable extensive road, are somewhat above a mile distant from the town.

The day after our arrival our sick men were taken to the hospital, attended by the surgeon's mate; and afterwards the soldiers, under the conduct of their commanding-officer, who was to serve in the capacity of serjeant after his arrival on shore.

The town is very regularly built, from the shore along the declivity formed by the Table Mountains, and its streets cut the quarters at right angles, the whole being bounded at the back part by Table Mountain (Tafelberg), to the westward by Lion Mountain (Leuweberg), and towards the east, in some measure, by the Devil's Mountain (Duyvelsberg). So that it is most open towards the southern and eastern sides.

In disembarking, one is not incommoded here by the shutting of toll-gates, or by custom-house officers. The town has neither walls nor gates, and yet enjoys a perfect security in a land of savages.

The houses are all of brick, white-washed, and one, seldom two, but very rarely three stories high, and covered in, for the most part, with flat roofs of brick-work, or a kind of grass indigenous to this country (*reslia tettorum*), laid upon very low frame work. On account of the violence of the winds that prevail here, the roofs cannot be tiled over, nor raised higher. The house of the lieutenant-governor, and the Company's warehouse, were the only houses that were three stories high.

The domestics here do not consist of Europeans, but of black or tawny slaves from Malabar, Madagascar, or other parts of India. These, in general, speak either broken Portuguese,

Portuguese, or else the Malabar, seldom the Dutch language, and learn various trades, by which they bring their masters considerable profit, especially such as are taylors, carpenters, bricklayers, or cooks. The slaves are let out by the month, week, or day, during which term they are to earn for their masters a certain fixed sum *per diem*. The male slaves wear their own hair, upon which they set a great value, wrapped up in a twisted handkerchief like a turban, and the females wreath up their hair and fix it on their heads with a large pin. Trowsers constitute the other part of their dress; and, as a token of their servile condition, they always go barefoot, and without a hat.

Previous to the company's sitting down to meals, either dinner or supper, a female slave brings a wash-hand basin and towel, to wash their hands, which is also done on the company's rising from table. In the houses of the wealthy, every one of the company has a slave behind his chair to wait on him. The slave has frequently a large palm leaf in his hand, by way of a fan, to drive away the flies, which are as troublesome here as they are in Sweden.

As well within as without the town, neat and excellent gardens are laid out, both for fruit and culinary vegetables, being watered by the streams that run down from the mountains. Among these, that extensive and beautiful garden belonging to the company distinguishes itself, like an old oak amidst a thicket of bushes. It is from these gardens that the stranger, on his arrival, meets with his first refreshments; and from their superfluous stock the Dutch and other ships are supplied with stores for their voyage. The garden-seeds must be brought every year fresh from Holland, as they otherwise, almost all, degenerate in time, excepting the seeds of cauliflowers, which are brought to great perfection here, and, on that account, exported from hence to Holland, where they gradually degenerate.

Apples, pears, and other European fruits, are mellow and riper, but have not that flavour which they have in Europe, neither will they keep long. Nor are the peaches produced here equal in goodness to those of the south of Europe. They are sometimes dried like pears, with or without stones.

The trees imported from Europe, such as oak (*quercus robur*), the white poplar (*populus alba*), and others, shed their leaves in the winter, as they do in their native places, whereas the African trees do not part with theirs. It is not long, however, before they recover their leaves again. This circumstance is singular enough: first, because the cold here in winter is not more severe than it is in Sweden in the autumn; and, in the second place, because they shed their leaves to the southward of the equator at the very time that they put them forth to the northward of it. The lime-trees (*tilia Europæa*) do not thrive well, on account of the violent winds that rage here; and the same may be said of the hazel (*corylus avellana*), cherry-tree (*prunus cerasus*), gooseberry-tree (*ribes grossularia et uva crispa*), currant-tree (*ribes rubrum et nigrum*), all of which degenerate, and seldom yield any fruit.

The myrtle (*myrtus communis*) grows to the height of a tree, though its stem is neither thick nor stiff, nor does it throw out many branches. For this reason it seems to be proper, and indeed, is frequently used, for forming high hedges, in a country subject to violent winds, as its supple stem bends to the storm.

The foot of the mountain, or the hills round the town, consisted of a red flame-coloured clay, which proceeds from the water's running down the cracks, and tinging the earth with its acid, charged with ferruginous particles. Higher up on the hills, lie scattered without order, stones of all sizes, that have been rolled down from the mountains.

Among others, I visited M. Auge, the gardener, who has made many, and those very long, excursions into the interior part of the country, and has collected all the plants and insects, which the late Governor Tulbagh sent to Europe to Linnæus, and to the

Professors

Professors Burmann and Van Royen. And as he still continued his journeys yearly into the country, he sold to strangers, as well herbals as birds and insects. It was of him that M. Grubb, and the director of the bank in Sweden, purchased that fine collection of plants, which was afterwards presented to Professor Bergius, and so well described by this latter gentleman in his book of the *Plantæ Capensis*. M. Auge's knowledge of botany was not very considerable, nor did his collections in general extend much farther than to the great and the beautiful; but, in the meantime, we are almost solely indebted to him for all the discoveries which have been made since the days of Herminius, Oldenlandus, and Hartogius, in this part of Africa.

The citadel is situated on the sea-shore, below the city to the eastward, and is surrounded with high walls and deep ditches; there is room enough in it for the governor, though he never lives there, as well as for the major, the other officers, and the soldiers. At sun-set the great gate is shut, when all the soldiers, that have not leave of absence, are summoned by beat of drum, and their names called over in each company. The little gate is kept open till ten o'clock, when the soldiers, who are absent, without having previously obtained leave of absence for the night, are summoned by a bell, and their names are called over; the gate is after this not to be opened till the morning, except in case of necessity, such as to fetch a midwife. A surgeon always sleeps in the castle.

The first thing a soldier must provide himself with, is his own uniform; this he receives of the company, but must serve to the amount of its value. Every third year the Company orders a number of new uniforms to be made for the use of the militia, and at no other time. If it should so happen, that the quantity ready-made should not suffice for recruits that arrive during this interval, they must for some time do their duty in their own clothes, and frequently in the jackets of the *Zeelverkoopers*, or kidnappers, who have sent them thither.

Soldiers, who have received in Holland what is called a bill of transport, receive no pay till they have served to the full value of it. This takes at least a year and a half, or more; during which time they only receive a little subsistence-money and service-money. What more they may want for subsistence and clothes, they must earn by any trade that they may happen to have learned, or by doing duty for the others on their leisure days. A soldier who has learned a good trade, may earn half a dollar a day, and pays to him that does duty for him four schellings. They have also an opportunity of making something by washing for others. A soldier may indeed obtain double subsistence-money; but then, two guilders per month are deducted from his pay, for what they term subsidy-money.

The soldiers go upon guard every other or every third day, and consequently have a day or two to themselves. The same guard continues for twenty-four hours together, and consists in the smaller posts of a corporal and three men; but in the greater, of a serjeant and twelve men. When a man has been upon guard two hours, he is relieved, and exempt from duty, till four hours more are expired, when he goes upon guard again.

A soldier is obliged to serve five years, exclusive of the time taken up in the voyage, during which term he is not at liberty to return home; but by the favour of the officers, considerable deductions may be made from this term, inasmuch, that sometimes a soldier returns by the same ship that brought him. Sometimes a soldier is also metamorphosed into a sailor for this purpose.

When his agreement is at an end, he may either return home or renew it; if he chooses the latter, which is generally done for three years at first, his pay is increased two guilders more per month; this term being expired, he may engage for two years more, and then receives a fresh augmentation of two guilders per month; but in case of his continuing in the service after that term, his pay is augmented no more, unless, indeed,

indeed, he is advanced. A foldier, if he has received any education, may be advanced to be a corporal, ferjeant, or officer, to be an affiftant in a factory, or to be furgeon, if he has learned that art in Europe.

There are feveral means by which a foldier may be releafed from the obligation of doing duty. The moft common way is by what they call a furlough; in this cafe he is exempt from all duty, and at full liberty to get his livelihood in what manner foever he is able, or by any trade that he may have learned. For this he pays four dollars per month, and to the adjutant of the company one fhilling, in which cafe he receives his monthly pay. Of the men belonging to the garrifon, there were now about one hundred and fifty that had furloughs. The profits of the furloughs are diftributed among that part of the garrifon that does duty, and are called *service-money*; a foldier receives eight or nine, a corporal twelve, and a ferjeant sixteen fhillings; the remainder is divided between the officers. The furlough money is to be paid duly, the laft day of every month, into the hands of the chaplain, whole duty it is to receive it. In time of war thefe furloughs are not given, but every one muft then do duty. The governor takes from among the foldiers as many as he choofes, to work gratis for him; the major takes four and twenty or more; the fifcal two, the book-keeper one, and fo on. Thefe then are either to work for the above-mentioned gentlemen, or to pay them their furlough-money. The greater number there is taken of thefe men, the heavier does the duty fall upon the reft of the foldiers.

The foldiers receive their pay of the lieutenant of the company every four months; which for this reafon is called the good month.

If any perfon in the town or country wifhes for a foldier, either as a teacher for his children, or to work in his fhop, he may get one by the means juft indicated; but if fuch foldier has taken up a bill of tranfport in Holland, this muft now be repaid to the value of about eighty dollars, for which the fellow muft ferve till it is paid off; if in the mean time he fhould die, the lofs will be on the fide of the tradefman.

Sailors may in the fame manner take out furloughs, by paying to the purfer eight dollars per month.

A perfect immunity from fervice, as well as erasure from the paymafter's books, may indeed be alfo obtained; but on no other confideration than that of being held difqualified for the company's fervice.

*There are others, called *Lichten*, who neither do duty, nor have any furloughs, nor receive any pay, and are always at their full liberty in time of peace; but when once they enter into the fervice again, they muft ferve their five years out, for which they agreed.

Prayers are read in the citadel every morning and evening by a chaplain. On Sunday a fentinel is placed before the church-door, but within the church-door a foldier would fcarcely be tolerated.

Before the citadel, in a large convenient place, are laid the wine and water-casks that come from the fhips to be repaired; as likewise a great quantity of planks and fpars. In order to prevent any thing from being ftolen, a fentinel is placed here in the night-time. This poft is not unprofitable, when the foldier happens to catch a young fellow engaged in clofe converfation with fome female friend; in which cafe he muft make the foldier a compliment of a few dollars to avoid being taken into cuftody, and difcovered, or, at all events, incommoded and difturbed in his *menus plaifirs*.

If a foldier falls fick, he is taken to the hofpital, where he has medicines and his diet gratis, till he recovers, but he receives no pay, except his fhare of the furlough-money. Yet, if his difeafe is of a venereal nature, even this is withheld from him. If he does not choofe to go to the hofpital, he is at liberty to go elfewhere, though then he is obliged

obliged to pay his own physician, his attendants, and other necessary expences, out of his own purse, but receives his pay and subsistence-money.

Chimneys are not used in this country, nor are they wanted; and to stoves they are utter strangers. Yet I have known a family or two that had a fire-place in their hall, though rather for pleasure than for any other occasion they had for it. The ladies have generally live coals in a kind of covered chaffing-dish or stove, which in winter-time they set on the ground under their clothes to warm them.

The cold is severest in the months of August or September, especially on mornings and evenings, when it rains or blows hard. The wind feels very piercing on account of the thin clothing that is worn here. The winter at the Cape resembles the months of August, September, and October in Sweden.

The mothers in this country seldom put their children out to nurse, but suckle them themselves, for which reason they have, in general, easier labours.

There are a few families who have descended from Blacks in the female line, for three generations back. The first generation, proceeding from an European who is married to a tawny slave that has been made free, remains tawny, but approaching to a white complexion; but the children of the third generation, mixed with Europeans, become quite white, and are often remarkably beautiful.

The slave-house of the Company is adjacent to the garden, and contains a great number of slaves, who work in the garden and on buildings, carry burdens from the ships, &c. Those that are sick here have a surgeon to attend them. The Company brings the greatest part of its slaves from Madagascar, whereas private persons buy their's of the officers belonging to the ships, as well Dutch as French, that are on their return home from the East Indies, seldom of the English, and never of the Swedish.

Before the ships weigh anchor, all the convalecents are selected out from the hospital, and distributed on board the ships.

The officers of the ships, during their stay here, sell to great advantage several European commodities, such as wine, ale, tobacco-pipes, coarse and fine hardware, clothes, shoes, glass, and household furniture; the European hams, beef, sausages, tongues, herrings, stock-fish, salmon, and cheese, with some other articles, were also in great request.

Whereas the foreign ships, that stop here, lie in the roads a short time only to take in provisions, and then resume their voyage, the Dutch ships are obliged to stop a great while, in order to take the convalecents on board, who after all come thither in a very indifferent state of health. The Dutch have also occasion for a greater number of sailors to work their ships than other nations, as their rigging is made after the old fashion, with large blocks and thick cordage, heavy and clumsy in every respect.

The Company's garden is always open to the public. It is nine hundred and ninety-six paces long, two hundred and sixty one broad, and has forty-four quarters, which are separated from each other by hedges, consisting, for the most part, of oaks or bays (*laurus nobilis*), several yards in height. I observed here, that a *roxya villosa*, that grew beside one of these oaks, had fairly perforated one of its branches through the very trunk of the oak, in which it now grew like a parasitic plant. In like manner I observed in another garden, in which a seat had been fixed between two trees, that the bark of one of the trees had grown over the seat, like a fungus (*boletus*), and held it fast. In the menagerie were several rare and uncommon animals, and particularly great numbers of birds.

Male and female slaves, though belonging to different masters, frequently cohabit together, by permission of their owners, in which case the children always become the property of him who is the owner of the female slave. Though the man, that cohabits

with

with the woman slave, be a freed man, or even a European, still their offspring are slaves. So that the bonds of wedlock among slaves are but loosely contracted, and easily broken through. A master has the right of chastising his slaves with a whip, but has no power over their lives, as this belongs to the magistrate. If a slave is too severely treated by his master, he may complain to the fiscal; and if it then appears that he has been ill used, the owner is made to pay a considerable fine. If a slave lifts up his hand against his master or mistress, or any white man, he is punishable with death.

A slave can give no evidence; nor has he the power of bearing, much less of having in his possession, any kind of fire-arms: by these means the slaves, who always greatly exceed the Europeans in number, are kept unarmed. As soon as a slave is enfranchised, he wears shoes, stockings, and a hat, as a mark of his freedom.

In the months of April, May, and June, when the ships lie in the road, the naval officers frequently put up at auction such commodities as they wish to dispose of at this place; for this they pay five per cent. to the fiscal, who receives five dollars for every chest brought on shore, for which five guilders only were paid in Holland. All European merchandizes are sold here at thirty, fifty, and one hundred per cent. profit.

The winter months are reckoned here from the middle of May till the middle of August, during which times ships must not enter Table-Bay, on account of the stormy north-westerly winds that prevail then, and might drive them on shore; but they are obliged to anchor in False-Bay.

Ratans, split very thin and fastened together with strings, so as to roll up easily, are much used here for window-blinds. They are also employed for making baskets, bottoms or beds, and seats of chairs.

The thick bamboo canes, though hollow, are very strong. They are used for making the sides of ladders, and as perches to carry burdens on; of the more young and slender stems are made fences, to set up on the tops of walls and of wooden pales.

The seed-vessels of the silver-tree (*protea argentea*) serve as fuel; the *reptio dichotomus* (Befem riet) for brooms.

Kukumakranka (*gethyllis*) is the name given to the legumen or pod of a plant, that grew at this time among the sand-hills near the town, without either leaves or flowers. This pod was of the length of one's finger, somewhat wider at top than at bottom, had a pleasant smell, and was held in great esteem by the ladies. The smell of it resembled in some measure that of strawberries, and filled the whole room.

On the clay-hills near the shore before the citadel, I observed people digging up the earth, which was mixed with a great many sea-shells, and putting it into baskets. This they washed till nothing but the shells remained. In like manner I saw them carefully gather the larger shells thrown up by the sea on the beach, and lay them up in large heaps to dry. These shells they burn to lime for building. For this purpose they make a pile of biller and bush-wood, within which the shells are laid and burned. In Robben Island a great quantity of shells are collected, and made into lime for the Company's service, by the criminals exiled there. In the whole country there is no other lime to be found, nor any mountains containing either chalk or lime-stone.

Peers are said to be born so; but the Dutch here, and indeed all over the East-Indies, may be said to be born merchants; for in case the father does not trade, but carries on some handicraft business, his wife, daughter, or son must; and this is always done in a particular way of their own, and often without any regular system. There is scarce one regular merchant to be found; but every body carries on trade, and keeps a certain species of goods only, at a certain time of the year, by which he endeavours to gain the most he can.

Two winds in particular prevail here throughout the year, and are frequently very violent, viz. the south-east wind in the summer, and the north-west in winter. When the east or south-east wind begins to blow, it drives the clouds against the mountains, and away over them, which occasions a kind of drizzling rain up in those regions; the clouds are afterwards dispersed below the summit of the mountain; and when the clouds are carried off, the wind may continue indeed, but then it is always accompanied with fine dry weather.

The town has but one Calvinistical church, which is tolerably large and handsome. The Lutherans have not hitherto been able to obtain permission to erect one, though their number here is very large: the Calvinistical church is served by two clergymen, who live in the town, and are well paid.

The hospital is ill situated, and much out of repair, inasmuch that a new one will shortly be erected on a more extensive and convenient plan. The patients here are not remarkably well taken care of, on account of the small portion of medical skill possessed by the person who superintends the hospital; though the company spares for no expense with regard to them. I was informed, that the company pays two hundred ducatoons per annum, or something more than six hundred guilders, for the article of almonds only, for the patients, of which, perhaps, they do not get one. Every half year the moiety of this sum is paid down, an exact calculation having been previously made, how many thousands of almonds may be had for that money, according to the then current price. So that the sum is always the same, though the quantity of almonds varies with the price; and the patients always receive the same quantity, that is, little or nothing. For every one in the hospital, that goes through a course of mercurial friction for the venereal disease, the surgeon receives eight dollars; and the patient must pay two dollars for his medicines, as it is not thought proper that he should be cured of this disease gratis.

Several streets in the town are adorned with canals filled with the water that comes from the superimpending mountains; but the bringing of the water, by means of wooden pipes, from the same mountains down to the great bridge in the harbour, at the side of the citadel, where the ships unload, is of greater importance; as the ships' boats may conveniently lay along-side of it, and fill their casks with the purest water.

The small-pox and measles are the most fatal distempers here; for the prevention of which they make the same provisions, as is done in other places against the plague. Consequently, as soon as a ship has anchored in the road, a surgeon is sent on board of it, to examine whether any body in the ship is at that time infected, or during the voyage has been infected with either of these diseases. In the latter case, no one from the ship is suffered to come on shore; but the commander is advised to go to some other place with the vessel; which, in the mean-time, is furnished with whatever it may stand in need of. When at any time the small-pox is carried thither, every one flies in haste to the interior parts of the country. This infectious disorder, I observed, and some French ships, which they took for enemies, were the only things that at this juncture could inspire these rich farmers and burghers with fear, and make them shift their quarters. They were not yet become rational enough to adopt inoculation. In 1713, the small-pox was brought here by a Danish ship, when it made a dreadful havoc among the Europeans as well as Hottentots, only three houses having escaped. The Hottentots died in such multitudes, that their bodies lay in the fields and highways unburied.

In 1755, this disorder appeared for the second time; and in 1767, in April, for the third and last time, being in like manner brought by a Danish ship. The last time the

the measles prevailed in these parts, they were the more destructive, as the surgeons sent out by the governor, from ignorance of the disease, treated it perversely. It is much to be lamented, that the account given of the medical practitioners of the Cape for some time past, should so exactly tally with that transmitted to us by Kæmpfer, in his *Annot. Esot. Falcie*. 3. p. 534 & 535, of the surgeons in the East Indies.

The town is adorned with three large squares; in one of these stands the Protestant church; it likewise has a fountain in it, which furnishes the inhabitants of the town with water; in the other is the town-hall; and the third is lately laid out for the convenience of the country people who bring their goods to market, and in this is to be built the watch-house for the fire-men.

On the shore itself several batteries of different sizes are erected for the defence of the city. The citadel is intended to protect them as well against internal as foreign enemies, but the batteries more particularly against the ships of a foreign power; and in fact, these can do no more execution in the road than the citadel possibly can do. There were now, though in rather an indifferent state of repair, the Great Battery, the Little Battery, the New Battery, the Bones, and the Line-Guard.

In the beginning of July, I made a day's excursion to Mount Paarl, in company with Dr. Le Sueur, who was sent for to see a patient that had been ill of a fever, and had now such a weakness in his joints and ligaments, that he could not lift his hands to his mouth, and his knee-pans were so loose, that he had lost the use of his legs likewise. Dr. Le Sueur was a native of the Cape, but had studied in Holland, and taken his degrees at Groningen.

In many places the roads were intersected by large rivers, which were now so swelled by the heavy rains, that the water almost came into the carriage, the current being at the same time very strong.

The land in these parts was very poor, being merely loose sand, under which lay the solid rock, consisting of brown ferruginous clumps, composed of clay, vitriolic acid, and slate. In these meagre plains, nevertheless, *Phyllicas*, *Ericas*, and *Proteas* grew in abundance.

At Paarl the cold is felt more sensibly in the mornings and evenings than at the Cape, and the hoar-frost frequently damages the vegetables in the gardens. The easterly winds are said to be very powerful here, and in summer-time to blow the grains of wheat out of the ear.

Butter is churned every day in the summer, and every other day, or every third day, in the winter. They usually pour luke-warm water into the churn, in order that the milk may coagulate the better.

The houses are generally situated at the foot of the mountains, from whence water runs down to them. The want of water in other places, and the consequent poverty of the soil, must be considered as the reason why this country, so excellent in other respects, cannot be very closely inhabited. The African soil is intrinsically meagre; but its fertility, which is so much cried up by many, must be ascribed to the excellence of the climate; for those spots where water and a little mould are to be found, and which consequently are capable of cultivation, produce a rich harvest of corn, delicious fruits, and excellent wines. The chief object of the farmer, when chusing a spot for his abode, is to find an earthy soil in the vicinity of water.

Every peasant builds his own house, sometimes of bricks, sometimes only of clay, lime, and sand. Every one of them possesses a great number of horses, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, ducks, and geese, which in the day-time are driven out on the hills, and tended by a slave, and driven home again at sun-set. At night all these animals

sleep in the open air, each species separately, in a place fenced in by a mud wall. This is said to be very detrimental to the wool of the sheep (the *ovis laticauda*). It was pleasant in the highest degree to see the lambkins, which are kept while they are young in the house, go in the evenings to meet their mothers on their return home. As soon as they heard the voice of their dams at a great distance, the little hungry creatures began to cry out and run towards them; but if they could not see their mothers distinctly, they would immediately run back again. When their dams approach still nearer, their cries increased, and the lambs run full speed to meet them, and followed them home again. The wool of these African sheep, which have large tails, is none of the best, and is not employed either in the manufacturing of cloth or for any other important purpose, much less is it exported. M. Hemming, however, had, a few years before, a piece of cloth woven from it large enough to make a complete suit of clothes.

I frequently observed the shin-bones of sheep used, both in town and country, either for setting round the trees in the streets, or for dividing the parterres in the flower-gardens, where they had a very pretty effect, the end of the ginglymus articulation being placed uppermost.

Wolves were caught by an easy and ingenious method: a square or oblong house was erected, either of brick or only of clay, of the height of six feet or more, without any other covering than a few wooden bars. In the front a low opening is left with a trap-door before it. In the house is laid a bait, tied to a rope that is fastened to a peg. This peg is brought through the lower part of the back wall, and stuck into a piece of wood which hangs down the wall on the outside; to the upper part of this piece of wood is fixed another rope that passes over the top of the house, and is fastened to the trap-door, which it thus keeps suspended over the aperture. The wolf having entered the house, pulls the bait, and at the same time pulls out the peg from the piece of wood, when the trap-door falls down, and makes the wolf prisoner.

The style of building in the country, among people in good circumstances, is nearly similar to that in town, viz. first, there is a hall at the entrance of the house, and before this is a long gallery; on each side of the hall is a room; and on one side of the gallery is the kitchen, and on the other a bed-chamber. People of inferior circumstances had a gallery, with a chamber on each side of it, and the kitchen behind. The poorer sort had huts of clay, with doors and windows almost pervious to the weather.

The water that runs down the mountains to the farms that lie below them is frequently conducted by art to different places, such as to artificial fountains, or to gardens, for the purpose of watering them in time of drought, or to fish-ponds to supply them with water.

Such waters as accumulated in the plains below the mountains, and formed rivulets, which at times were so deep in certain places, as to make ferries or boats necessary for passing them, the farmers rendered useful to themselves, by damming them up, in order to make them overflow their vineyards planted on their banks; when the water, gently running off from them, manured the soil and rendered it fertile.

The vineyards near Paarl flourished amazingly, and vines were seen here fifty years old. A vine was said to bear so early as the second year after it was planted, but to yield a full vintage in the third. All the vines here were kept low, in order to make them produce large clusters.

In this place a church was erected and provided with a Calvinist minister and a clerk. Divine service, however, is not performed every Sunday; but when the

minister is gone on a journey, sick, or otherwise hindered, the clerk reads to the congregation some portion of the Bible.

The farmers, or colonists, all through the country are, as well as the inhabitants of the city, all burghers, and are consequently obliged to be always in readiness, in case of a war, to defend their country. For this purpose they are divided into companies, and certain persons among them appointed their officers.

On the sudden approach of danger from any enemy, the whole body of the inhabitants may be summoned by the firing of guns and hoisting of flags. For this purpose cannons are planted at proper intervals, and at the side of each stands a flag-staff, to give signals in case of the approach of an enemy, or of any great fleet belonging to a foreign power. In such case, seven guns are fired from the Lion's Head. The cannon on the banks of Zour Rivier is next discharged, which is repeated by another placed at a greater distance, then by a third, and so on; the flag being always hoisted before the firing of the gun, by which means the alarm is soon given throughout the whole country.

As an antidote against the bite of serpents, the blood of the turtle was much cried up, which, on account of this extraordinary virtue, the inhabitants dry in the form of small scales or membranes, and carry about them when they travel in this country, which swarms with this most noxious vermin. Whenever any one is wounded by a serpent, he takes a couple of pinches of the dried blood internally and applies a little of it to the wound.

Surgeons, apothecaries, and others, when they cannot find in this country the usual and genuine medicinal plants, look for others that somewhat resemble them, either in their flowers, leaves, smell, or general habit, and then give them the same names. The physician, who hears this *quid pro quo* mentioned, must not let it puzzle or mislead him.

The leaves of the *calla Æthiopica*, a plant which grew even in the ditches about the gardens near the Cape, were said to serve for food for the (Yzer-varken or) porcupines.

The root of the *arctopus cebinatus*, which grew both near the Cape and in other places, was of a soft texture, and contained a very white and pure gum, which was used in the form of a decoction, as an excellent purifier of the blood, and likewise as a remedy in the gonorrhœa.

The root of the *byronia Africana* served the country-people for an emetic; infused in wine or brandy it proves an excellent purge, especially if a piece of bread be eaten after it.

The *geranium cucullatum*, a fragrant plant, was used as an emollient, inclosed in small bags.

Of the leaves of the *barbonia cordata* the country-people made tea.

The *montinia acris*, though it is of a very acrid nature, was said to be eaten by the sheep.

The Hottentots eat the fruit of the *brabeium stellatum*, a large shrub that grows near brooks and rivulets, called Wilde Castanien (wild chestnuts), and sometimes used by the country-people instead of coffee: the outside rind being taken off, the fruit is steeped in water to deprive it of its bitterness; it is then boiled, roasted, and ground like coffee.

The gout and dropsy were common diseases in this country, proceeding from the great quantities of wine that was drank, and the very varying and cold winds.

The fields were by no means so thickly covered with grass here as they are in Europe, where the grass-turf, with its great variety of flowers, forms the most beautiful carpet; but the grass grew very thin, shewing the bare sand between the blades, so that one could not with any pleasure lie down on it to rest one's self.

The barley, after it had attained to a considerable height, was mowed once or oftener, and given to the horses as fodder. It was said, that it might be cut in the month of August, when in the ear. I frequently saw bundles of it brought to town in this state to market. The barley in this country is cultivated chiefly for the use of horses; a few bundles of it being cut every evening, after the horses are come in from grass, and laid in the stable, or else out in the yard, where these animals are tied up, for their night-provender.

Beer is never brewed in the country, where the people, when thirsty, drink water, tea, coffee, or wine; but a brewery has been established near Cape Town. The Cape beer, however, is never remarkably good, but generates wind in the stomach, and soon turns sour. This is the reason why they are obliged to import their beer from Europe; the Dutch, Danish, and English beer, which they sometimes drink in small quantities at their meals, being held in particular esteem.

The vineyards must be dug every year, and the ground turned, yet without disturbing the vines. In manuring them, the old earth is dug away from around the vines, and so that a hole is left in which the manure is laid. If a vine dies, a branch of an adjoining vine is bent down into the hole, where it soon strikes root, and is afterwards cut off at the top.

A widow at the Paarl had three Hottentots in her service; they spoke with much delicacy and softness, clacking lightly and rapidly with their tongues both before and while they pronounced their words. Their complexion was brown, but by no means inclining to black, being more like that of a sun-burnt European. The apparent brownness of their complexions, in fact, proceeded more from the great quantity of stinking grease with which they befouled themselves than from nature. The girls were fond of smoking tobacco, which they did with a pipe so short, that the bowl of it came close to their lips. Their hair is of a singular nature, being quite black, and twilled up together like short wool, so as to resemble the nap upon frieze, the interstices between each lock being quite bare.

On my return to the Cape, I saw, towards the end of June, a body of Hottentots, men, women, and children, to the number of nine and fifty, brought up about one hundred and fifty miles from the interior part of the country, where they had committed various acts of violence against the colonists. They had been taken by a Hottentot captain, of the name of Kees, in the cleft of a mountain, where they had concealed and fortified themselves against a party of peasants and soldiers ordered out against them, and had for a long time defended themselves, by rolling large stones down upon their enemies. In two villages they had carried off the cattle, killed the inhabitants, plundered the houses, and taken possession of several fire-arms. They did not deny their crimes, but asserted that they acted so in their own defence, the Europeans making every year fresh encroachments upon their lands and possessions, and forcing them continually farther up into the country, whence they were driven back again by the other Hottentots, or else killed. These Hottentots were Boschuinen, of a dark brown complexion, some of whom were naked, wearing only a band round their waists, which covered the pudenda before. Others wore, hanging loose over their shoulders, a sheep's skin, the ends of which scarcely met before, the upper part going, like a calash, over the head. The women had their little ones hanging behind

on their shoulders; and girls eleven or twelve years of age had already children. The women were adorned with ear-rings, and broad rings of metal round their wrists. Their mouths and cheekbones were very prominent, so that they bore the strongest resemblance imaginable to apes. After these Hottentots had been confined for some time at the Cape, they lost their colour, and became almost white.

On the 28th of June, the Javanese here celebrated their new-year. For this purpose they had decorated an apartment in a house with carpets, that covered the ceiling, walls, and floor. At some distance from the farthest wall an altar was raised, from the middle of which a pillar rose up to the ceiling, covered with narrow slips of gilt paper and silk alternately: from above, downwards, ran a kind of lace between the projecting edges. At the base of this pillar were placed bottles with nosegays stuck in them. Before the altar lay a cushion, and on this a large book. The women, who were all standing or sitting near the door were neatly dressed, and the men wore night-gowns of silk or cotton. Frankincense was burned. The men sat cross-legged on the floor, dispersed all over the room. Several yellow wax-candles were lighted up. Many of the assembly had fans, which they found very useful for cooling themselves in the great heat necessarily produced by the assemblage of a great number of people in a small space. Two priests were distinguished by a small conical cap from the rest, who wore handkerchiefs tied round their heads in the form of a turban. About eight in the evening the service commenced, when they began to sing, loud and soft alternately, sometimes the priests alone, at other times the whole congregation. After this a priest read out of the great book that lay on the cushion before the altar, the congregation at times reading aloud after him. I observed them reading after the Oriental manner, from right to left, and imagined it to be the Alcoran that they were reading, the Javanese being mostly Mahometans. Between the singing and reading, coffee was served up in cups, and the principal man of the congregation at intervals accompanied their singing on the violin. I understood afterwards, that this was a prince from Java, who had opposed the interests of the Dutch East India Company, and for that reason had been brought from his native country to the Cape, where he lives at the Company's expence.

On the 30th of June I visited Paradise, and other farms belonging to the Company, and situated below Table Mountain. Rondebosch is a villa belonging to the governor. On this eastern side, along Table Mountain, the south-east wind does not blow so hard as at the Cape, for which reason also both trees and shrubs grow here. Among other trees, the pine (*pinus sylvestris*) was conspicuous by its elegant crown. Wild vines (Wilde Druyven, *vitis vitifolia*) made a distinguished figure at this time with their red berries, which resembled cherries, and were eatable.

In the beginning of July, I set out on an excursion on foot, for a few days, to Constantia and the neighbouring farms. In some places rivulets ran across the road between the valleys down from the mountains, and at this time they were difficult to pass.

R ferruginous stones (Eiser Klippen), or stones containing iron, were found here, as well as nearer to the Cape.

I observed the clouds to be driven in contrary directions, the lower clouds coming from the south-east, and the upper being carried towards the same quarter.

The domestic animals, which otherwise are kept in the open air throughout the whole country, were here sheltered under a shed, that was open in the front.

On my return to town, I had the opportunity of seeing a Chinese burial. In their burying-ground, at a short distance from the city, small ratans are stuck up, fastened together with cotton-thread, so as to form an arch or a vaulted roof over the tomb.

In a large hog that was killed, were found several round worms (*lumbrici*), which was said to be a common case here with these animals.

July the 21st, I took a walk to Paarl and Stellenbosch.

From the Cape the horizon, on the land side, appears bounded by high mountains, that stretch across the whole country. The plain between the Cape and these mountains, which is one day's journey long, is for the most part an uncultivated tract of sand, and destitute of water, which for the most part is no where to be met with but near the smaller scattered hills, which lie about as it were insulated, and without any very evident connexion with each other. A traveller who has not been provident enough to bring water with him, has no other resource for assuaging his thirst in this burning heat, than strictly to examine, whether any black shepherds are to be found attending their master's flocks in the neighbourhood, who may either have water themselves, or may be able to inform him where to find it. In the winter season, however, on account of the frequent rains, large tracts of this plain lie under water.

The name of Kapock-bird was given to a very small bird, that forms its nest (which is as curious as it is beautiful, and is of the thickness of a coarse worsted stocking) from the down (*pappus erioccephali*) of the wild rosemary-tree (Wilde Rosmaryn).

In the months of April and May the seed is put into the ground; but in June and July the earth, which often has lain fallow for several, sometimes ten, twelve, and fifteen years, is ploughed up. The larger bushes are previously pulled up by the roots, and the smaller ones left for the plough; all the bushes are then collected, and burnt on the field, which are richly manured by the ashes. The spots on which the combustion has been performed, always produces a thicker and more luxuriant grass than usual; so that such places are easily distinguishable in a meadow by the high tufts of grass. The wheat here was said to yield, in general, at the rate of eight and ten, but frequently fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five to one; whereas in many other places again, the produce is still more abundant. I was even told, that at one farm fourteen bushels of seed had produced about fifty-five quarters of grain.

The ant-eater, or Aardvarken (*myrmecophaga*), digs large holes in the earth, in which in the day-time he lies secure from his enemies. The country was full of such holes. This animal was said to be so strong, that several oxen together would not be able to drag it out of its retreat. It digs very expeditiously. The flesh of it is eaten, and especially the hams, when hung up and dried. It lives on several sorts of ants, especially the large red ones, which build their hillocks of clay, and are very common, increasing every year.

The daughters of the colonists are sometimes with child by their fathers' black slaves. In this case, in consideration of a round sum of money, a husband is generally provided for the girl, but the slave is sent away from that part of the country.

Hospitality is carried to a great length among the farmers throughout all this country, inasmuch that a traveller may, without being at any expence either for board or lodging, pass a longer or shorter time with these people, who with the greatest cordiality receive and entertain strangers. On the contrary, a stranger finds it very dear living in town, where he is obliged to pay at least a dollar, if not a dollar and a half, per day for his board and lodging.

The farmers in general make four regular meals a day, viz. breakfast at seven, dinner at eleven, their afternoon's luncheon at four, and supper at eight.

A soldier here is not at liberty to marry, lest, as in this case he must live with his wife out of the citadel, he should run in debt in the town, and, in consequence of this, incur the usual punishment, which is transportation to Batavia. Nevertheless, it would be
much

much better that a soldier or corporal should be at liberty to marry, and, receiving his pay, do his duty; and on those days, when he is exempted from duty, earn his livelihood by teaching, or by some trade: and although many, as daily experience evinces, for want of this regulation, fall into bad courses, and ruin themselves by connexions with black women; not to mention, that a married soldier, in case of a war supervening, always fights for his country, his wife and children, with greater courage and spirit than another; yet, in defiance of reason and common sense, all such men are obliged to quit the service and become free citizens. This freedom, however, they do not obtain but on condition of entering again into the Company's service, if necessity should require, and this in the same capacity as that in which they left it.

Though the town is entirely under the Company's jurisdiction, and consequently is subject to the governor and fiscal; yet, in what concerns the management of its particular affairs, it has its own mayor and aldermen, with other necessary officers.

The burghers, both in the town and throughout the whole country, are enrolled as militia-men for the defence of the colony, being divided into several companies of foot and horse, and commanded by officers from among their own body. They meet every year to do their exercise, and in the town they go upon the municipal guard, &c.

The dead are buried without either clergyman, prayers, or the ceremony of throwing earth on the body.

The ceremonies of marriage and baptism must always be performed in the church; private baptism, in case of necessity, not being suffered.

Slaves are very seldom enfranchised: the free blacks are not permitted to go upon the municipal guard; but in time of war they are obliged to throw up batteries with their spades, which are their weapons. They are commanded, however, by one of their own body. The slaves, whom each master of a family must drive before him out of his house himself when required, against the enemy, are also formed into companies. The burghers, as well as the servants of the Company, are then stationed each at his post. All the civil officers are stationed within the castle, and others at the batteries in different places.

In the month of August the winter drew near to its end, and the fields began to be decorated with flowers; it therefore now became necessary for me to think of such preparations as would be useful and requisite for me in my approaching long journey into the interior part of the country; a journey, relative to which a promise had been given me, that I should make it in a great measure at the Company's expence.

I therefore provided myself with necessary cloaths, as well as with boxes and bags, for collecting roots and seeds, with boxes and pins for insects, a keg of arrack for preserving serpents and amphibious animals, cotton and boxes for stuffing and keeping birds in, cartridge-paper for the drying of plants, tea and biscuits for my own use, and tobacco to distribute among the Hottentots, together with fire-arms, and a large quantity of powder, ball, and shot of various kinds. Shoes for the space of four months were no inconsiderable article in this account, as the leather prepared in the Indies is by no means strong; besides, that it is quite cut to pieces, or soon worn out, by the sharp stones that occur every where in the mountains.

My equipage consisted of a saddle-horse, a cart covered with a sail-cloth, like an ammunition-waggon, and three yoke of oxen, by which it was to be drawn through the whole of the journey. My travelling companions were Auge, the gardener, who had before made eighteen journeys of different lengths into the country, and was now to be my sure and faithful guide; M. Immelman, a youth, the son of a lieutenant in the army, together with Leonhardi, a serjeant, who undertook this tedious journey for the
fake

fake of shooting the larger animals and birds; and lastly, two domesticated Hottentots, one of whom was to drive, and the other to lead our oxen.

Every one that travels in this country performs his journey pretty nearly in the following way: A large waggon, worth from one hundred and twenty to two hundred dollars, and covered with a large tilt of sack-cloth, is commonly drawn by five or six yoke of oxen, which are driven by a man with a long whip, but led through the rivulets and by the farms. The horses are but weak in this part of the world, and find no where in Africa either pasture or water; consequently they cannot be used for long journeys. Nor are horses employed for carrying any wares on their backs up to town from the farms that lie near it, but there are some few wealthy persons that now and then put two or three pair of them into a waggon for short journeys. Still, however, they are made use of all over the country for riding on. When farmers, that live far down in the country, go up to the Cape, they generally take five or six spare oxen with them, for the purpose of changing cattle in a journey which lasts several weeks. The whip is an instrument which might seem to command respect, not only from the oxen, for whose service it is principally destined, but from every one else.

Thus equipped, I set out with my company from the Cape on the 7th of September for Jan Besis Kraal, a small grazing farm belonging to the Company, and situated by the sea-side, where we arrived at eleven o'clock.

All over the sandy fields the *protea hypophylla* was seen creeping and procumbent, with its leaves standing up erect on each side of it. Near Eland's Fountain (or Elk's Fountain), a plant of this species was seen standing upright like a bush, much resembling the former, but with broader leaves.

We proceeded on our journey till twelve o'clock, when we came to another farm belonging to the Company, called Riet Valley; afterwards to Mostert's Farm; and lastly, passing by Brack Fountain, we came to Groene Kloof (the Green Valley), a considerable grazing farm belonging to the Company, at the distance of eight hours' journey from the Cape. In this pleasant place we remained a whole week, as well because we found a great deal to collect here, as because that, in consequence of the refraction of the sun-beams from the burning sand, I was unfortunately attacked with a very violent inflammation in my eyes, which I did not easily get rid of.

The country has indeed been much inhabited and cultivated by the European colonists, but as yet no mile-stones have been set up, nor have the farms and rivers every where received suitable names. The farms are frequently called after their owners, and the distances between places are measured by the time required to travel over them in a waggon drawn by oxen, which answers pretty exactly to a sea-league per hour. All this occasions travellers a great deal of trouble, and is the cause that I am obliged to call the places, which I passed in my travels, by the Dutch names, by which they are known on the spot.

The sandy and low plains, which we traversed, abounded at this time in bulbous plants, besides others which were now sprung up in consequence of the heavy rains that had fallen during the winter, and which, with their infinitely varied flowers, decorated these otherwise naked heaths.

The roots (*bulbi*) of the *iris edulis*, when boiled and served up at table, tasted much like potatoes.

The African flowers vary greatly as to colour, especially on the upper part, and are more constant on the under part.

Flamingoes (*phœnicopterus ruber*) were seen in abundance, wading every where in the ponds and puddles, in which were found also ducks and snipes (*scolopax Capensis*). In

the plains were heard among the bushes the Korrahan (Otis). The Haantje (a small bird), and deer of various kinds were seen running about, such as Harte-beests (*capra dorcas*), Steen-boks (*capra grimmia*), divers (*capra* —), as well as the stately ostrich, distinguished by its black feathers from its grey females.

A clay, impregnated with sulphur, was shown me, which is to be found near a fountain hard-by Paard Mountain.

The seed-vessels of a species of Euphorbia, pulverized, were used for poisoning wolves.

Here I saw, for the first time, the *oleum ricini*, or castor oil. The seeds were said to be boiled in water, and the oil is skimmed off as it rises, which is taken, in as large a dose as that of a tea-cup full, for a gentle purge. The leaves of the shrub dried, and applied round the head, were affirmed to be serviceable in the head-ache.

On the 14th, we passed Oranie Fontein, or Orange Fountain, and Uyle Kraal, or the Owl's Kraal, in our way to Thé Fontein, or Tea Fountain, a journey of six hours; and afterwards passing by Elk's Fountain (Eland's Fontein), got to Saldahna Bay the next day.

The farmers on this side of the Cape have neither vineyards nor much arable land, but, instead of these, plenty of cattle. Butter is made here every day, in a churn like a pump; and the butter-milk, excellent as it is, is thrown out to the calves and dogs. Indeed, they scarcely allow their milk to cream beforehand. As to household furniture, they were in great want of it.

We left our saddle-horses at a farmer's house; after which, we crossed the harbour in a vessel to the Company's post, where we staid several days.

Here was plenty of game, consisting of antelopes, ducks, and other animals.

The expressed juice of the sow-thistle (*sonchus oleraceus*), was used for cleansing and healing ulcers.

The black juice of the cuttle-fish (*sepia*), mixed up with vinegar, was used for making ink. This animal has real eyes, consisting of a cornea, choroidea, and a crystalline lens, with all the humours usually found in the eye.

Among the servants I found Elifæus Hyphoff, who was in the capacity of a cook here, and was the son of M. Hyphoff, director of the bank in Stockholm.

The *albuca major* grew in this neighbourhood tall, straight, and elegant. Its succulent stalk, which is rather mucilaginous, is chewed by the Hottentots and other travellers, by way of quenching their thirst.

There were a great many sand-banks in the harbour, which were seen at low-water.

Grass grew on the islands in abundance; but there were neither sheep nor oxen in them.

While I was botanizing, I found a dead tiger near the shore. He had probably been eating some poisonous plants, and afterwards went in quest of water, before he fell down.

On the islands without and round Saldahna Bay, seals (*phoca*) were caught in abundance, from the blubber of which a good and useful oil was prepared. The skins of the smaller sort of these animals are used only for shooting-bags and tobacco-pouches. The large seals, I was told, would weigh fourteen or fifteen hundred weight. With respect to these creatures, a disagreeable accident had happened here lately: a soldier was sent out to shoot them, and having wounded one of them, which lay as though it were dead, he went to open a vein in order to draw off its blood, as the oil is supposed to be the better for this operation, when on a sudden the seal caught hold of his hand, which

which the soldier pulling back in haste, his thumb was bitten off, and the tendon drawn out to a great length.

From Saldahna Bay we returned to Thé Fontein, and, at a farm there, had an opportunity of seeing with what dexterity the peasants perform the castration of their oxen, fifty of which, two years old, and one at three years, went through this operation in one evening. The cord of a whip was fastened round the horns, and a rope round one of the hind-legs. The animal being by this means thrown down on one side, its four legs were tied together. They then cut with a knife on the exterior side through all the integuments quite to the testicle; after this, they laid hold of the testicle and scraped the funiculus, continually twisting it at the same time, till the testicle came away.

Great complaints were made of the seed-vessels of the *rumex spinosus* (Dubeltics), which grew very common here, as the sharp prickles of them cut the feet of the slaves and others, who walked bare-footed.

In wet years, the *pharnaceum mollugo* (Muggekruid) grows copiously here, and is said to make the cattle, that feed on it, very fat.

Difficult as it is to come within reach of it, we at last shot a Korhaan, a bird which in its flight cries, kok-karri, kok-carri.

The Secretary Bird (*falco secretarius*), made its appearance frequently, with its beautiful head and long legs; it runs very fast, and lives on the serpents it catches. I was told, that its young are not reared without difficulty, as they are very apt to break their legs. Yet I saw at Constantia an old bird that was tame. They lay two or three eggs, and are said to build their nests with twigs upon bushes. They are almost always found solitary, and in no great abundance.

The black-berries of a bush called Kraijebosch, or Crow-bush, were greedily devoured by the crows at the Cape.

On the 25th, we left Thé Fontein, and ferried over Berg-Rivier (Mountain River).

The root of Anise (Anys Wortel) was eaten here roasted, and tasted well; it is either roasted in the embers, or boiled in milk, or else stewed with meat. The farmers sometimes make their slaves dig up a large quantity of them, which they sell in town.

The root of the Gatagay is likewise roasted in the embers and eaten, but has a bad and disagreeable taste.

Wherever we went, we observed a black-beetle (*trichius laticollis*) occupied the whole day throughout in rolling large balls of dung with its hind-feet, and constantly going backwards. With its fore-feet it digs large holes in the sand, and also throws the sand on one side with its scutellum. It probably lays its eggs in these balls, which it afterwards buries in the sand. More than once we observed two of the insects here spoken of assisting each other in rolling away one of these balls.

The oats brought hither from Europe are now looked upon as the worst of weeds in this country, as the grains are easily shaken out of the ears by the violence of the winds that prevail here, and sowing themselves, choak up all the other corn. It is to no purpose to lay a piece of land so spoiled fallow for several years, for when the field comes to be ploughed up, the oats, having lain unhurt in the ground, shoot up afresh.

They gave the name of nightingale (Nachtigall) to a bird, which in its notes and gestures imitated several other birds.

The Oppblazers (*pneumora*), a kind of grass-hopper, were caught in the evening. After sun-set they begin to make a singular noise, by rubbing their barbed legs against their empty and transparent stomach. It was supposed that this sound was heard at a great distance. As I perceived that these, like many other nocturnal insects, were

fond of light, I ordered a large fire to be made in the field, near which they were caught, while they were marching up to it. Their whole body is, as it were, a bladder, and so empty, that these creatures cannot be carried about stuck through with a pin, like other insects.

Nests of finches (*lowiæ*) made of the stalks of grass, curiously interwoven, hung on the branches of trees over ponds, with a long and narrow neck, by which the bird used to enter. This neck prevented the birds of prey from getting at the young ones, and the water, over which the nest hung on low shrubs and bushes, kept off foxes and other beasts of prey.

The cattle were liable to various grievous distempers, of which they sometimes also died.

The bloody sickness (Blaar or Bloodziekte) is a disease of the cattle, in which the veins all over the body are extremely turgid. Letting of blood and violent exercise were said to be serviceable in this distemper. The flesh of such beasts as die of it, is not eatable.

The spongy sickness (Sponziekte) begins in this manner; first a foot swells, and then by degrees the whole body. This disorder sometimes lasts three days, but at other times proves fatal in as many hours. If the foot is taken off immediately, the creature's life may be saved. The flesh of such an animal likewise is not eatable: this distemper, in my opinion, can proceed from no other cause than the bite of some serpent, a kind of reptile, which, in this warm quarter of the globe, is but too common.

The lame distemper (Laamziekte) is, when the cattle are unable to stand. It comes on gradually, and is slow in its progress. After the death of the animal the bones of its legs are found to be quite empty, and without marrow; instead of which they are filled with water.

The horned cattle, as well as horses, are afflicted with the stranguary, or a retention of their urine, after feeding on the *Euphorbia Genistoides*, which contains a milk that does no injury to the stomach and bowels, but corrodes the bladder, and especially obstructs the urinary passages. If the penis is pressed, this viscid matter is squeezed out. The peasants therefore either press it out, or with a straw push it back again. When the cattle are supplied with good and fresh water, this disease cannot get the upper hand; but in summer, when the water is thick and impure, so that it cannot dilute the peccant matter, the cattle die.

On the right side of Groote Berg Rivier (or Great Mountain River) was seen Ribeck-castle, which is a high and large solitary mountain; and to the left, Picket-berg. We passed by the Honing-bergen, and in the evening arrived at a farm belonging to one Griling.

On the 26th we crossed the river called Four-and-twenty-River, and came to the farm of Arnhem, from thence to little Mountain River, and farther through Rood Zandskloof (Red-sand Valley) to Wafersland or Roode Zand. The cleft, through which we passed from the sandy plain, that lies low towards the Cape, but gradually rises till it comes to Roode Zand, is one of the few chasms left by the long ridge of mountains, through which it is possible for a waggon to pass, though, perhaps, not entirely without danger. In some places it was so narrow, that two waggons could not pass each other. At such narrow passes as this, it is usual for the drivers to give several terrible loud smacks with their long whips, which are heard at the distance of several miles, so that the waggon that arrives first may get through unimpeded, before another enters it.

As soon as we had passed the mountains as far as to Roode Zand, the country appeared much higher than the side from which we came. At one end this country is bounded

by high mountains, called Winter-hoek (or Winter-corner), because their tops, almost the whole year throughout, are covered with snow; at the other end it is open, with a range of mountains projecting into it, and forming an angle, called Mostertshoek, and grows wider and wider the nearer it approaches to the south.

We took up our lodging with a man of the name of De Vett, a descendant of one of the French families, which came with the first colonists that settled in this part of Africa, to lay out vineyards, and plant fruit-trees.

Tintirinties is a name given to a species of *ornithogalum*, with a white flower, from the sound it produced, when two stalks of it were rubbed against each other.

In order to give our cattle time to rest a little, and, in some measure, recover their lost flesh, we passed almost a fortnight at this agreeable place, during which time we had the opportunity of drying the plants and seeds we had already collected, and of visiting all the hills and mountains in the environs.

On the 28th, therefore, we set out on an excursion across the cataract and the mountains, to a saddler's, named Swieger, and the next day went on to a man of the name of Olivier, with whom we left our horses, and ascended the mountain on foot.

On the 1st of October, we made an incursion over Mount Witzen; on the other side of which was a tract of land, or rather a cleft in the mountain, narrower than Roode Zand, but about four times higher. From this eminence, Table-mountain, near the Cape, was seen: and by reason of the coldness of this place, and the backwardness of the summer, the plants flowered here at least one month later, than in other parts of the country. Snow frequently falls here to the height of three feet, which lies several days; but higher up on the mountain, a still longer time. Behind this valley, mountains were seen, and behind these, still higher ridges of other mountains; on the other side of which, the Bokkevelden or Goat-fields, were said to be situated. In this narrow, lofty, and cold tract of land, there were several grazing farms, but no corn was cultivated there, as this latter commodity could not be transported from thence over the mountains. It took us up a full hour to pass the mountain on horseback.

Being returned to Roode Zand, the much celebrated Snake-stone (*Slange-steen*) was shown to me, which few of the farmers here could afford to purchase, it being sold at a high price, and held in great esteem. It is imported from the Indies, especially from Malabar, and costs several, frequently ten or twelve, rix-dollars. It is round and convex on one side, of a black colour, with a pale ash-grey speck in the middle, and tubulated, with very minute pores. When thrown into water, it causes bubbles to rise, which is a proof of its being genuine, as is also, that if put into the mouth, it adheres to the palate. When it is applied to any part that has been bitten by a serpent, it sticks fast to the wound, and extracts the poison; as soon as it is saturated, it falls off of itself. If it be then put into milk, it is supposed to be purified from the poison it had absorbed, and the milk is said to be turned blue by it. Frequently, however, the wound is scarified with a razor, previous to the application of the stone.

I was informed that the Hottentots, when bitten by a serpent, immediately go in search of a toad, with which they rub the wound, and thus effect a perfect cure. They have also the art of extracting the poison, by causing another person to apply his mouth to the wound, and suck it, after scarifying the flesh all round it with a knife.

A serpent (*Coluber scut. adb. 197. squam. caudal. 124*) was found here, called the Boomslang (or tree-serpent), on account of its being frequently found in trees. The length of it was eight feet; *supra totus fuscus, squamis linea elevata carinatis; subtus totus flavescens.*

The *Tulbaghia Alliacea* (Wilde Knofflook, or wild garlic), the root of which smells very strong of garlic, was reported to be a charm for serpents.

With the poison of serpents, and the juice of the *Sideroxylum Toxiferum* (Gift-boom, or poison-tree), the Hottentots poison their arrows, which they use against antelopes and wild buffaloes, as also against their enemies.

The scrota of sheep are sometimes served up at table, roasted, and tasted very well, but were apt to rise on the stomach.

The *Aponogeton Distachyon* (Waater Uynties, or water lilies) grew in many places, in shallow puddles of water, very plentifully, and from its white flowers that floated on the water, exhaled a most fragrant odour. The roots roasted, were reckoned a great delicacy.

Cucumbers, which were cultivated in the gardens, were served up at table, by way of desert, being pickled first in salt water, and afterwards in vinegar, with Cayenne pepper.

From a decoction of the *solanum nigrum* (or deadly nightshade) and the *fonchus oleraceus* (or sow-thistle), which were found growing wild near almost every farm-house, were formed, with wax and lard, some excellent salves, for healing of wounds and ulcers of all kinds, remedies which were as common as they were approved.

The swallows (*hirundo rustica*) were now, in the months of September and October, extremely busy in the mornings and evenings in building their nests, and that in the very houses of the farmers, the doors of which are seldom shut; sometimes, though very seldom, they fix their habitations in the clefts of rocks. They build their nests here of clay, which they work up with their bills, and carry in small scraps to their habitations, which thus become daily more round and complete. The swallows, which constantly return hither at this time, migrate every year from hence, as they do in Europe, without the country-people being able to ascertain whither they retire during winter.

A report that was very general at Roode Zand, struck me with the greatest astonishment, and excited my curiosity in the highest degree. The inhabitants all assured me in one voice, that there was a bush to be found on the mountains, on which grew various wonderful products, such as caps, gloves, worsted stockings, &c. of a substance resembling a fine plush. I importuned almost every body in the neighbourhood to procure me, if possible, some of these marvellous products, and I resolved not to leave the place till I should have unriddled this mystery. In the course of a few days, I had several of the leaves brought me down from the mountains, which were covered with a very thick shag or down (*tomentum*), and very much resembled white velvet. The girls, who were used to the management of these leaves, began immediately, with singular dexterity and nicety, to strip off this downy coat, whole and entire as it was, without rending it. After it had been taken off in this manner, it was turned inside outwards; when the green veins of the leaf appeared on one side. Accordingly, as the leaf was more or less round or oval, divers of the abovementioned articles were formed out of it, the shape being now and then assisted a little by the scissors. The stalks of the leaves furnished stockings and ladies' fingered gloves; the smaller leaves, caps. So that the matter was not quite so wonderful, as it was wonderfully related. But in the mean-time, it remained still for me to find out to what plant these leaves belonged, and this forced me to climb up myself the highest summits of the mountains, where they grow. The plant, indeed, was not scarce in those places, but it cost me a great deal of trouble before I could find one in flower, or in seed, and when I did, I was convinced that this plant belongs to the genus of *bupleurum giganteum*.

giganteum. The downy coat, resembling fine wool, being well dried, was also used for tinder, and answered the purpose extremely well.

Roode Zand has a fine church, and its own appropriate minister. To this parish, all who live farther down in the country must necessarily belong; though they scarcely come more than once a year up to the church, on which occasion they generally bring their children with them to be baptized.

On the 6th, having made here a fine collection of plants, birds, and feeds, and our cattle being perfectly refreshed, we left this beautiful spot, and penetrated into the country over several rivers, such as Harte-beest's Rivier (where we took up our lodging for the first night with Michael de Ploi), Hex Rivier, Breede Rivier, and so on to Matties Valley and Brandsteeg, and crossing Mattjes Kloof, arrived at the house of Peter de Wett, near the hot bath, where we rested a day for the sake of using the bath, and of visiting the neighbouring mountains.

Before we reached De Ploi's house, near Harte-beest's Rivier, we passed by a mountain called Slangenkop (serpent's head), which may, perhaps, be considered as the most remarkable in its kind. It stands separated from the other ridges of mountains, like a large solitary rock, and is not very high. On one side of it is a large and deep crevice, which makes this rock remarkable, as every autumn almost all the serpents of the neighbourhood creep into it, and assemble together, in order to remain there secure and unmolested, during their torpid state. Towards summer, when the heat begins to set in, serpents of many different kinds, and frequently coiled up together in large knots, are seen coming out from this hole, in order to spread themselves afterwards all over the fields, each to its respective place of abode, and by means of proper food, to recover the flesh which they have lost in this retreat.

The *colutea vesicatoria* bruised, was used in diseases of the eyes. The *pyrus cydonia*, (or Quince-tree), grew here, being planted out for hedges.

The hot-bath has its source at the foot of the mountain, on the east side of the ridge, in a sandy soil. The springs are seven in number, one of which is very large, compared with the others. The second or uppermost, is of a middling size, to the southward of which the first is situated, and the third close by it. Below these is a fourth, and the fifth is situated a few yards farther off, and between these two the sixth, which does not spring up in any one regular place, but bubbles up alternately out of several places. The lowermost is the largest, and boils with great force. The water is quite boiling-hot, so as even to be fit for scalding animals in. The smoke is seen to rise as it were out of a pot boiling over the fire, and continues so to do in the stream that runs down from it, to the distance of two musket-shots. The sides and bottom of the channel have no sediment; but a green Conferva grows in it. The stones that lay in the channel, and at this time were elevated a little above the surface of the water, were nevertheless covered with a grey coat, and in the channel a soft stone was found, which might be scraped with a knife, and was used instead of chalk. A piece of blue woollen cloth did not change its colour in the water, neither did blue sugar-paper, a sign that the water contained no acid. By sugar of lead it was no otherwise affected than that it acquired the colour of milk, and with powder of Peruvian bark it became rather brown. The vein runs always equally strong, without increasing or diminishing; yet the water was said to be hotter in summer. Linen may be washed in it, without being coloured by it, and meat may be boiled in the usual manner in the bath itself, without acquiring any disagreeable taste; all which proves the purity of this water.

From

From the springs, the water, in running down, gathers together into several cavities of different sizes, in which people may sit down to use the bath. Over two of these pits small huts were erected for the convenience of the Company; and to these cold water could be brought at pleasure from a stream that ran down from the mountains. Indeed, it would be too venturesome to go alone into this bath; as the heat of the water, which increases the palpitation of the heart, drives the blood into the extremities; and the veins of the lower parts of the body, which are in the bath, become so expanded, that the blood is derived in too great a quantity from the head, and one is in danger of falling into a swoon in a quarter of an hour. Sometimes both nausea and vomiting supervene.

Among the invalids, who were here at this time for the benefit of their health, were two who had a peculiar claim to our pity. The one was a countryman, who had a malignant ulcer in his stomach, in consequence of being gored by a mischievous ox: he could not take any thing into his stomach except a very small quantity of the bath water, as he vomited continually. The other was a slave, who had a large fleshy excrescence on his right shoulder, which had pushed the arm out of joint before; this was occasioned by a smart blow on the shoulder-blade, that he had received by a fall.

The *mesembryanthemum edule* grew here in great abundance, and especially in the sandy plains, and was called Hottentots figs (Hottentots Vygen) the fruit when ripe and peeled, tasting tolerably well; it varies greatly in the colour of its blossoms, which are sometimes red; at other times, carnation, yellow, or white.

On the 9th of October we passed over Maurice's Heights to Koree. From this hill the mountain, in one of its sloping sides, was seen to consist of slate (*schistus scriptura candida*) in laminas, but very brittle and unfit for writing upon. On the other side of this eminence were seen also the Carrow Plains, which are very dry, sterile, and bare of grass, being covered with a great number of succulent plants only, and bushes.

The prickly bush of the *arduina bispinosa* now bore ripe berries, which were said to be eaten by the Hottentots.

I had here an opportunity of seeing the same operation performed upon a great number of lambs, as I had before seen done with respect to oxen: the farmer himself castrating them with a small knife, with which he laid open the scrotum. The testicles then were drawn out successively, and very dexterously separated.

In this place, where the farms stand closer together than elsewhere, the sheep were marked, and particularly in the ears. When it rained any great length of time, the sheep grew stiff, and some of them died. In consequence of this, they were also attacked with the dropsy (*ascites*), which the peasants cured by tapping them in the belly.

The sheep are sometimes shorn in this country, though the wool is seldom made use of; but the sheep-skins are frequently given to the slaves unshorn.

The *zygophyllum morgesana*, a handsome shrub, now adorned the hills with its blossoms, and appeared to be very proper for arbours.

A place or fold, where sheep as well as horned cattle were inclosed in the open air, was called a Kraal. This place was always near the house. It was surrounded either by a mud-wall or by very prickly bushes. For the purpose of letting the cattle in or out, an opening was left, before which was placed a gate or door. In these parts, where there was plenty of wood, these kraals were inclosed by felled trees, consisting of the *mimosa nilotica* and *arduina bispinosa*, the most prickly of any almost in all Africa. These fences keep off wolves, foxes, and other beasts of prey, as well in consequence of their breadth, as by their prickles.

The

The *mimosa nilotica*, while it is cutting down, may sometimes happen to fall upon a man, and its prickles to enter deep into his body, on which occasion they may chance to break off, and stick fast in it.

The antelopes eat the leaves of the *mimosa nilotica*, and frequently the prickles of it run into their feet without doing them any injury.

In the crevices of the mountains a great number of Dasses (*cavia capensis*) were found, which were generally supposed to have the menstrual flux: and the sand-hills to the right harboured near the summit of their sides a deep white sand, which was driven about by the wind.

In a river, which had a small creek, and in this a deep hole, I saw in miniature the manner in which Nature forms whirlpools, or Maalstroms. Above the hole, the froth and other impurities were carried round in a direction contrary to that of the current, and were drawn down in the centre.

On account of the flooding of the rivulets we were obliged to remain here a few days; and from hence we took our route on the 14th over the river Koree, which we crossed twice, and afterwards passed over Sand River, which is frequently dried up, to Riet Fontein (Reed Fountain) and farther over Clas Vogt's Rivier, to a farm which at this time belonged to one Le Roux.

The *viscum capense*, a parasitic plant, was seen diffeminated every where on the branches of trees (especially of the *rhus*) by means of its berries, which the birds are fond of.

On the 15th, passing by Gert's house, we crossed a very deep river, in our way to Philip Bota's: and went from thence past Droski's house to Jacob Bota's.

Here they shewed me a specimen of cat-silver (*mica argentea*) found in the mountains, which was mixed with a transparent and irregularly crystallized calcareous spar; as also a kind of bitumen, which the country-people were pleased to call Dasses-p—; supposing it to be the inspissated urine of the great mountain-rat (*cavia capensis*) that is found there. I was informed that this bitumen was to be found in great abundance in the cracks and crevices of the mountain, especially at one large projecting krants, or summit. The bitumen was very impure, and known to the country-people on account of its great use in fractures.

The branches of the wax-thrubb (*myrica cordifolia*), the berries of which are covered with a fat substance resembling bees-wax, were put whole into a pot of boiling-water, in order to melt and skim off the wax. It resembles grey impure wax, is harder than tallow, and somewhat softer than wax. The farmers use it for candles, but the Hottentots eat it like a piece of bread, either with or without meat.

On the 17th, passing by Bruynties Rivier and Leeuwe Rivier (Lion River), we came to Keureboom's Rivier, which is so named from the trees (*sophora capensis*) which grow near it in abundance.

An infusion of the root of *asclepias undulata* was used as a remedy for the cholic.

Crystals of gypsum, which were said to be found in the mountains of Africa, were used for cleansing ulcers, when pounded and sprinkled upon them.

On the 18th we passed Pulpas Valley and Rivier, and arrived at Zwellendam, the residence of one of the Company's land-drosts, whose jurisdiction extends over all the interior part of the country that lies beyond the spot, and whose office is in some respect, though not absolutely, similar to that of the governor of a province.

The acrid berries of the *fagara capensis* were used both here and in other parts of the country in the cholic.

After dining with the land-droft, M. Mentz, by whom we were received with the greatest hospitality, we continued our journey across the broad river, known by the name of Buffeljagt's Rivier, to one of the Company's posts, called Riet Valley (Reed Valley), where we stayed several days, to arrange the collections we had made, and to repair our wretched carriage, which had been shattered to pieces by the strong and mountainous road; a cart so small, old, and crazy, that probably nobody, either before or after us, can boast of having made, in such a vehicle, so long and dangerous a journey into this mountainous country.

The plains now began to abound more in grass, and looked something like meadows. The mountains which had followed us, as it were, all the way from Roode Zand, now terminated gradually in large declivities like steps and hills. In the same proportion, likewise, the herds of cattle became larger, and occurred more frequently; while the vineyards and corn-fields which, however, were not wanting as yet, grew more and more scarce.

We were told that infectious distempers frequently prevailed among the cattle here, and that the Boandziekte was not uncommon. It was described as first attacking the lungs and liver, and then the other parts of the body; in consequence of which the flesh became so soft and tender, that there was hardly any cohesion left between the fibres.

Not far from this farm of the Company's, which particularly furnishes it with large timber, in a cleft in the mountains, stood a large wood, called Grootvader's Bosch, or Grandfather's Wood. To this we made an excursion, with a view of becoming acquainted with the indigenous trees of Africa. After passing by a farm-house called Rietkeul, we arrived at Duyvenhoek's Rivier, at a spot which had obtained the name of Helle (or hell) on account of the mountain at this part forming a very deep valley. The forest was very thick and lofty, but unfortunately the trees at this season had neither blossom nor fruit on them, to satisfy my curiosity.

Camassie-hout was a very fine sort of wood, used for the borders of chests of drawers, and of other pieces of furniture.

Stink-hoot (stink-wood), which resembles the walnut-tree, is a tall tree, and is used for making writing-desks and chests of drawers.

Geel-hout, or yellow wood (*ilex crocea*), is a large tree, the wood of which is very heavy, more or less of a pale yellow colour, and is used for making tables.

A rock crystal that was found here was shown to me, of the length of the little finger, and pointed at both ends.

A species of pepper (*piper capense*) that was found in abundance in the wood here, was called by the country people Staart Pepper or tail-pepper, and used by them as a spice.

We left our cart at the Company's post, and in the place of it procured a large wagon tilted over with sail-cloth, together with ten fresh oxen to continue our intended expedition to the coast of Caffraria.

Not far from this farm there lived a few Hottentots, who were sometimes employed in the service of the farm and the Company. They were quite mad after brandy and tobacco, and seemed to place their whole delight in filth and stench. Their bodies were besmeared all over with grease, and powdered with the powder of Eucku (*diosma*); and to show us respect as strangers, they had painted themselves besides with red and black streaks. The women wore a triangular piece of skin, and the men a bag or pouch, on the fore-part of their bodies, for the sake of decency. Round the neck, arms, and waist, they were decorated with strings of blue, white, red, and

motley coloured glass-beads in several rows. Some of them wore rings of iron, brass, or leather round their arms. A sheep-skin, thrown over their hips, and another over their back, constituted the whole of their apparel. The tobacco-pipe was continually in their mouths. They subsist upon their cattle, and upon bulbous roots, which they are very ready at finding out and digging up in the fields.

For want of clocks, the colonists always measure time by the course of the sun.

On the 23d and 24th we passed over Krakous Rivier, and Krakous Heights (Krakous Hoogt), and at noon arrived at Vett Rivier, and afterwards crossing this river, passed by several farm-houses.

In these plains the aloe-tree (*aloe perfoliata*), from the leaves of which the gum aloe distils, grew in greater abundance than I ever observed it to do in any other place.

The sheep here were feeding on various poisonous plants, such as the *rhus lucidum*, *lycium afrum*, &c.

On the 25th we visited Martin Lagrans, at Palmit Rivier, a farmer, who had as many fowls as supplied him with a hundred eggs every day.

From thence crossing Zoet-melks Rivier (New-milk River), and passing by Zwarte Valley, or Black Vale, we came to a farm called Wel te Vrede (Well satisfied) near Valse Rivier (or False River).

Hard-by Zwarte Valley, to the left, the rock plainly appeared to contain iron.

On the 27th passing by Groote Valley, or the Great Valley, and crossing the broad river, called Goud's River, we arrived at Daniel Pinard's.

Here we were informed, the *rabies canina* and *vulpina* had prevailed.

I observed that the peasants here practised a curious method of clearing their poultry-houses from vermin. These houses are constructed of clay, almost like large ovens; and when they are infected with vermin, the owners have nothing more to do, than to put a little straw into them, and set it on fire, in order to be rid of those unwelcome guests.

On the 28th, we passed by a large rock, which, on account of its harbouring bees, has obtained the name of the Honey Rock (Honing Klip), and reached a farm-house, situated near Attaquas Kloof. The Honey Rock yields, at a great distance, a remarkable echo, that repeats several syllables successively, on which account it was an object of attention to us in this place.

The wood of the olive-tree (*olea capensis*), which was white and very heavy, served to make chairs of.

It is true, wheat was not sown here in great quantities, but the soil was said to be so fertile, and the roots of the thinly-sown corn to branch out so much, that every grain always produced several ears. They assured us that they had frequently counted twenty, nay, as far as eighty ears, that proceeded from one root. This I conceived to be scarcely credible, and in order to gain more accurate information on this subject, I undertook to count them myself in the field; when I found, that from one single grain of wheat, a great many ears had frequently sprung up, though the number of those that I examined, did not amount to more than one and forty.

The Hottentots we had hitherto met with in our expedition had either been brought up by the Europeans, or in the neighbourhood of their farms, and consequently were often much altered from their natural state. Those we visited now, and especially after this period, lived mostly at a greater distance from the Europeans, had sometimes villages and families of their own, and presented themselves to us more and more in a state of nature, that is to say, in the state in which we were desirous of becoming better acquainted with them.

A century ago it was much easier to search into, and get acquainted with, the peculiar manners and mode of living of this people, at which period they dwelt nearer the Cape, were more numerous, and enjoyed their pristine liberty. Now, the way to their abodes is very long, their societies small, their manners and way of life much altered, and the whole nation under great restraint.

Some of those that lived as servants with the colonists spoke Dutch tolerably well. When the farmers first settled in this part of the world, they found the Hottentots to be very much afraid of gunpowder and fire-arms, not being able, as they expressed themselves, to form the least idea of their arrows, meaning their balls, of which, after they were shot, they could not discern the flight; nor of their screws, which they could not pull out again, as they could nails.

We heard frequent mention made of a Hottentot, who had died a few years before, and who, in consequence of having been tossed by a wild buffalo, had lost the whole of his lower jaw, notwithstanding which, he had lived twelve or thirteen years after the accident. He could not speak a word; as for his victuals, he pounded them between two stones, (which are commonly used by the Hottentots instead of a pestle and mortar,) and then crammed them down his throat with his fingers. He made, likewise, shift to smoke tobacco, by holding his hand over the aperture. At last he had the good fortune to shoot the very buffalo which had brought this disaster upon him.

The leaves of the *atrageus visicatoria* were used by the country-people in this and other places, instead of Cantharides. Bruised, and applied to any part of the body, in the space of half an hour they raised a large blister, which keeps open a long time. The root also cut into slices, and applied to any part of the body, draws so powerfully, that if it lies on all night the sore will keep open for a month. This plant grew chiefly near the precipices of mountains, and is used in rheumatic and other pains.

All along from Roode Zand; we had now proceeded nearly due south-east, through a country surrounded on both sides with mountains, of which the ridge that lay to the right of us was now at an end, without reaching as far as the sea-shore. The ridge we had on our left stretched still farther on, so that, as we wished to penetrate deeper into the country, we were under the necessity of crossing it.

Such a passage may be effected through Attaquas Kloof, a vale of such a length, that it requires almost a day's journey to pass through it.

On the 29th, we took a resolution to send our waggon this way, with Mr. Immelman, and to make a round on horseback ourselves, through the verdant and woody country of the Hautniquas, (which lay to the right of us, and extended quite to the sea-shore,) and afterwards to cross the mountains in another place, and join our waggon in Lange Kloof.

With this view, passing by Little and Great Black Rivers, we came to Zout Fontein, a farm, belonging to a man of the name of Vivier; afterwards we rode through a woody dale, and past a colony, where we saw only a few Hottentots tending the cattle, and at last arrived at Klein Fontein, or the Little Fountain, near Wittel's Rivier.

The following days we continued our journey past two or three colonists' houses, to George Bota, at his farm of Sandvliet, near Keerom Rivier, where we rested ourselves a little. In our road we caught a yellow serpent, six inches long, and not venomous, under some stones.

Of the bark of the *anthyllis*, the Hottentots have the art of making ropes, by means of which they ascend trees, as by a ladder, when they want to get honey out of them. For this purpose, they first tie a noose round the trunk, in which they put one foot, then they

they fasten another noose higher up, and when mounted in that, untie the former, and so on.

Roads, that can be properly so called, are not to be found in all this southern part of Africa; yet the way which people in general take, when they travel, is pretty well beaten in the neighbourhood of the Cape; farther down in the country, indeed, very often not the least vestige of a road appears. Therefore, in plains that are either very extensive, or covered with underwood, it may easily happen that a traveller shall lose his way; so that he ought to be well acquainted with, and accurately observe, the marks, by which he may get into the right road again. He must see then whether there be any sheep's-dung in the field, which shews that there is a farm-house in the vicinity; and likewise, whether he can discover any herds of cattle grazing, or any corn-field.

The country here, in general, consisted of extensive plains, full of rich pasture, interspersed with hillocks and valleys, that abounded in wood and water.

The trees in the woods were large and tall, but for the most part crooked and misshapen, and at the same time covered with moss, like those in the northern regions.

The Hottentot women here wore a little cockle-shell (*nerita bistrio*, and the *cypræa moneta*), by way of ornament, both on their caps, and round their wrists, in the form of bracelets. Their cap is a slip of buffalo leather, of a hand's breadth, without any crown, ornamented on the outside with these shells in various rows, according to the different taste and wealth of the owner.

The Hottentots of this place had a custom, which is not general with this nation, of wearing a bag of leather, that hung by a strap over their shoulders, quite down on their hips. At the lower end it was ornamented with thongs of leather, like fringes, to which were tied shells, that made a rattling noise. This bag served to keep various articles in.

Other Hottentot women wore on their heads a striped conical cap, made of several narrow slips of black, white, and brown lamb-skins, in their natural state, sewed together. These caps were also, sometimes, decorated with glass beads, fixed on them in various forms, or hanging down like strings of pearls.

Round their arms and legs they generally wore rings of ox-hides, which I had here the opportunity of seeing made. The slips, cut from the hide, were beaten till they were quite round, and both the ends stuck so fast together, that it could not be perceived where they were joined. These rings they afterwards forced over their feet, wearing, especially the women, such a number of them, as to cover half the leg or more. I have also sometimes seen them wash, and afterwards grease these rings.

In the eggs of ostriches, as I was informed, a stone was sometimes found, which was set, and used for buttons.

There are instances of an European's having married a Hottentot woman, who has then been baptized. But it has more frequently happened, that a colonist, without regular marriage, has had several children by a Hottentot mistress, and that these children have been baptized when they were several years old.

In many places I observe the land to have been set on fire for the purpose of clearing it, though in a very different manner from what is done in the north. Divers plains here produce a very high sort of grass, which being of too coarse a nature, and unfit food for cattle, is not consumed, and thus prevents fresh verdure from shooting up; not to mention that it harbours a great number of serpents and beasts of prey. Such a piece of land as this, therefore, is set on fire to the end that new grass may spring up from the roots. Now if any of these places were overgrown with bushes, these latter

were burned quite black, and left standing in this sooty condition for a great length of time afterwards, to my great vexation, as well as that of other travellers, who were obliged to pass through them.

Almost every day we were wet to the skin, in consequence of deluging showers of rain, which were sometimes accompanied with thunder. Though at this season they have always fine weather near the Cape, it appeared as if winter and the rainy season had not yet taken leave of this part of the country. The rain was the more troublesome to us, as, besides that we had no opportunity of getting shelter here, and the short intervals of sun-shine were not sufficient to dry us when wet to the skin; the ground, likewise, especially of the hills, was now so wet and slippery, that our horses being, according to the invariable custom of the country, unshod, stumbled continually, and in many places we were in great danger of breaking our arms and legs.

On the 2d of November we were overtaken by some remarkably heavy showers; when we crossed Quaiman's Drift, a river which, like many other rivers here near the sea, rises and falls with the tide; and, after passing through several woody vales and rivers, at length arrived at Magerman's Kraal, a colony or grazing-farm, belonging to Frederick Seelf.

More weary and wet, or in a worse plight, we never could have been, and worse we could never have been accommodated than at this place. No European dwelt here, but a black female slave acted in her master's absence as mistress of the house, and had the superintendence over a great herd of cattle, and over the Hottentots that tended them. The house was an oblong cottage, constructed of timber, and daubed all over with clay. In this I and my companions, with a great number of Hottentots, were obliged to pass the night, happy to have some kind of shelter from the rain, wind, and cold.

As in the course of the few days since we had left our waggon, we had made some collections, and therefore could not possibly stow every thing upon our horses' backs, we were under the necessity of taking three oxen from the house above-mentioned, to carry our baggage, and three Hottentots to lead them.

Oxen are much used in these parts, when tamed and broken in by the Hottentots, to carry burdens. These oxen have a hole through the cartilage of their nose, in which is put a stick, at both ends of which are fastened straps, like a bridle, by the help of which the oxen are guided.

In different places we observed pits dug, like those in which wolves are usually caught, and in which, when well covered over by the Hottentots, buffaloes and wild beasts are taken.

The Hottentots always carry the javelin or two (Affagays) with them on their journeys. These affagays consist of an iron-spear hollowed out on each side about six inches long, with or without an iron shaft, which is sometimes round and smooth, and sometimes grooved. This spear is fastened with thongs of leather to a slender round stick, five feet long, made of the affagay wood (*curtisfia saginea*), and tapering towards the end. With these lances, which they throw with great dexterity to the distance even of one hundred paces, they defend themselves against their enemies and wild beasts, and are able to kill with them, buffaloes, and other animals.

Instead of China-vessels and calabashes, poverty had taught them to use the shells of the tortoises, which frequent the bushes in the sandy plains, particularly the *testudo minuta* and *geometrica*.

From their frequent befouling themselves, as well as from the heat of the climate, the Hottentot women have always very flabby breasts, that hang down very low. And therefore,

therefore, at the same time that they carry their infants on their back, they can with the greatest ease throw the breast to them over their shoulder. These in shape and size sometimes very much resembled calabashes; but among the curious sights that attracted our notice in this solitary place, was a Hottentot girl, whose breasts were so long, that they hung down as low as to her thighs, and were the largest that I ever saw among this people.

Here, also, I learned a curious way of baking bread speedily without an oven. The flour was kneaded up with water in the usual manner to dough, of this afterwards a thick cake was made, which was laid in the embers, and covered with them, so that in consequence of the heat communicated to it, it was soon thoroughly baked; but the ashes that adhered to it made it so dirty, that they were obliged to scrape it before they could eat it.

The Hottentots always sit before the fire, squatted down upon their hams, on which occasion the women constantly lay the covering of their modesty, which is here worn in the form of a square, underneath them. The huts in these parts were formed of wooden stakes, round, and were convex and low, and covered with straw mats, in the form of a hay-stack, with a small aperture in the front, where the fire is made.

At the dawn of day, on the 3d of November, we set out again on our journey, and crossed several rivers, such as the Krakakou, Ao, Koukuma, and Neisena. The woods we passed through were narrow, and full of prickly bushes. We could find no other passage through them than the tracks of the Hottentots, so that we were obliged to creep on all fours, and lead our horses by the bridle. Auge, the gardener, having travelled this way before, was now our guide, and we had left the Hottentots with our oxen behind us. In the afternoon, we arrived at Koukuma Rivier. We forded over one of its branches, and intended to pass through a thicket to a farm which we discovered on an eminence on the other side of this thicket, belonging to one Helgert Muller; but we had not advanced far into the wood before we had the misfortune of meeting with a large old male buffalo, which was lying down quite alone, in a spot that was free from bushes, for the space of a few square yards. He no sooner discovered Auge, who went first, than roaring horribly he rushed upon him. The gardener turning his horse short round, behind a large tree, by that means got in some measure out of the buffalo's sight, which now rushed straight forwards towards the serjeant, who followed next, and gored his horse in the belly in such a terrible manner, that 'it fell on its back that instant, with its feet turned up in the air, and all its entrails hanging out; in which state it lived almost half an hour. The gardener and the serjeant, in the meantime, had climbed up into trees, where they thought themselves secure. The buffalo, after this first achievement, now appeared to take his course towards the side where we were approaching, and, therefore, could not have failed in his way to pay his compliments to me, who all the while was walking towards him, and in the narrow pass formed by the boughs and branches of the trees, and, on account of the rustling noise these made against my saddle and baggage, had neither seen nor heard any thing of what had passed. As in my way I frequently stopped to take up plants, and put them into my handkerchief, I generally kept behind my companions, that I might not hinder their progress; so that I was now at a small distance behind them.

The serjeant had brought two horses with him for his journey. One of them had already been dispatched, and the other now stood just in the way of the buffalo, who was going out of the wood. As soon as the buffalo saw this second horse, he became more outrageous than before, and attacked it with such fury, that he not only drove his horns into the horse's breast and out again through the very saddle, but also threw it

it to the ground with such violence, that it died that very instant, and all the bones in its body were broken. Just at the moment that he was occupied with this latter horse, I came up to the opening, where the wood was so thick, that I had neither room to turn my horse round, nor to get on one side. I was therefore obliged to abandon him to his fate, and take refuge in a tolerably high tree, up which I climbed.

The buffalo having finished this his second exploit, suddenly turned round, and shaped his course the same way which we had intended to take.

From the place I was in, and the eminence I had gained, I could plainly perceive one of the horses quite dead, the other sprawling with its feet and endeavouring to rise, which it had not strength to do, and the other two horses shivering with fear, and unable to make their escape; but I could neither see nor hear any thing of my fellow-travellers and companions, which induced me to fear that they had fallen victims to the first transports of the buffalo's fury. I therefore made all possible haste to search for them, to see if I could in any way assist them; but not discovering any traces of them in the whole field of battle, I began to call out after them; when I discovered these magnanimous heroes sitting fast, like two cats, on the trunk of a tree, with their guns on their backs, loaded with fine shot, and unable to utter a single word.

I encouraged them as well as I could, and advised them to come down, and get away as fast as possible from such a dangerous place, where we ran the risk of being once more attacked. The serjeant at length burst out into tears, deploring the loss of his two spirited steeds; but the gardener was so strongly affected, that he could scarcely speak for some days after.

Thus we went back to the very spot from which we set out, and, after passing some very tiresome hills arrived at the place of our destination; but as the serjeant could not cross the river without a horse, I took him up behind me, and after having left him my horse, walked on to the house.

Here my first care was to dispatch some Hottentots to the thicket, to take the saddles off the two horses, which hereafter might be of service. These Hottentots armed themselves with lances, their usual weapons, and informed us that they had before observed that one solitary buffalo haunted that wood, which, as they said, was so spiteful, that he had been driven away from the herd by the other buffaloes, and was obliged to live alone.

No European was to be found in this place, there being none but Hottentots, nor any other hut than those which were inhabited by the Hottentots themselves, and which, on account of the vermin they harboured, no European, even in a case of the greatest necessity, could ever think of lodging in.

We were therefore obliged, with a straw mat under us, a saddle under our head, and a fire at our feet, to pass the night in the open air. Fortunately for us, the sky was very clear and serene; but at the same time the cold was so great, that we could not sleep, being obliged every hour to rise and warm ourselves all over before the fire, for the purpose of making which, we had had the foresight to order a sufficient quantity of logs and brush-wood to be brought to the hut the night before.

Hemp (*cannabis sativa*) was cultivated here by the Hottentots in a very small inclosure. This is a plant universally used in this country, though for a purpose very different from that to which it is applied by the industrious European. The Hottentot loves nothing so well as tobacco, and with no other thing can he be so easily enticed into a man's service; but for smoking, and for producing a pleasing intoxication, he finds this poisonous plant not sufficiently strong, and therefore in order to procure himself this pleasure more speedily and deliciously, he mixes his tobacco with hemp chopped
very

very fine. It is surprising, that this nation, although, before the arrival of the Europeans it had no intercourse with the rest of the world, and consequently was ignorant of the use of tobacco, should, notwithstanding, become so distractedly fond of this poisonous plant; and that for it and brandy they could be induced to sell to the Dutch a considerable portion of their land near the Cape; a transaction which has cost them so dear, both with respect to their liberty and to the land of their fore-fathers.

On the 4th we quitted this place, and in the evening reached Peter Plant's farm, called Melkhout Kraal, near the Deep River.

The serjeant was obliged to put up with an ox by way of nag for two days, as no horse was to be found hereabouts; this answered tolerably well, though it was very fatiguing, as well on account of the breadth of the ox's back, as because he could use no stirrups.

On the 5th we crossed Pisang Rivier, to go to Jacob Bota's farm, called also Pisang Rivier.

This farm, which was entirely a grazing farm, was situated not far from the sea-shore, and a whole society, consisting of more than fifty Hottentots, were here in the service of this farmer, lived in his vicinity, and were supported by him. The harbour here was very wide and beautiful.

The farmer himself was not at home, having set out for the Cape that very day; but an old faithful Hottentot was in the mean-time our kind and attentive host, and gave us all necessary assistance.

My two fellow-travellers, not having yet got the better of their terror, and wearied out with the many crosses they had met with in the course of their journey, now resolved here to set bounds at once to their dangers and their curiosity, small as this latter was, and to make the best of their way back from hence to the Cape, where they might get more wine to drink, and be less liable to be frightened by buffaloes. But when I represented to them what a cowardly appearance this would have, and that they had made but a small collection as yet, likewise that we were separated from our waggon, our other fellow-traveller, and the rest of our baggage; adding besides, that though they should accompany me no farther, I was nevertheless determined to pursue my journey, they were at last persuaded to alter their resolution.

However, I let my doleful companions rest here for a few days, while I visited the sea-shore, and the adjacent mountains, which were covered with shrubs and bushes of various kinds, and particularly with the *arduina bispinosa*, so that in several places they were impenetrable; and in these I was frequently so much entangled, that I was obliged to crawl for a long way on the tops of the stiff bushes, which with their sharp prickles tore my hands and clothes all to tatters. The bare-footed Hottentot who accompanied me, was so much lacerated and so bloody, as to be a real object of compassion; but in my search after plants, having lost my way in the thicket, we had no other resource left. At the foot of the mountains were flat rocks, on which seals lay sleeping in the sun; a circumstance, whence the mountain has its name of Robbeberg (or Seal Mountain). It projects a great way into the sea, like a peninsula, and is covered with small sea-shells (*conchæ*).

The Robbeberg is a singular mountain, and different from any other that I have seen in Africa. Its middlemost stratum is a very firm concretion of round and irregularly-shaped pebbles, and indurated lime, about four fathoms broad. It perfectly resembles a piece of masonry. The uppermost stratum appeared to me to be a brownish rock. The lowermost is sand-stone. On another side of the mountain there is a heap of indurated sand, which the water has scooped holes into. In some places the sand had
concreted

concreted with clay in a tubular form, and large masses of it had fallen down. The flat foot of the mountain, towards the sea, had various holes in it of different sizes, some of them as round as if they had been turned, and others oblong. On one side, the lowest stratum was a whitish-grey quartz, that was greasy to the touch. The mountain had, moreover, long clefts and crevices, in which hung a number of thick stalactites, covered with a fine down-like substance, which was sometimes quite green. The sandstone was of a very fine grain.

The *Strelitzia*, with its yellow flowers and blue *nectarium*, grew near this spot, and was one of the most beautiful plants, of which the bulbs were procured to send to Europe. The Hottentots were said to eat the fruit of it.

The Hottentots were at no great pains in dressing their victuals. Buffalo's flesh was merely cut into slices, and then smoked, and at the same time half broiled in the embers over a few coals; this was eaten without bread, though, perhaps, it was in the first stage of putrefaction.

It is a custom among the Hottentots, that if a cow is barren, she must be killed; but in this case its flesh is eaten by married people only, and not by those that are single.

Grease is the great dainty of the Hottentots, which they are not only fond of eating, but can also drink without finding any inconvenience from it.

The small huts of the Hottentots are at times so full of vermin, both of the hopping and creeping kind, as not to be habitable by them: they are then forced to remove them to another place, a removal which does not take a very long time, neither is it particularly expensive. I have seen it performed with the greatest agility and dispatch. First, a few withies were fixed in the earth, and bent in the form of arches to determine the height of the hut, and give it a rotund figure. These are afterwards covered with rushes, or mats made of rushes (*Cyperus textilis*), which keep out both wind and rain. All round the bottom dung is laid, to make the hut tight and close in that part.

Su Koa (Pottellaan) was the name given by the Hottentots to a drum they sometimes used to beat to their music. Over a pot with water in it was extended a sheep-skin, which had previously been well soaked, and was tied round the edge of the pot with a leathern thong. The fingers of the left-hand being placed near the edge, and the thumb in the middle, they beat with the two first fingers of the right-hand upon the other edge, which produced a dull heavy sound, that had nothing pleasing in it. To this wretched music a Hottentot would dance in the following manner: holding in his right-hand a string fastened to the roof or wall, and remaining on the same spot, he hopped first on one foot, and then upon the other, all the while beating time with them. During this he writhed his body in various curves, and threw his head from one shoulder to the other in a semicircular direction; all the while singing, and all this to a certain modulation. One of these dances will sometimes last a considerable time, and throws the dancer into a violent perspiration. They always wipe the sweat off their faces with a fox's tail.

I observed several things for which the Hottentots had no words in their own language, such as Coffee, Housings, Company (Compagnie).

The women carried their infants on their backs under the sheep-skin, which they call a Krofs; the child was fastened by a leathern strap that went round the mother's and its own neck, and was farther secured by another strap that passed over the krofs under its posteriors, the mother all the while attending to her business as usual.

Some of the women here wore strings of glass-beads round their legs, others had the dependent sides of their krofs ornamented with beads, which, among other things, they receive of the farmers for their wages. Others had a tortoise-shell hanging at their backs,

in which they preserved either their tobacco or bucku (*diosma*). For want of clay tobacco-pipes they use wooden ones.

The farmers themselves, for want of proper vessels, were often obliged to keep their milk and honey in leathern bags.

The fields hereabouts were full of wild buffaloes, so that it was not uncommon to see a hundred or two of them in a herd. They generally lie still in the thickets and woods in the day-time, and in the night go out into the fields to graze.

The house in which we were lodged was roomy and large, well constructed of clay, with doors, and with shutters before the window-holes, as glass windows could not be easily procured from so great a distance as the Cape. The whole roof in the kitchen was hung with thick slices of buffalo's flesh, which, being dried and smoked, they eat as hung-beef.

Buffaloes were shot here by a Hottentot, who had been trained to this business by the farmer, and in this manner found the whole family in meat, without having recourse to the herd. The balls were counted out to him every time he went a shooting, and he was obliged to furnish the same number of dead buffaloes as he received of balls. Thus the many Hottentots that lived here were supported without expence, and without the decrease of the tame cattle, which constitute the whole of the farmer's wealth. The greatest part of the flesh of the buffalo falls to the share of the Hottentots, but the hide to that of the master.

The Hottentots dressed the buffaloes' hides in the following manner: the hide was stretched out on the ground by means of stakes, after which warm ashes were strewed over it, and the hair scraped off with a knife or spade.

For want of the shoes usually worn in other places, which could not be procured so far up in the country, and which frequently even the farmers at the Cape cannot afford to buy, they generally wear here what are called field-shoes, which the country-people usually make themselves, in a way peculiar to them, for the most part of buffalo leather, sometimes of neats leather, and sometimes, though more rarely, of the striped hide of the zebra.

It was pleasing to observe with what cordiality the Hottentots, as well those who lived upon the farm, as the strangers who had accompanied us hither, offered each other the regale of the tobacco-pipe. Having set themselves down in a circle, the pipe went from one to the other round the whole company. Each man taking a few large whiffs, at last gets his mouth full of smoke, a small part of which he swallows, and puffs out the remainder through his nose and mouth.

From the woods of Houtniquas the peasants, who live near the district of Muscle Bay, fell both rough and cut timber, notwithstanding the length and roughness of the road; but from hence the farmers have nothing else to carry to market, except oxen for slaughter, and butter. If any kind of navigation were set on foot, either from this coast or from Muscle Bay, the carriage would be easier, and the commodities, especially the timber, cheaper; but this has as yet either not been thought of, or else, perhaps, it has not been deemed of any use.

Our crest-fallen serjeant having now in some measure recovered his spirits, and procured the loan of a saddle-horse here, we resumed our journey on the 10th of November, travelling up the country, and towards the mountains, in hopes, on the other side of them, of meeting with our waggon, and better fortune. Passing by another farm, belonging to Bota, we went through two rivers to Malagafs Kraal; and afterwards proceeded up Keureboom's Rivier to Jackall's Kraal.

At Keureboom's Rivier, Houtniquas Land terminated on this side, a land abounding in grafs, wood, and buffaloes. We farther rode over the mountains, and all along them beyond Keureboom's Rivier to Peter Jager's farm.

Here we were refreshed, thirfty as we were, with Hottentots sack-milk, as it is called, which, perhaps, few travellers, unless urged by extreme thirst, will be able to prevail on themselves to taste. It is a very acid, cool, and refreshing milk, remarkable as well for the vessel in which it is kept, as for its great age. I had formerly imagined, that the four milk of Norrland (in Sweden), which is several months old, was the oldest milk in the world, but I now found that the Hottentots sack-milk might at least be considered as grand-mother to the Norrland milk. The vessel in which it is kept, is the hide of an antelope (*Eland*, *Capra Oreas*), which is sewed up close together, and hung up against the wall. Other hides were said to be not so fit for the purpose. In one of these sacks thus hung up, new milk is put, which turns sour and coagulates. Every day more new milk is poured in, which likewise soon coagulates, as the sack is not cleaned out for the space of several months at least, and frequently not for a year or two.

The Hottentots seldom churn any butter; and when they do, it is only to besmear themselves with. The Maquas Hottentots are said to churn in the following manner: new milk is poured into a leather bag, which two Hottentots holding by the ends, shake the milk in it from one end to the other, till it coagulates.

On the 11th, we passed over the very lofty mountains that lead to Lange Kloof, in our way to farmer Matthew Zondag's. Watery clouds hung all over the mountains, by the piercing vapours of which, though it did not rain, we were wetted quite to the skin. The sides of the mountain that we passed over, were sometimes so steep, and the path so narrow, that we did not cross it but at the hazard of our lives, and shuddered when we looked down the precipice. The country on the other side, or Lange Kloof, was very elevated, in comparison with that from whence we came, and consequently the mountains there were low, when compared with the dreadful height which they exhibited on the other side, towards the sea coast.

At this farm they made soap from a ley, prepared from the Canna Bush (*Salsola Aphylla*), which was boiled a long time and inspissated; when mutton suet was added till the mass acquired a proper consistence. It was then poured out, and formed into long squares.

On the 13th, we paid a visit to Peter Frere, a man who was a great hunter of elephants, and had made long journeys, as far as into the country of the Caffres. Among other particulars, he informed us, that the Hottentots cannot count farther than five in their own language.

On the 16th, going from this man's farm here, called Misgunst (or Envy), on the banks of Diep Rivier (or the Deep River), we passed by another farm of his, near Aapies Rivier, in our way to Klipp-drift, and afterwards across Krakeel Rivier, to Matthew Streidung's.

Here I saw a great number of tombs, consisting of small heaps of stones. I strictly enquired after their origin, but no European could give me any account of them. An old Hottentot informed me, that the inhabitants of this tract had died of ulcers, in great numbers, which gave me no small reason to conclude, that this place had been well inhabited, and even populous, and that it was the small-pox which had made this extraordinary devastation.

On the 17th, after passing Peter Nickert's farm, called Onverwagt, we went over Waageboom's Rivier, to Henry Kruger's.

The wild Turkey (*Tantalus*), which now began to make its appearance, was said to quit the country during the winter, and to return in the months of September and October.

The Meloë Chichorei, with its many varieties, devoured the beans, and other products of the gardens.

In Lange Kloof it is very cold in the winter, and snow falls, just as at the back of Witfen Mountain.

On the 18th, we arrived at Thomas Frere's, near Kromme Rivier (or Crooked River).

The country as far as here, gradually sank lower and lower as it proceeded towards the sea-shore, so that Lange Kloof was far more elevated than the country about Kromme Rivier.

On the 19th we arrived at Essebosch, a fine forest, in almost a plain and level country. It had rained the whole day, and it continued pouring during the evening and night, so that being wet to the skin, we were under the necessity, four of us, to crouch under the tilt of our waggon, in expectation of better weather in the morning. The Hottentots, who accompanied us, were obliged to take shelter under the waggon, as it was quite impossible to keep up any fire.

On the 20th, fair weather and sun-shine; but as we could not get at any dry clothes, we were obliged to let those we had on, dry on our bodies in the sun. We now rode on to Diep Rivier, Leuwe-bosch Rivier, and so on to Zee-ko Rivier.

Here we were informed, that lions were sometimes seen in the mountains, and that they had formerly resorted thither in great numbers; but were now mostly extirpated.

The Bread-tree (*Zamia Caffra*) is a species of palm, which grows on the hills, below the mountains, in these tracts. It was of the height and thickness of a man at most, very much spread, and single. I have sometimes seen from one root, two or three stems spring. It is out of the pith (*medulla*) of this tree, that the Hottentots contrive to prepare their bread. For this purpose, after scooping out the pith, they bury it in the earth, and leave it there for the space of two months to rot, after which they knead it, and make it into a cake, which, in their usual slovenly and filthy manner, they slightly bake in the embers. I observed that the tree stood in dry sterile places, between stones, and grew slowly.

At Kromme Rivier, a shell-fish (*Solen filiqua*) was said to be found in holes in the banks, which it is impossible to catch by digging after it; but the method of fishing for it was, by running a stake into it, and then drawing it out.

The ridge of mountains, which at Roode Zand we had on our left hand, and afterwards in Lange-kloof on the right, and which were continued quite from Witfenberg, now terminated here before it reached the sea-shore; whereas the ridges on our left hand were continued farther, and had the Carrow plains behind them.

The berries of the Guarri bush (*euclaea undulata*) had a sweet taste, and were eaten by the Hottentots. Bruised and fermented, they yield a vinegar, like that made from Pontac.

The *crassula tetragona*, as being somewhat of an astringent nature, boiled in milk, in the quantity of a handful, is used as a remedy for the diarrhœa.

On the 22d, we arrived at Jacob Kock's, near the mouth of Sea-cow River, not far from the sea-shore, a man whom we now visited for the second time in the course of our journey.

The interior coat of the stomach of sheep, dried, pulverized, and taken inwardly, was said to excite vomiting, and to be serviceable in fevers.

The blood of a hare was asserted to be a cure for the St. Anthony's Fire, if rags dipped into it, and then dried, were worn upon the body, but not applied to the part affected.

Many people here likewise concurred in assuring us, that the blood of a tortoise, used externally, as well as internally, was of the greatest service to such as were wounded by a poisoned arrow.

At this place we staid several days, as well with a view to regulate and put in order what we had already collected, as to investigate all the neighbourhood, and likewise to give rest and pasture to our weary and emaciated cattle.

During this time, however, we made a journey on horseback to Cabelijauw Rivier, and from thence to Camtour's Rivier, which is very broad and deep, and by which also Loois Rivier empties itself into the ocean.

Hottentots and Caffres lived promiscuously near this river, as on the frontier of the two countries, the real Caffraria beginning several miles further up in the country.

The Caffres that lived here, were taller than the Hottentots, more undaunted and valiant, better made, blacker, and stronger. They wore round their arms, by way of ornament, rings, either of iron or ivory, and were armed with javelins, which they knew much better how to manage than the Hottentots did. The ivory rings were half an inch in breadth, and they general wore several of them on each arm.

Their dances were extremely curious. Two or more of them placing themselves side by side, or back to back, balanced themselves on their toes, striking the ground now and then with their heels; during which, they moved every limb, and almost every muscle, especially their eyes, forehead, neck, head, mouth, and chin, keeping time in every motion. The music to this dance was a rough screaming kind of singing, accompanied sometimes with a whistling noise, to produce which, they drew their lips on one side, shewing their teeth, from between which the sound issued. The women kept running about all the while, singing and jumping to the same time, with a continual motion of their head and limbs.

In the tip of one ear they had a hole, in which was stuck a porcupine's quill.

We were shewn here ear-rings of two different shapes, made of copper, mixed with silver, which they said they had obtained from nations living farther up in the country.

Here too we saw baskets wrought by the Hottentots, that were so tight and close, as to hold milk or water. Bottles also made of the bladders of the rhinoceros, were used for the same purpose.

The Caffres, as well as the Hottentots, have in each village, or horde, a chieftain, on whom they frequently bestow that appellation of captain, and who is their leader in their hunting expeditions, and against their enemies.

These nations, though destitute of fire-arms, nevertheless kill buffaloes and wild beasts with their javelins, called assagays. When a Caffre has discovered a spot where several buffaloes has assembled, he blows a pipe, made of the thigh-bone of a sheep, which is heard at a great distance. In consequence of this, several of his comrades run up to the spot, and surrounding the buffaloes, and at the same time approaching them by degrees, throw their javelins at them. In this case, out of eight or twelve buffaloes, it is very rare for one to escape. It sometimes happens, however, that while the buffaloes are running off the premises, some one of the hunters, who stands in the

way.

way of them, is tossed and killed, which, by the people of this nation, is not much regarded. When the chase is over, each cuts off his share of the game that is killed.

Besides the wild animals they may chance to take in hunting, the Caffres, who inhabit the most delightful meadows that can be imagined along the coast, possess large herds of tame horned cattle. Their oxen are commonly easy to be distinguished from others, as they cut them in the lower part of the neck, in such a manner, that long slips of skin hang down from it; they likewise do the same with respect to their ears, and force their horns to grow in various singular forms. The Company got formerly from them and the Hottentots, a great number of cattle, fit for slaughter, in exchange for tobacco, brandy, glass-beads, and bits of iron; but now this is seldom the case, although this traffic is prohibited to all the farmers.

The Hottentots, in the service of the colonists, frequently use tobacco-pipes of clay, though these are so short, that the bowl of the pipe comes into contact with their lips. They are short, because in the carriage of them to so great a distance from the Cape, they are apt to break. But otherwise, both Caffres and Hottentots use a pipe, either made of a long, slender, and hollow stick, with a hole near one end of it, in which is put another hollow stick that is short, and has at top a cylindrical stone, which is hollowed out, and is the bowl that holds the tobacco; or instead of the long stick, an antelope's horn, viz. of the *capra oryx*, near the pointed end of which is bored a hole; in this is put a short hollow stick, and upon that the stone-bowl. In smoking, they stretch their mouths over the wide end of the horn, and draw in a few large whiffs. The smoke they keep some time in their mouths, and then swallowing a part, puff the rest out again. The pipe then passes on to the next, and so goes round the whole circle. When strangers come to a kraal or village, they are always treated with the tobacco-pipe, which circulates in due form from one to the other.

The Hottentots had boiling vessels of burnt clay, of their own making.

The beans of the *guajacum afrum*, though a poisonous shrub, are boiled and eaten by the Hottentots. Their water they keep in the intestines of animals. The women who carried their children on their backs, gave them suck under their arms, by bending the little creatures' heads down to the breast.

Sea-horses (or Sea-cows, Hippopotamus) were still to be seen in great numbers in Camptour's River; though many of them have been shot of late, and consequently their number has been greatly diminished. The *processus mamillaris* of this animal was said to be an effectual remedy for the stone and gravel. We wounded indeed several of these huge beasts, but could not kill them; neither did any of them come up the following night, though we staid till the next morning.

A few Hottentots who had pitched their tents here, for the purpose of consuming a sea-horse that had been shot some time before, lived in the midst of such a stench, that we could hardly pass by them without being suffocated.

A great number of the Caffres accompanied us back to Sea-cow River, and displayed various specimens of their arts, probably with a view of getting some of our good tobacco, to which they had taken a particular fancy.

We were told here, that a colonist had been bitten in the foot some time before by a serpent, of the species called Ringhals (or Ringneck) as he was walking along in the grass barefoot, as is the custom here, in default of shoes and stockings, which the peasants seldom wear, except when they go up to Cape Town or to church. I informed myself accurately of the symptoms produced by the bite. It seems the man was several miles distant from home when he met with this accident. He then immediately dispatched his slave to his house to bring him a horse with all speed, on which he went home,

home, after having bound up his leg tight, in order to prevent the poison from spreading upwards. On his return home he grew so sleepy, that his wife could not, without great difficulty, keep him awake. He also became quite blind in an instant, and remained so for the space of a fortnight. His leg was swelled to such a degree, that the flesh covered the bandage over, like a sheath, inasmuch that it could not easily be removed. An incision was made round the wound with a knife, and the foot washed with salt-water. He drank new milk copiously, and that to the quantity of several pails-full in a night, but cast it all up again. After this the serpent-stone was applied to the wound. By means of this he gradually recovered; but still, though it is now several years since the accident happened, he has pains in the part on any change of weather, and at times the wound breaks completely out again.

The cattle, which constituted the farmer's wealth in these plains, were subject to several, and those peculiar, diseases.

The *Tung-ziekte* is a disease of the cattle, in which vesicles or bladders break out on the tongue, discharging a thin ichorous matter. In consequence of this distemper the cattle cannot eat, but grow lean, and sometimes die. The farmers are accustomed to rub the bladders off with salt.

The *Klaw-ziekte* is a disease, in which the hoofs of the cattle grow loose, so that they cannot walk. It appears to proceed from the summer heats, especially if the oxen have been driven on journeys in the day-time. This distemper is esteemed here to be infectious. It is certain, that it attacks one ox after another successively, so that I have seen whole droves affected with it; but it seems to me rather to proceed from some common and general cause than from infection. At first they are lamed by it, and afterwards become unfit for journeys. This disease, however, leaves them in general of its own accord in the course of one or two weeks.

I saw some Chinese hogs here belonging to different farmers.

A yellow *Chrysomela* devoured and did great damage to the culinary vegetables in the gardens.

In the beginning of December we directed our course back again, after we had refreshed our oxen, and visited the country farther up than it has as yet, on that side of the Cape, been inhabited by Europeans.

In our journey up Lange Kloof, I observed at one farm, the no less convenient than advantageous contrivances of the husbandmen to apply the rivulets that run down from the mountains, to the watering of their vineyards and gardens. The water is always conducted over these lands in a channel to the more elevated parts, from whence they let down little rivulets or streams between the vines and beds. When there is no occasion for watering, these streamlets are stopped up with a little earth. By the same methods water was carried to mills, fish-ponds, and other places.

On the 6th we returned to Matthew Zondag's, and on the 7th arrived at Wolfekraal; on the 8th, having crossed Keureboom's Rivier, we proceeded to Diep Rivier, and on the 10th came to Gans Kraal (Goose Kraal). Behind the low mountains lay Camenassie Land.

The sickles for reaping corn were jagged at the edge like a saw.

The *lycyperdon carcinomale* grew here on the ant-hills, the brown powder of which was said to be used in cancers.

On the 10th we came to Ezelsjagt; on the 11th to Dorn Rivier (or Thorn River), afterwards to Groote Dorn Rivier, keeping always to the right, and leaving Attaquas Kloof to the left.

On the 13th we crossed the barren Carrow plain, and paid a visit to Gert van Nimwegen.

The sheep here ate the tender leaves of the *mimosa nilotica*.

The Meloë Cichorei did great damage to the apple-trees and other vegetables in the gardens, the leaves of which they consumed entirely.

A *mesembryanthemum*, with a white flower, was chewed by the Hottentots, for the purpose of quenching their thirst, after it had been suffered to putrify, and been properly prepared.

A species of Coccus, called Harpuys, that was found on the branches of trees, was said to prove mortal to sheep.

On the evening of the 14th, we arrived at Gert Clute's farm, at Slange Rivier (Snake River), which lay so deep in the cleft of a mountain, that I should suppose no one would expect to find a habitation there.

All this tract of land was exceedingly dry and meagre, the husbandmen's cattle consisting only of sheep.

On the flat rocks that projected from the sides of the mountains, we observed a great number of tigers, which were more common here than I have ever seen them in any other place.

The soil was a clay, impregnated with salt; and every where on the hillocks, and on the banks of the river, the salt was crystallized by the heat of the sun, in like manner as I had observed it to be on the hills near the Cape.

We had now a dreadful, long, dry, and barren plain to cross, which is scorching hot in the day-time, and which, in consequence, its want of water could afford us no place for baiting. We therefore employed a great part of the day in baiting, and in the evening, when it began to be a little cooler, in resuming our journey, we passed several large rivers, the banks of which were covered with wood, but which were now quite dried up; and at length we arrived in the morning to a deserted house, situated on the side of the mountains to the left.

Here we saw quickset hedges of the Aloë Succotrina.

On the 15th and 16th we continued our journey, proceeding to the farms of Welgevunden, Watervall, and Muijsen Kraal.

On the 17th we came to a farm belonging to one Smidt; and on the 18th, after crossing the mountains, we went through Platte Kloof.

As we proceeded farther on the 20th and 21st, we passed several farms in our way to the Company's post at Riet Valley.

While we baited here, we paid another visit to Grootvader's Bosch, where various sorts of trees are felled for the use of the Company. I hoped now to find several trees in blossom; but the season was not yet far enough advanced.

The Calodendrum, however, was then in blossom, the honeyed juice of which I perceived beautiful butterflies sucking, without my being able to reach either the one or the other, but by the help of my gun, which I loaded with small shot, and fired in among the trees, I got some branches with blossoms on them.

On the 24th we crossed Breede Rivier and Rivier Zonder End (or the river without end), which latter is very deep, and therefore has a ferry for the accommodation of travellers.

Continuing our journey on the 25th and 26th, we passed the Company's post at Tigerhook, and thence proceeded along the Rivier Zonder End, to another post of the Company's, Zoete Melk's Valley.

The country was already grown very arid, in consequence of the scorching summer-heats, and the high and drying winds.

Pforalea pinnata (Pinwortel), was a plant, of which the country-people in many places complained, as being the worst weed in the gardens, on account of the roots striking deep and firm in the ground, and consequently being difficult to eradicate.

A blue *Chrysomela* devoured and damaged the corn.

In a diagonal direction across Platte Kloof, lay the Elephant's (Olyfant's) warm bath, which I had not now time to visit.

The increase of the summer-heat had caused the flies to multiply in such numbers, as to be even extremely troublesome at most of the farms. In order to diminish the number of them in the house, small boughs were hung up to the roof, and sprinkled several times in the day with new milk; and when the flies had settled on them in great numbers, a long bag was set under them, into which they were shaken down. The bag was then twisted round, so that the flies could not escape.

The Secretary-bird, which is a great destroyer of serpents, after having trod them under his feet, and beat them with his pinions, so that they cannot hurt him, devours them. This bird eats not only flesh, but roots also.

Wild chefnuts (*brabejum stellatum*) are so eagerly devoured by the wild boars, that they seldom or ever leave one on the ground to spring up, unless it should chance to fall between stones.

On the 27th we arrived at the warm bath of Zwarte Berg, or what is called the bath, Agter de Berg (i. e. behind the mountain).

The spring arises from a hillock at the foot of the mountain, to the westward of it; and chiefly from two sources. The water is moderately warm, and deposits a great quantity of a light yellow ochre at the bottom of the channels in which it runs. The hillock consists of an iron ore or a ferruginous lava: and is heavy, black, shining, of a very close texture, and strikes fire with steel. The very road is black, owing to the dust of the broken ore, which lies upon it like soot. The water has a chalybeate or inky taste, but by no means sulphureous. It became black on mixing Peruvian bark or blue vitriol with it, and white with fugar of lead. The patients here use the water both for bathing in, and at the same time for drinking, though without any regulations or proper diet. The water is carried by a channel from its source into a boarded hut, where there are a few steps, on which the patient may sit as deep in the water as he chooses. The Company has caused a brick-house to be built here, the care of which they have left to an old man. The few rooms that are here for the accommodation of the patients, are parted off by means of sail-cloth into many small cabins; some of the patients live in their own tents or waggons, and others lodge at the farm that is situated at the bottom of the hill. The bath is used the whole year throughout, but most in summer, or from August to February. The mountain above it is called Zwarte Berg (or the black mountain).

On the 28th we left this place, and came to a farm belonging to one Badenhorst, where they were extremely busy in threshing out their wheat. Barns for laying up the corn are neither to be found, nor indeed are they wanted in a country, in which, at this season of the year, there is nothing to be apprehended from rain, so that the farmers can keep their corn in a stack in the open air. The great heat makes the straw so brittle, that it crumbles to pieces, and therefore cannot be touched at any other time than in the morning and evening, when the air is become somewhat cool. For threshing, they prepare in the open air, a plain and level spot, which they fence in with a low and round wall of clay. Here they scatter the corn loosely about, and then turn

in a number of horfes, either loofe, or, as is more frequently the cafe, joined together in a team, in order to tread out the grain. In the center of this area ftands a man, who holds the foremoft horfe by a halter, and on the outside of it another man, who with a long whip drives the horfes continually round, and keeps them in a hard trot. Thus the ftraw is trodden quite to chaff, and rendered totally unfit for thatching. In this manner half a dozen men, with a few horfes, are able to thresh out clean in one day one hundred and twenty bufhels of wheat. Oxen are feldom ufed for threshing, as their dug would fpoil the corn.

Having left this place, we croffed Booter Rivier, where we faw the fea-shore, and paffing by Little Houthoek, went over Great Houthoek and Hottentot Holland's Kloof. This mountain is very high, and on the Cape fide there is a road over it, that on account of its precipices has a moft dreadful appearance. This, and the road however, that goes over Roode Zand, are almoft the only, at leaft, the moft common roads, by which all the inhabitants of the country muft pafs with their large and heavy-loaded waggons. At the foot of the mountain lie feveral pretty farms, which, any more than the mountains and the fea-shore, I did not leave unvisited.

Here we kept new-year's day, and, together with almoft all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, went down to the fea-fide to pafs the whole day in mirth and pleafure.

Here we found thrown up by the furge, the Trumpet-grafs (*fucus buccinalis*), in which they blew like a trumpet.

Finally, having fpent a whole day in croffing the very level and extenfive fandy plain that lies between Hottentot Holland and the Cape, we arrived at the town on the 2d of January 1773.

My firft care after my return to the town, was not only to look over and put into order the collections of animals, plants, and feeds, that I had made during my four months' journey; but likewife to get them ready for being fent to Europe by the homeward bound fhips. Therefore, after having well dried the feed, fpread out the plants, and glued them on imperial paper, packed up the birds and infefts in cafes, planted the live trees, and laid up the bulbous roots in boxes, I fent confiderable quantities of each to the botanical gardens at Amfterdam and Leyden, by feveral of the homeward bound Dutch veffels. What I had ftill remaining, I divided into different parcels, and packed up for my patrons and friends in Sweden, efpecially the Archiaters and Chevaliers Linnæus and Bæck, Profeffor Bergius and Dr. Montn; thefe I had an opportunity of fending in Swedifh fhips, by the favour of feveral naval officers who honoured me with their friendship.

The following months I paffed as I had done the laft year, in botanizing in the environs of the Cape, and in making fhort excursions into the country, as well as in examining and arranging my collections, and in making defcriptions of fuch of them as were new and before unknown.

M. Sonnerat, a Frenchman, who, being an excellent draughtfman, had accompanied M. Commerçon in that capacity in his extenfive travels round the world, and to many different parts of India, was lately arrived at this town in a French veffel from the Ifle of France. I had foon an opportunity of making an acquaintance with him at the houfe of M. Berg, fecretary of the police, and more particularly while we refided together at this gentleman's villa in the neighbourhood of Conftantia, where we remained a few weeks for the fake of botanizing, and of fhooting a great number of beautiful Cape birds for the cabinets of the curious in Europe.

Among

Among the many excursions we made together, we resolved, in the middle of January, to visit Table Mountain, and examine what might be the produce of its summits at this season of the year. Each of us was furnished with fire-arms, provisions, paper, and other necessaries, which were carried by two slaves whom we had hired in the town for this purpose. At three o'clock in the morning we quitted our abode, and ascended the foot of the mountain before the sun could rise, and by its scorching rays render the journey too fatiguing to us. At a little after eight we reached its summit, where it was moderately and agreeably cool. We were also recompensed for our trouble by a great number of rare plants, especially of the *Orchidea*, as they are called, which I never afterwards could meet with either here at other seasons, or indeed at all in any other mountain. Among these the *orchis grandiflora*, or *difa uniflora* (Bergii *Plantæ Capenses*), was conspicuous by its beautiful flowers; of the *serapias tabularis* we found only one specimen; the *serapias melaleuca* was distinguished by its black and white flowers, the most uncommon in nature; and with great difficulty, and at the hazard of my life, I got for the first and last time the blue *difa longicornis*, which is as beautiful as it is singular in its form. This last plant grew in one spot only, on a steep rock, and so high up, that in order to come at it after we had clambered up the side of the rock as high as we could, I was obliged to get upon the shoulders of M. Sonnerat, when, with a long stick, I beat down five of these plants, the only specimens that were then in bloom. M. Sonnerat, who before had not had an opportunity of collecting as many plants at the foot of the mountain as I had, made in this one day only, a collection of three hundred different species; but was so singularly unfortunate, though he had brought with him three pair of shoes for this excursion, as to return to town barefooted. The number of sharp angular stones which are rolled down from the mountain, and lie both at its foot and in the clefts through which the road goes, not only tear the soles, but also the upper-leathers of shoes; so that your thin French pumps are by no means suited for excursions upon the mountains, which require shoes made of waxed leather with thick soles.

Table Mountain has acquired its name from its appearing from the town and harbour as if it were cut smooth and level like a table. When one is arrived on the top of it, it appears pretty even in front, but on the other side it goes off in gradual inequalities, like very broad steps. In the clefts on the top there are several streams, which run down to the town and its environs, and supply them with good, fresh, and cool water. I could not discover any visible spring, nor any lake with fish in it, as some pretend there are; but all the water that was there, was collected partly from rain, and partly from the clouds, which diffuse themselves over the mountain, without falling down below in rain. On the summit were several mouldered and decayed stones, of a strange appearance, seeming as if they had been erected by art.

The height of Table Mountain is 3350 feet, or, according to the calculation of De la Caille, 3353 feet at the western angle, which is the lowest. The Devil's Mountain borders upon this to the east, and is thirty feet lower, though on account of its peak it appears to be somewhat higher. Table Mountain constitutes, with the Devil's and Lion's Mountains, one mountain, and is connected with them at the bottom, though it is separated from them by considerable vales at the top.

One may ascend and descend Table Mountain in several places, in front, behind, and at the sides, all which paths I reconnoitred this and the following years, in the fifteen times that I went up to the summit in the course of my three years abode in the neighbourhood.

In front the mountain is accessible only by the large cleft, which is distinctly seen almost in the middle of the mountain. This ascent is the most used, notwithstanding that it is the steepest, and particularly near the summit, where it grows at the same time very narrow, having, as it were, perpendicular walls on both sides. The foot of the mountain, below which the town itself is situated, is about a third part of the height of the whole mountain; which gradually swells, from gently-sloping hills, overgrown with thickness, into steeper eminences, covered with stones that have rolled down from the summit; here the cleft begins, which at first is about fifty or sixty paces broad, but by degrees is contracted to six or seven, and at the top is almost choaked up with stones of an enormous bulk. High up in this cleft I found pieces of a fine loose sand-stone of various sizes, which, when rolled lower down, crumbled away into small gravel and sand.

Table Mountain, as well as the Devil's and Lion's, and other mountains, have their strata or layers in common with those of Europe. The uppermost strata are quite horizontal, but the lower ones lie in an oblique position. At top, the rock appears to be a kind of sand-stone, or lava; the middle stratum trapp, and the lowermost slate. On the top of Table Mountain there are found both discoloured stones, and firm rocks projecting from the surface, which have mouldered away considerably, not only at the top and sides, but likewise at bottom, so that large cavities are formed in them. These substances are thus decayed not only by water that has been left in their cavities, but evidently by the very air also, the moisture of which penetrates into the minute and subtle crevices of these stones, and dissolves them.

The large stones which have rolled down, and lie on the hills at the foot of the mountain, and have a very ancient appearance, are a kind of trapp, which have excavations in them of different magnitudes, apparently formed in them by something that has undergone a gradual decay. These stones, as well the large as the small, have frequently pieces of quartz both in the inside of them and on the surface, which evidently shews that these latter have not been formed there, but were inclosed in them, as they are not concreted with the stony matrix, which is tolerably hard, but have a smooth and polished surface.

The rock, in the lowest strata of which the mountains are formed, is of a loose texture, of a dark colour, and may be scratched with a knife. It is sometimes of a lighter, or of an ash-colour. Both air and water are capable of corroding it, so that laminæ of a hand's breadth appear standing erect on their edge like a cock's comb crystal. These lowermost beds of slate, which are covered on the outside with mould and grass, sometimes constitute half the height of the mountain. And these beds run from south to north, not absolutely in a horizontal direction, but sunk to the westward, and rising to the eastward, with mouldered and sharp-edged laminæ, which are continued quite below the surface of the water, as is plainly seen by the rocks in the sea, as well those that are above, as those that are under water.

The old hospital having been for a long time in a ruinous condition, as well as of an inconvenient structure, the Company had resolved to build a new one on a larger scale, and in a more convenient situation; for which purpose proper artists, with the necessary tools and materials, had been sent from Holland. The spot for erecting this edifice on was chosen at the eastern end of the town, between Table Mountain and the citadel, where it would be exposed to the sun and wind. The ground-stone was laid by Governor Van Plettenberg, in the month of November of the preceding year; and the building now went on every day, though but very slowly; a circumstance owing to the interested conduct of those who were appointed to superintend it, who not only gained
by

by protracting the work, but also employed part of the workmen, as well as of the materials, on their own private buildings.

Two violent winds chiefly prevail on this southernmost promontory of Africa. The one blows boisterously almost every day in summer, which is called the Goede Season (Goede Mouſſon); the other in winter, which is called the Bad Season (Quaade Mouſſon). The south-east wind is violent, and attended with dry and very fine weather; the north-west is tempestuous, and, for the most part, accompanied with showers of rain. The former brings short and violent gales, following close upon each other, which often increase to that degree of force, as to blow up not only dust and sand, but also gravel and small pebbles into the face of such as are exposed to it, who, being neither able to see nor go forwards, must either stand still, or else throw themselves down upon the ground. On such occasions, strangers frequently exhibit ridiculous scenes, their hats, wigs, or hair-bags, being carried away by the wind the whole length of the streets. Not only boats, but small craft, are likewise sometimes overset in the road, and the people in them lost, as was three times the case this year; in consequence of which, when the wind is high, no boat will venture to go to or from the ships.

The south-east wind springs up for the most part towards noon, after a fine, warm, and calm morning; about eleven, twelve, or one o'clock, it rises higher, and keeps up till three, four, or five o'clock, or even later, frequently leaving the evening serene and agreeable. Thus the morning may be very warm, and require light clothing; but on the increase of the wind, the air begins to feel colder, and frequently one finds it necessary to put on a great-coat. These sudden changes are the cause that one is very liable to catch cold here, and that the inhabitants are in general subject to rheumatic pains. This violent wind, though in some respects it renders the summer less agreeable than it would be otherwise, yet still it makes the heat more tolerable.

Before the south-east wind begins to blow, the clouds are commonly seen gathering upon the mountains; and Table Mountain in particular, covered at the top with a heap of light clouds, appears as if it wore a periwig. On the wind's increasing, the clouds are seen precipitating down the fore-part of the mountain, without producing any rain. Sometimes, however, it will happen, though seldom, that the wind shall blow, and no clouds lie on the mountain; likewise, that all the clouds being dissipated on the fore-part of the mountain, the wind shall continue with clear and fine weather. The south-east wind is a low wind, driving for the most part along the ground. The north-west wind also is sometimes observed to drive the higher clouds in a direction contrary to that in which the south-east carries the lower ones, and the birds are seen flying in a calm atmosphere between these two contrary currents of air.

In winter-time the north-west and south-west winds prevail, which bring rain, and are dangerous for the shipping that lie in the road,

These winds change in April, when, by degrees, the south-east ceases, and is succeeded by the north-west. So that April and May are months of intermission, as well as August and September, and, on the days when it does not rain, the most pleasant in the whole year.

In January, and the months following, the road is the most resorted to by ships from Europe and the East Indies, for the purpose of taking in refreshments at a place where the air is wholesome, and the most plentiful supplies to be had of wine and all kinds of provisions. When a ship has anchored in the road, nobody from the town is suffered to go on board of her for the first three days, under a penalty of forty rix-dollars.

The Cape may, with propriety, be styled an inn for travellers to and from the East Indies, who, after several months' sail, may here get refreshments of all kinds, and are then about half way to the place of their destination, whether homeward or outward bound.

Strangers that arrive here from Europe, are sometimes attacked with a diarrhoea, occasioned by the many vegetables and fruits with which this country abounds, but which is not of so dangerous a nature here as at Batavia.

Such strangers as are desirous of settling in this country, are at liberty here, as in Holland, to get their livelihood in what manner they please or are able, either by a handicraft business or commerce, or, as is most frequently the case, by both.

It is a general custom in this country to sleep an hour or two in the afternoon, at the time that the heat is the greatest.

At table, the uppermost seat is never given to any of the guests; but the host and hostess are always seated at the upper end, one on each side of the table, and the company all around. The host always advances towards the stranger who is his guest, and, taking him by the hand, enquires after his health. If the person comes on horseback or in a carriage, he is invited to alight and walk in. The lady of the house does not rise, but salutes him by a nod of the head.

The French were at this time in very little estimation, on the one hand, because they generally came without ready money, and were obliged to trade on credit, or else with bills of exchange; and, on the other, because the African colonists feared, that if a war broke out, these strangers would assist in taking the place; in which respect, they thought themselves more secure with respect to the English, with whom they were in alliance. A French officer, though dressed to the best advantage, and frequently wearing a star on his breast, as a mark of his merit and his King's favour, had but little respect paid him; whereas an English mate of a ship, with his hair about his ears, was much esteemed on account of his being flush of money, and of his nation's being in alliance with Holland. Yet it was the French who most enriched the Cape merchants, as, on account of the credit they took, they were obliged to pay more than others, and, at the same time, had occasion for a greater quantity of merchandize, not only for their ships, but also for their garrison in the Isle of France.

The coins current here come either from Europe or the East Indies. The most common from Europe, which is here always termed the Mother-Country (*Vaderland*), are ducatoons, shillings, and doits (*Duyten*). Ducatoons, either old or new, are, like every other species of coin, of more value here than in Europe, in general 25l. per cent. more, that is to say, twelve shillings, or seventy-two stivers. The shillings are seldom any thing more than *Sestehaves*, such as in Holland are worth five stivers and a half. Two-pences (*Dubbeltjes*), and single pence (or stivers), are scarce; as also are ducats, and the gold coin called *Riders* (*Goude Reijers*). Dutch guilders are hardly ever seen. The Cape guilders are imaginary, and reckoned to those that receive salaries, at the rate of sixteen stivers each. A rix-dollar is valued at eight shillings, and a ducat at eighteen. Spanish piastres (*Spanse Matten*) are willingly taken at the rate of nine Dutch shillings. From various places of the East Indies, rupees of different kinds are imported, which are equivalent to half a rix-dollar, and pass current with every body. No money is coined, or suffered to be coined in this country.

The kind of corn generally cultivated in this country is wheat, and it richly repays the labour of the husbandman. Small quantities have been exported to the Indies for the use of the better sort of people there; but the voyage has been looked upon as too long, and the freight too expensive to send any to Europe, till the preceding and
this

this present year, when some has been sent to Holland, where it has been found to be much heavier than the European wheat. Poland, the granary of Holland, having for several years past been visited by war, and partly laid waste, and the crops having been in general bad all over Europe, the Dutch East India Company determined to send some small vessels to the Cape to import wheat; and last year they sent one vessel, and this year two frigates. For a freight of wheat, the farmer is paid eighteen rix-dollars. A freight contains ten Muddes, or about twenty bushels.

Rye is scarcely ever sown here, except in small quantities for pleasure, or else by some farmer, who chooses to use the straw for thatchings, instead of the *restio dichotomus*.

The olive-shrub (*olea Europæa*) was common on the hills near the town, as well as in other places. The leaves are narrower than in the European olive; and the fruit seldom comes to maturity. For this reason it is not used for pressing oil out of it, but frequently as an astringent in diarrhoeas. In other respects, this shrub so nearly resembles the European, that it cannot possibly be of a different species.

At the farms and villas near the town, European trees are frequently planted for the sake of ornament and shade, such as the oak, chestnut, pine, myrtle, lemon, and orange-trees, which, when in blossom, diffused the most fragrant odour.

The summer in Europe has a much more agreeable appearance, with its leaf-bedecked woods and flowery meads, which, after a forlorn and dreary winter, so infinitely cheer our eyes, than it does here, where no meadows are seen; and the woods are full of prickles, and of a melancholy aspect. In the meadows in Europe the ground is covered so thick with grass, as to appear like a carpet; but here the stalks of the grass are at a considerable distance from each other, and exhibit in the intervals between them, the bare and sandy ground.

As there are no forests in the vicinity of the town, except the few small ones that stand high up in the clefts of the mountains, wood, which is used in the kitchen only, is both dear and scarce. Almost all the fuel used here, is brought in by the slaves, who obtain it by digging up the roots of *protea*, and lopping off the branches of the underwood. Of this brushwood, together with the roots, the slave makes two separate faggots, and tying one to one end, and the other to the other end of a stick, carries them home on his shoulders. Two of these faggots, to make which it is a day's work, sell for two skellings.

Every slave is obliged to earn for his master two skellings daily, which makes about eighty rixdollars in a year; so that in a few years the master gets his purchase-money back again, though the slave, by such a heavy rental, cannot obtain the remission of any part of his slavery, which increases with his years, and is cemented with his blood.

Tamarinds, on account of the acid they contain, were sometimes used instead of vinegar, in this manner: the pulp of them were rubbed on beef, cut into thin slices, which, after being dried a little in the sun, were fried in a frying-pan, and were very tender, and well-tasted.

Cauliflowers, which in the gardens of the Cape, and especially in Robben Island, that lies just before the harbour, are brought to such perfection, as not to be equalled in any other part of the world, are frequently pickled in vinegar, with Cayenne pepper (or *capsicum*), and afterwards eaten with meat by way of salad.

Some of the farms near the Cape had fences made of pieces of iron-ore (Yzer Klippen), which were found in the environs.

The *arctopus echinatus* (Ziekte Troost) a low umbelliferous plant without stalk, and even with the surface of the ground, grew in common near the town, on the clay hills

hills below the mountains. On account of the hard prickles it bore, as well on its leaves as on its ripe feeds, it was a terrible plague, especially to the slaves, who go bare-foot, and are frequently wounded by it.

One of the ships belonging to the fleet that arrived at this time from Holland, brought the corpse of the governor Rhee de van Oudthorn, who died on his passage thither. The admiral's ship came into port with her colours lowered half-way, to signify its loss. The corpse was brought on shore, with all the pomp usual at the interment of a governor; the bells tolled, and the ships in the road fired a gun every minute, which did not a little contribute to the pomp and awfulness of the ceremony. Before the corpse, two led horses went in procession, followed by the sceptre, and the armorial bearings of the deceased; and after it came trumpets, kettle-drums, soldiers, and burghers, on horse-back, commanded by the major. By the death of this gentleman, whose favour I had previously acquired at Amsterdam, I sustained a great loss, with regard to the powerful support and assistance which he had given me reason to expect from him, in his capacity of governor, in my excursions into the country.

During my stay in town, I visited several times the Leeuwv Kop (Lion's Head), a mountain that stands to the west-ward of Table Mountain, and rises almost to an almost inaccessible peak; from this peak it runs out in a long sloping ridge, and terminates in a curved eminence, called the Leeuwe Staart (Lion's Tail). Below its peak, the Leeuwv Kop is so steep in one place, that if one wishes to ascend to it, a cord must be fastened to the rock, by the help of which, one must clamber up by a side that is almost perpendicular. The uppermost layer I found to consist of a loose red sand, which crumbles away, and falling down, leaves great cavities behind it. On the very top of the peak, where a perpetual guard is placed for the purpose of discovering the approach of ships, there is a small hut, with a fire-place in it for dressing provisions; three guns, one of which is fired for every ship that is seen; and a flag-staff to hoist a flag on. By the number of guns fired, government is immediately informed whether it is a single ship or a fleet that approaches. In the evening, the centinel goes down to his house, which is situated in the cleft between Table Mountain and the Lion's Head. When the ships that are descried, approach, a flag is hoisted on the Lion's Back (Leeuwv Rug), and when they enter the harbour, the colours are hoisted on the citadel, till they have saluted it. If any ship should come within sight of the Cape, and afterwards pass by it, the flag on the Lion's Back is struck, as soon as it disappears. The flag that is hoisted varies every month, and is like a watch-word on the field of battle; for the colour of the flag is appointed by the directors in Europe, and made known only to the respective regencies at Batavia and the Cape, and in sealed letters to the captains of the outward and homeward bound ships. Thus the captains of the ships may discover, if on a sudden eruption of war, the Cape is fallen into the hands of the enemy, and in such case keep away from the harbour. In time of war, when any great fleet is descried making its approach, the whole colony through the interior parts may be summoned with the greatest expedition, by the firing of guns, the hoisting of flags, and the kindling of fires, which are disposed at certain places, and distributed at such distances, that these signals may always be seen or heard from one place to the next.

Robben Island is situated at the entrance of the harbour, about four miles from the town. The ships that run into the harbour must always pass by this island, which then hoists the Dutch flag. Sometimes, when a strong south-east wind prevents the ships from entering, they anchor beside it. This island was formerly the resort of a great number of seals, whence it also derives its name; but now these animals having

been driven away from it, it is become the retreat of chameleons, quails, and prisoners for life (called here *Banditti*), who are obliged to collect every day on the sea-shore a certain quantity of shells, which are burned to make lime for the buildings erected by the company. These prisoners for life are not only black slaves who have been guilty of misdemeanors, but also Europeans, who have committed heinous crimes.

Though the Lutherans in this town were numerous, yet they had not a church of their own. The bigotted zeal of the Calvinistic clergy had hitherto been able to prevent so beneficial an institution from taking place, as that of an edifice to the glory of that God, whom they themselves professed to worship, and for the use and convenience of their fellow-citizens. The Lutherans were thus under the necessity of performing their public worship in a loft, which they had fitted up for that purpose. Still, however, they had not an opportunity of celebrating divine service oftener than when any Swedish ship arrived, the chaplain of which understood and spoke the German language. On such occasions, also, the holy communion was celebrated, and the money that was put into the plate became the property of the minister.

The ships now sailed in different squadrons successively for Europe, a few only at a time, as in time of peace may be done with safety. On the other hand, if peace is at all dubious, or a war breaks out, they go a great many together, in two or three fleets.

It will sometimes happen, and that even by permission, that a soldier and a sailor shall change places, and succeed each other in their respective services.

Before a ship sails, the account is made out of every man on board, which accounts are sent with the ship, or else may be taken out at the pay-office by such as chuse so to do; so that every one may know what is due to him of his pay. If any one settles in a place, and gets other employment in the service, he may take up his pay every third or fourth month, but the guilder is then estimated at fifteen or sixteen stivers only, so that the loss is considerable. But if he chuses to leave it untouched till the end of the year, his account is made out in the month of August, when the books are closed, which account he may negotiate at eighteen, nineteen, and sometimes twenty, stivers per guilder, and thus lose little or nothing. A bill of this kind is like a bill of exchange, for which the Dutch East India Company gives the full value in Europe, and which, in the meantime, is readily accepted by merchants, and others who want to remit money to Europe. Otherwise, as twenty-five per cent. is gained on all money exported from Holland, in like manner twenty-five per cent. is lost on all money that is carried back in specie to Holland.

The effects of the sailors and soldiers who have been taken into the hospital, and died there, are sold by auction, and chiefly at that period, when the greatest number of patients is brought in, and when the greatest number dies. The money is laid out on their interment. In general the corpse is sewed up in a cloth, and carried out in a hearse; but if the effects of the deceased, after the best part of them have been embezzled, still amount to a small sum of money, a coffin is bestowed upon him of ten rix-dollars value. If what the defunct has left behind him amounts to still more money, it is expended in wine at the funeral; and great care is always taken that nothing should be left for his relations and heirs. In general, at such auctions the whole chest, opened, but not always thoroughly examined, is sold at a venture.

The Cape lobster (*cancer arctos*), which is caught here, is equal in size to that (*gammarus*) which is taken near the Swedish coasts, but has no large claws, and is craggy all over, and covered with erect prickles. It has a strong and not very agreeable taste.

The Medusa's head (*asterias caput Medusæ*), one of the most singular and curious animals in nature, was sometimes caught in the ocean off the Cape. It is but rarely that it is found thrown dead upon the shore. In order to preserve it whole and undamaged for the cabinets in Europe, it must be caught far out in the sea by fishermen, who must take great care that they do not break off any of its limbs, and that the animal do not too much contract and entangle its outermost and most slender branches. The animal, when alive, or just after it is dead, is of a reddish or deep carnation colour; and, on being dried, turns greyish. It should be dried in the shade during fine weather, and in an open place, where the wind has free access to it; for in the sun the animal melts away, and, if placed too much in the shade, it might chance to putrify. For this wonderful animal the fishermen frequently get six, nay even sometimes ten, rix-dollars. It may be sent to Europe in a box filled with carded cotton.

On the shore just before the town were found various sorts of bivalve shells, and especially many large and beautiful species of *patellæ*.

Strand Dubbeltie was the name given to an *umbilicus veneris*, or the upper valve of a cockle-shell, which was covered all over with tubercles.

Below the mountains, and near the shore, are several hillocks of sand of different sizes, which are drift-sand, and some change their place twice a year, according to the winds that prevail. Some of them have already begun to settle and acquire solidity, and are covered with some few plants.

Among these the ridge of sand-hills below the Lion's Tail is remarkable, which seems plainly to indicate the manner in which mountains were formerly produced, and their different strata formed. This ridge of sand, which stands just before the battery, runs from south to north, and keeps in the same line as the mountains near the Cape and in all the country do, inclining more or less to the east or west, and consequently in the same direction as the winds that prevail here. It increases every year to the northward, quite down to the sea-shore. At the western end it forms a curve, and goes off with a gradual slope, a circumstance which is occasioned either by the adjacent sand-hill that runs in the same direction, and is solid and firm, and is used for a place of execution, or else by the Lion's Tail, which impedes the passage of the wind. The sand of this ridge is loose, and driven to and fro in summer; in winter it is somewhat firmer from the rain, but still almost as loose as a heap of drift-snow. Some parts of it may probably be a little more firm than the rest. Just as the sand is driven, the strata are formed, and they lie here, as in the mountains, inclining obliquely towards the horizon. Some layers are looser, others again harder, according as the drift-sand was more or less pure, or mixed, before it was hardened by the rain. These strata run either in a straight line, or in waves or streaks of black and white sand, which at a distance give the whole ridge the appearance of an agate. The black sand is thrown up by the sea, as well as the white. The former is in a small quantity, and the latter is driven more by the wind, and forms hills. This ridge of sand lies directly opposite to the transverse end of Table Mountain. The top of it is level, and of a middling height; towards the south it goes off gradually with a long slope; to the northward it is steep, where the sand is carried far over the spot below, which is sheltered by the ridge from the wind. The wind can, in the space of one day, lay sand an inch deep upon its surface, which commonly does not fall equally, but here and there in spots. Stones, and other things that lie in the way, are bare on the southern side, but on the northern are covered with a ridge of sand running out in a point, just as the snow is disposed in the northern regions, when it falls with a high wind. In the same manner the strata of mountains appear to have been formed by the

the winds and waves, and to have derived their origin from the same cause, viz. from the two predominant winds.

The *testudo geometrica* was known here by the appellation of the Syren (Syrentie). This land-tortoise, which probably is the most beautiful of its kind, was found very common in the sandy downs among the bushes. The shells of such as were very small, and consequently the most beautiful, were used for making snuff-boxes.

Round the hills near the Cape grew the *clifortia ruscifolia*, and the *borbonia lanceolata*, much resembling juniper trees, and like the *polygala heisteria*, with their sharp leaves pricking the foot-passengers; while the *asparagus capensis*, with its recurved thorns, tore their clothes and retarded their passage, for which reason it has received from the inhabitants the name of Wakt en Beetje, stop a bit.

The *tulbaghia aliacea* (Wilde Knoofflook, or Wild Garlic), which grew both in the sands near the Cape and in other places in the country, was used in hectic fevers, either boiled in water or in some kind of soup.

At several farms near the Cape I had an opportunity of seeing wine made, and of receiving information with respect to the various sorts of wine, which are made here in great quantities. The pressing, which is done in March, is performed in general, for want of proper tools and contrivances, in a more simple manner here than it is in Europe. The slaves gather the grapes, and put them into a large vessel. For the pressing they make use of a vessel, the bottom and sides of which are bored full of holes; this vessel is set in the inside of a larger vessel upon a cross piece of wood laid at the bottom of the latter; this outside vessel has a spigot and fawcet, through which the juice, as fast it is pressed out, may run into a tub placed beneath. The grapes being laid in the inner vessel, heaped up to the brim, three or four slaves, after having previously washed their feet very clean in a tub of water standing at the side, get into the vessel that contains the fruit, and holding themselves fast by a rope fixed to the ceiling, trample upon the grapes, and squeeze out the juice as long as they are able. In the mean time, the must that runs out is put into large high vessels to ferment. If the aperture is obstructed by grapes or stalks, so that the juice cannot easily run out, they push them away with a stick to the end of which a few bristles are fixed. The trodden grapes, before they are farther pressed, are put, stalks and all, upon a coarse strainer (or the bottom of a bed) made of rattans, on which they rub the fruit with their hands, till the husks go through it; the stalks in the mean-time remaining behind, which are now separated and thrown away, as they are supposed to make the wine austere and bitter. The husks are then put into the fermenting-vessel, which the next morning is in full fermentation, during which process the thick parts subside, and the must grows clear, when it is barrelled off, by putting a wicker-basket into the bung-hole of the barrel, and filtering the wine through it. The grounds, which remain in the fermenting-vessel, are afterwards put into a square vessel or vat, pierced full of holes at the sides and bottom, which vat is placed on a cross piece of wood in a larger vessel, with a spigot and fawcet at the side. At the top there is a screw of wood or metal, by means of which the last drop of juice is pressed out from the husks. From the dregs and husks, that remain over from the last pressing, brandy is distilled. No yeast is used for accelerating the fermentation. The white and green grapes yield white wine, and the red, red wine. The muscadine grape, both red and white, produces the Constantia wine, and the blood red grape, the wine called Pontac. Names are bestowed accordingly as they resemble more or less the products of the European grapes, though the resemblance is not always perfect.

A great number of dogs are frequently kept in the farms; they follow the cattle into the fields along with the slave, keep wild beasts away from the farm, sometimes protect the master from the outrages of his slaves, and are serviceable in hunting and on journeys.

The horns of the rhinoceros were kept by some people both in town and country, not only as rarities, but also as useful in diseases, and for the purpose of detecting poison. As to the former of these intentions, the fine shavings of the horns taken internally, were supposed to cure convulsions and spasms in children. With respect to the latter it was generally believed, that goblets made of these horns in a turner's lathe, would discover a poisonous draught that was put into them, by making the liquor ferment till it ran quite out of the goblet. Such horns as were taken from a young rhinoceros calf that had not yet copulated, were said to be the best, and the most to be depended upon. Of these goblets are made, which are set in gold and silver, and made presents of to kings, people of distinction, and particular friends, or else sold at a high price, sometimes at the rate of fifty rix-dollars a goblet. The horn is of a conical form, thick at the bottom, and truncated at the top, a foot long frequently in old rhinoceroses, and is placed forward on their snout. Two or three inches from this, the African two-horned rhinoceros has another smaller and shorter horn. In colour, it most resembles the horn of a bullock. When I tried these horns, both wrought into goblets, and unwrought, both old and young horns, with several sorts of poisons, weak as well as strong, I observed not the least motion or effervescence; but when a solution of corrosive sublimate, *aqua phagadenica*, or other similar substances, was poured into one of these horns, there arose only a few bubbles, produced by the air, which had been inclosed in the pores of the horn, and which was now disengaged from it.

Though few countries can boast of so much venison and game as this colony, still here, as in Europe, at a certain time of the year, hunting and shooting are prohibited. Thus from May to August, nobody is allowed to hunt or shoot, at least near the town.

The hospital I very seldom visited, as I could not possibly derive any improvement from any thing I saw there. I observed, however, in this place, what I never saw any where else, viz. that the attendants on the sick were provided with ropes ends, with which they now and then corrected turbulent patients. *Mirum sane morborum remedium!* Both in the hospital and on board of their ships, the Company had for the greater part ignorant and unskilful surgeons; and, in general, when a skilful surgeon was found among them, he was a foreigner. When emetics or such kind of remedies were prescribed, they were sometimes written down on the head-board of the bed; and of other medicines, a dose was commonly administered immediately, which were carried ready made up in a box after the surgeon, when he visited the patients. What most contributes in this place to the recovery of the sick, is the excellent refreshments of fresh meat and vegetables, that are to be had here. The principal surgeon makes his report to the governor every day of the number and state of the patients.

At Zeeko valley the company has a farm, where straw (*regio tectorum*) is cut and prepared for the purpose of thatching; as follows: a bundle or sheaf, after it is cut, is held by the top, and all the shorter stalks that are loose in it, are shaken off from it. The remaining long ones are then spread out in rows to dry, and afterwards tied up in bundles. With this the houses are commonly thatched both in town and country; and sometimes

sometimes whole huts are built with it. A roof made of it lasts twenty or thirty years, and would last much longer if the fourth-east wind did not blow a great deal of dirt between the thatch, in consequence of which it rots the sooner.

Near Muyfenberg (or Moufe mountain) the wax-shrubs (*myrica quercifolia* and *cordifolia*) grew in abundance along the shore. The berries of them are quite round, full of knobs, soft, and of the size of a pea. The berries themselves are quite black, but covered with a farina of a whitish-grey colour. They are gathered in their ripe state in the month of March, and boiled in water till all the white powder is melted off, and floats on the surface of the water like fat; this, when skimmed off and cooled, grows hard, almost like wax, and is of a greenish-grey or ash colour. The farmers use it for candles, when they get any quantity of it, and the Hottentots eat it like so much cheese.

In the sandy plains near the Cape, and chiefly near the larger farms, the goldfinch (*loxia orix*) was seen now in the midst of summer, very beautiful, of a crimson colour, and in infinite numbers. Just when the corn grows ripe, he acquires his summer-dress; his brownish grey feathers on the throat and back become gradually of a red colour, and leave only the wings and tail unchanged. The hen does not come in for her share of this beautiful attire, but remains the whole year of a grey-brown hue.

The country-people seldom make any cheese; and when they did, which was chiefly out of curiosity, the cheeses were small, thin, and of an indifferent taste; the cause of which probably is the milk, which, it must be confessed, is poor enough compared to the fine rich milk produced in Holland.

The cows, as well as the other cattle, go to the field the whole year throughout, being driven home in the evening, and lie within fences in the open air. The grafs which they feed on in those extensive plains, and which is the best and most copious in winter-time, in consequence of the rain, and worst in summer on account of the heat and drying winds, is in general harsh and coarse. Hence the cows give little milk, and that but indifferent. For this reason, the cattle degenerate to a certain degree in the course of a few years. The horned cattle, of which the peasants herds in this country consist, are of Dutch extraction, it is true, but are at present greatly degenerated. A Dutch cow that is brought hither, and has cost forty or fifty rix-dollars, gives more milk than three others, but its offspring degenerates, and the third or fourth is exactly like the rest, which frequently give no more than a quart of milk a day.

Fresh butter, which in general is made from new milk, is sold in the town for eight, twelve, or sixteen stivers, and salt-butter at two, four, or six stivers, per pound. The price, however, varies with the consumption.

Though the country is inhabited by colonists, still the farms are not all held in the same manner. That tract of country which is nearest to the town and harbour, or in the vicinity of them, has been sold by the Hottentots for tobacco, brandy, and other commodities. The other extensive tracts of land were afterwards taken possession of gradually by the colonists. Thus the farms which are situated nearest to the Cape, as far as Picquet-berg, and a little beyond it, are freeholds, or lands which are the unconditional property of the colonist, for which he pays no quit-rent, and which he is at liberty to dispose of. The other farms farther up the country, on the other side of the mountains, are called Copyholds, which the colonists have occupied with the permission of the governor, and for each of which twenty-four rix-dollars are paid yearly to the Company in fine, which cannot be sold or transferred to any one else without the permission of the governor. The buildings upon the premises may be sold, it is true, but not the land.

Planks and boards, as well as beams for building, were extremely dear, as they were scarce, and brought a great way from the inland parts of the country, so that the greatest part of them must be imported from Europe or the East Indies. They are generally sold by measure, planks selling for two shillings a foot.

Sheep's-dung was frequently used for manuring the vineyards, and horse-dung for the gardens. Sheep's-dung often lies in the sheep-folds to the depth of a yard and more.

Wheat-fields, vineyards, and gardens, are very numerous about the farms in the vicinity of the town and harbour, and there they have but few cattle. The vineyards in the neighbourhood of the Cape, the grapes of which being larger and riper, yield the best and most delicious wine, and consequently the more profitable, occasion the cultivation of wheat to be neglected in proportion, which is relinquished to the farmers that live farther up in the country. The wheat-fields are often left fallow for several years, as every husbandman has a great quantity of land, which he can afford to keep unemployed. Whenever either a new field, or a field that has lain fallow for several years, is to be put in order, which is a difficult piece of work, such ground is first ploughed in the month of August, and then again in May, after being previously sowed. The African ploughs have two wheels, one of which is smaller than the other.

When a youth is arrived at the age of fifteen, he must be enrolled, and every year he must resort to the place of rendezvous, in order to perform his exercise. On this occasion he must take the oath of allegiance. When a father has two sons in the militia, he himself is exempt from duty. These reviews, both of horse and foot, are held every year, in the town for the burghers, and at Stellenbosch and Zwellendam for the farmers belonging to the colony. If any one neglects to appear at these rendezvous, he is fined.

The farmers sell their merchandizes at the Cape, either to the Company or the burghers, but are not permitted to dispose of any thing to strangers.

Besides the regency which is resident in the town, the country is governed by two courts of judicature, at which a landroft presides.

Stellenbosch is a village consisting of thirty houses and upwards, with a church; here a landroft resides, under whose jurisdiction comes that part of the country which is situated to the north and north-west; the other part of the colony that lies to the eastward is under the sway of the landroft at Zwellendam. Stellenbosch is situated in a narrow valley between high mountains, which are open to the south-west or towards False Bay. It has two streets with oak trees planted in them, and a river running through them.

Franschoek stands not far from Stellenbosch, below the mountains, and in the cleft of a mountain. It is remarkable for being the place which, immediately after the foundation of the town, was inhabited by the French refugees, who, between the years 1680 and 1690, removed hither from Holland, and first began to plant vineyards in this country.

Drakenstein also is a colony in the neighbourhood of the former, and situate under the same ridge of mountains. The mountains here extend from north to south, just as they do near the town; and this direction of them is the cause that the farms that are situated in valleys between two mountains have their day and night at different times. Those who live under the mountains on the western side have day-light first, as the sun, having reached the tops of the mountains, which are frequently covered with hail, and thence appear white, in an instant illuminates the whole western side; while, on the other hand, those who live on the eastern side of the valley, see the sun longer in the evenings, the other side at the same time appearing to them enveloped in darkness and

a light-blue mist, while they themselves continue to enjoy the most delightful sunshine.

Next to the Cape, towards the north, and directly opposite to the town, are the Tigers Mountains, which are in the same direction with the Olyfant's Kop, and the Blauwe Berg, or Blue Mountains, all of which are separated from each other by valleys.

Neither burghers nor husbandmen have a right to marry till they have obtained the governor's consent. As soon as any person has obtained this, which is usually asked on Thursdays, the bridegroom receives an order, which, in the presence of the bride, he delivers to the justiciary; who, after having carefully examined matters, and found that the parties are not too near related, gives also his consent to the match, and allows the banns to be published three Sundays following, in the usual manner, from the pulpit.

So that when the farmers take their annual journey up to town to sell their commodities, buy the necessary articles for their families, and pay their taxes, they must always take that opportunity of being united in the bands of wedlock, or of having their children baptized at their parish church.

Should the governor refuse any one his permission to marry, still he cannot prevent the parties contracted from living together, who, in such cases, are frequently obliged to put off their nuptials till the arrival of another governor, whose consent they may obtain. Sometimes it happens that the bride has recourse to the justiciary, who may think proper to order the marriage to be consummated. In this case, if the bridegroom be at that time engaged in the Company's service, he may have the misfortune to be sent away by the governor to some place in the East Indies. The fair sex here, in general, marry very young, and, as the boundaries of the colony have been much extended of late, the increase of population has likewise been very great.

The country-people have provisions in abundance, but are frequently in want of furniture. One frequently sees chairs and tables made by the farmer himself, which he covers with calf-skin, or makes of platted leathern straps. The floors in the houses are formed of earth, beaten down hard and smooth. In order to make them hard and firm, they are overlaid either with a mixture of water and cow-dung, or with bullock's blood, which renders them at the same time rather slippery.

Various sorts of fruits, besides raisins, were dried for the use of the ships.

In winter, salt meat is sometimes eaten, though very rarely; but scarcely any is sold to the ships.

When a farm is sold in the country, the bargain is concluded, and the farm paid for in gilders, three of which are reckoned to a rix-dollar.

The town as well as country-people look upon this country, or their mother-land, as they term it, to be far superior to others, as it produces every necessary of life in abundance; though at the same time, they are conscious that Europe, their father-land, must furnish them with every thing else, even to the very plough-share, with which they till this their fertile country.

In the various excursions I made into the country, this as well as the preceding years, I have been more and more convinced, that the whole promontory, called the Cape, is nothing but a mountain; for all the ridges and chains of mountains, as well the greatest as the smallest, run between south-east and north-west, and thus take the same direction as the violent winds that prevail in this country. They also run parallel to, but at unequal distances from each other, so that some of the vales that are interposed between them, are broad, and frequently inhabited, while others again are very narrow. Towards

wards the north-west, I have not had an opportunity of seeing their termination; they probably run that way as far as to the sea, without leaving any path for walking on the shore. Towards the south-east, all of them, except Hottentot Holland's mountain, terminate in a gentle declivity, before they reach the sea-shore. It is singular, that when one goes from the town into the country, from south to north, and passes over a mountain, the country on the farther side is found to be more elevated; and if we traverse the mountains that we meet with farther on, the height of the country still increases, and so on for three or four days journey. So that the country between these ridges is nothing but a vale, which is so broad as to have obtained the name of a province, and is adorned with several farms. On ascending the mountains surrounding such valleys, we see similar ridges and valleys in miniature, but much smaller, and rarely inhabited. The distances between some of the ridges may be six miles and more, between others only two or three, and on the tops of the mountains no more than a stones throw. Such a tract of land, however, is not plain and level, like a meadow, but deeper in the middle, where the deepest rivers, formed by the conjunction of several branches in one, run parallel with the ridges of the mountains themselves, and it gradually rises higher on each side, in proportion as we approach the mountains.

Near the Cape, which forms the southernmost angle of the triangle of Africa, the mountains have the least extent. The farther one advances up into the country, and the broader it grows, the longer are the ridges formed by the mountains. And the farther one proceeds among the mountains, and the higher the country is, the colder one always finds the climate. In winter there falls snow, or what is more frequently the case, hail, the depth of six inches or more, which lies several days, and on the tops of mountains for weeks together, without melting. In the month of October I observed the hail still lying on the snow-white tops of the mountains, while the country below was clad in its richest summer attire. Likewise in proportion as the cold increases in consequence of the elevation of the country, all vegetables are later produced. The difference I found here and in some other places, to amount to as much as two months. Near the Cape, therefore, all plants and flowers make their appearance the soonest, the country there being lower, and the air milder. In like manner, the whole southern coast, where the mountains go off with a gradual declivity, is always the warmest, and is for this reason the most populous and best inhabited part of the whole colony.

This description of the extent, appearance, and height of the mountains, together with the nature of the country, I hope may throw rather more light on the geography of this part of Africa, than we had before, at the same time that it discovers the reason why a country situated in so good and temperate a climate, is in some places extremely fertile and cultivated, and in others, absolutely bare, and in fact, almost desert and inaccessible.

The Dutch officers, both of the outward and homeward-bound ships, especially of the latter, dispose here of a great quantity of merchandize of different kinds; the former bring for sale, wines, beer, cured hams, cheese, tobacco pipes, and sometimes haberdashery and hardware; the latter, cottons, chintzes, rice, tea, &c. And if they cannot dispose of their merchandize to the dealers separately, they put them up at a public auction. One likewise sees many of the burghers, who have bought various articles by wholesale, sell them again by auction. Such sales by auction are frequently held also in the spring and winter months, on the Company's account; and government generally takes the precaution not to allow of the auctions of individuals, till the Company has disposed of its merchandizes first.

Of the foreign naval officers, the English and Danish carry on the greatest trade. The former chiefly sell large quantities of fine and coarse hardware, especially sailer's knives, scissars, and other similar articles. The latter, in going out, sell Danish ale and tar, and on their return, chintzes from Bengal. The Swedish officers traded for little or nothing; on their return, they only disposed of a few canisters of tea, some Nankin and Chinese silks, scarcely to a greater amount, than what they paid at their inn for the few days they were on shore. Otherwise, desirable articles from Sweden are coarse grey cloth, lumber, copper, iron, brass, spades, herrings, and more especially tar, charcoal and iron, all which sell to great advantage. The Company charges eight rix-dollars for one hundred weight of iron, though it is cold-shire, and inferior to the Swedish. For all wares and commodities sold by individuals at auctions, five per cent. must be paid to the fiscal. The money for goods and wares sold by auction is not to be paid till six weeks afterwards.

Among all the different nations that frequented this place, none were such bold sailors as the English. They would often beat about in the roads with a strong south-east wind, while the Dutch ships either kept the open sea, or cast anchor under Robben Island, till they got a more favourable wind. The former have for the most part no other rule than their own judgment and experience, and their ships are better sailers; whereas the latter have heavier and more unwieldy ships, and are obliged to act according to the Company's orders.

Foreign ships were said to pay for anchorage only five hundred guilders; but all the provisions they want they must pay dear for, owing to the imposts established by the company on meat and wines. Strangers pay two stivers for a pound of meat, which the company has for three doits, or about a fifth part of the price.

In the baptism of children, the Cape clergy consider it as a circumstance of the first importance that the father should be known, and be present. If the child is a bastard, and its father does not discover himself, the infant remains unbaptized. If the mother is a Black or a Hottentot, but the father a Christian, who requires it to be baptized, it is baptized. Every christening must be performed in the church, for which reason such colonists as live far up in the country, must take their infants with them when they go to the Cape, though, as is sometimes the case, it be but six months old.

The gardens both within and without the town, suffer great devastation from three or four different species of rats which are generally termed moles. One of these, called the White Mole (*Witte Moll*, *marmota Africana*), is of the size of a small cat, and white all over, with a short tail. The second, called the Blaze-fronted Mole (*Bles Moll*, *marmota capensis*), is smaller, and white with brown spots. The third species is less common, and very beautiful, being of a greenish colour with a shining fur. The last of these (*talpa Asiatica*) or the Gold-green Mole (*Blinde Moll*), burrows in the gardens under the surface of the ground, throwing up the mould, by which means it ruins both the figured trees and hedges that are made of myrtle and box. The former species of moles also are found in the sand-downs near the town.

When the people of the town planted trees before their houses, they were very solicitous to get a dead dog to put in the hole, by which means they thought the growth of the tree would be much accelerated.

The Bay-tree (*laurus nobilis*) was in many places observed to form so close a hedge, that one could scarcely see through it. It bent likewise to the violence of the winds without breaking.

The Hottentots who had committed acts of violence against some colonists living a great way up the country, and had been brought hither some time before, were now punished.

punished. Some of them were only flogged, others were flogged and marked besides on the back with a red-hot iron, and others had the tendon near the heel (*tendo Achillis*) cut out besides. After this they were set free, and sent home again for a warning to others. They had not been taken without difficulty, as they had fortified themselves in the cavities and crevices of the mountains, where they were out of the reach of fire-arms. Besides this, they defended themselves by rolling stones down upon their enemies. The Company had ordered not only the farmers out against them, but also a corporal from the citadel with five men to bombard them with hand grenades. At last they were taken by stratagem, by the Hottentot Captain Kies.

Accounts were now again received from Roggeveld, that the *Bohies-men* Hottentots had plundered and killed the farmers in that district.

In the month of March, when I passed a whole day on the top of Table Mountain, I was gratified in the evening with a singular and most beautiful prospect from this considerable eminence. Table Mountain, like all other mountains in this country, lies in a direction from north-west to south-east, thus leaving one of its long sides open to the north-east, and the other to the south-west. The sun, rising in the east, does not here proceed towards the south, as in Europe, but towards the north, and at last sinks into the ocean to the westward of the mountain. This makes an earlier morning, and exhibits the sun sooner on the north-east side, and a longer afternoon, and later sun on the south-west side. So that on the top of this mountain, about five o'clock in the afternoon, two different worlds, as it were, presented themselves to my view, of which the western still enjoyed the finest sun-shine and a clear horizon, while the eastern was already covered with darkness and a thick impending mist. This mist, which had exhaled from the heated plain, and was now condensed in the suddenly cooled air, was so thick that no part of the whole country was to be seen, but the whole region resembled a smooth unbroken cloud, and did not a little contribute to render the view on each side of the mountain remarkably different, though a moment before they were much the same.

In the month of May, between the 13th and 19th, in company with Major Gordon and an English gardener, lately arrived, of the name of Mason, I made an excursion on foot round the mountains situate between the Cape and False Bay. Having ascended the front of the valley, as high as the summit of Table Mountain, we saw a valley to the right, which runs down to the sea-shore. To the left a fountain was seen bubbling up, and forming a narrow rivulet; but it was so much overgrown with bushes, that its source under a large rock could not be perceived. In all the flat dales of the mountain, both the large and small ones, there was mould, water, and moss, which formed a kind of bog. Towards the south-east it gradually subsides into valleys, just in the front of Hout Baay.

Through the vale called Babian's Kloof (Baboon's valley), which, proceeding from Table Mountain, parts the ridge of mountains that runs from Constantia to the farthest point in the south, we went to Hout Baay, where there was a farm; to the right we had the little Lion's Head, a peaked mountain, resembling the great Lion's Head near the Cape, and the Karfunkel (or Carbuncle) Mountain, which is oblong, and covered at the foot with a fine white quicksand reaching as far as to the sea-shore. This latter mountain forms a promontory, the uttermost point of which, rising into a conical protuberance that hangs over the sea, is called the Hang-lip. This is separated, as well as the Lion's Head, from Table Mountain. Table Mountain has a considerable rivulet at its top, a branch of which empties itself into Hout Baay (or Wood Bay). The sea at low water formed, in Hout Baay, rivers, the banks of which were steep from the

sand that had fallen down. At the mouth a river was formed in a cross direction, the banks of which were likewise extremely steep from the fallen sand. The whole bay was full of round sand-stones, like the shores of the lake Vetter. To the left was seen Steenberg, or Stone Mountain; at the foot of which, on the other side, are situated Great and Little Constantia, and which runs out into the sea in a promontory called Steenbergshoek, where there is a farm belonging to the company, and known by the name of Muysenberg, or Mouse Mountain.

From Hout Baay we went over the mountains to North Hoek, where three farms are laid out near a large pool of water. The projecting point itself of the mountain over which we had passed, is called North Hook, and the opposite projection the Slange Kop (or Serpent's Head). The downs here consisted all of quicksand, raised into hills of various heights; those that had been lately formed being still bare, and those that were of a more ancient date, overgrown with bushes, especially the wax-shrub (*myrica coralifolia*), which frequently grew on them low and creeping. A salt-pan that lay to the south-east, had banks of two or three yards in height; it was now partly filled with water, the surface of which was covered with flamingoes (*phœnicopterus ruber*). Its bottom was sandy, or a mixture of sand and clay. In winter-time it is filled with water for the space of several months. It has its water from rain, and not from the sea, from which it is at a considerable distance; consequently its water is not increased or diminished by the tide. Duyn-hout, or Zwart-hout, was the name given to a shrub that has fleshy leaves, and was without blossoms, *foliis compositis, foliolis cuneiformibus carnosis*. It appeared to be an umbelliferous plant. Here we met with the celebrated farmer Jan Bruyns, one of the best marksmen in the country, and who had made the unfortunate expedition with Heupnaer to the Rio de la Goa, through the country of the Caffres, when seven of the company were massacred by the Caffres, and himself with only five others escaped.

The Slange Bosch (*scrippium*) which grew here, was said, when made into a decoction, to expel worms.

After pursuing our journey farther over the mountains to Wildschut's brand, where we found only one Hottentot hut, situated in a fine grass plot on the mountain; we went a little way back again over the same mountains, and arrived at False Bay.

The barren mountains, which run from False Bay out into the sea, are called by the colonists, as well as by the sailors, Norweegen or Norway.

Bay False, False or Simon's Bay, is a name given to the harbour on this side, where the ships only touch in winter, and where they are sheltered from the north-west storms, so dangerous in this season to the ships that lie in Table Bay. This harbour is larger than that of the Cape. The shore is not broad, and in several places, by reason of the mountains jetting out into the sea, there is none at all. The houses stand on the tops of the hills, and are sometimes very unfit for the accommodation of strangers. A large round rock in the harbour went by the name of the Ark, another was called the Romance Rock; and an island, situated farther out to the eastward, Malagas Island. Besides a house belonging to the company, in which lives a resident, there are here an hospital, a warehouse, a slaughterhouse, and a few farm-houses belonging to individuals. The company's garden lay at some distance.

From False Bay we went over flat and low sands, passed Muysenberg and the company's fishing place, back to the Cape. In different parts of the sandy plains there were small lakes, as they might be called, of salt water, which had not yet been dried up by the summer's heat. These plains, abounding as they did in water, still harboured in different parts some Flamingoes, which, with their white and blood-red feathers,

feathers, adorned these spots, and devoured the insects and worms in the water. We shot one of them, and broke the wing bone, which prevented the bird from flying; but we had still the greatest difficulty to catch it, as with its long legs it waded through the water, which was a foot deep, much faster than we were able to follow it.

On the 1st of June, being Whit-Monday, there arose a very high north-west wind, with violent hurricanes and showers of rain; at night, in this storm, the *Jonge Thomas*, one of the four ships belonging to the company, that were still in the road, having lost all its anchors, one after the other, was driven on the sands near the shore, at Zout Rivier, and, in consequence of its heavy lading, split into two pieces in the middle. The surge rose to an amazing height on the shores towards this side, and Zout Rivier was so swollen, that it was almost impassable. It is true, from the middle of May to the middle of August, the Company's ships are prohibited from lying in the road; yet it sometimes happens, that the governor permits it in order to avoid the inconveniences of victualling and lading the ships in False Bay. Independently of the loss sustained by the company, as well in ships as merchandize, there perished also unfortunately on this occasion, a number of the crew, who, for the want of assistance, were lost, and met with a deplorable death, very near the land. Only sixty-three men escaped, one hundred and forty-nine being unhappily drowned.

The ship had scarcely struck, which happened just at day-break, when the most efficacious expedients were used to save as much as possible of the Company's property that might chance to be thrown on shore, though I could not perceive that the least care was taken to deliver a single soul of the crew from their forlorn and miserable situation. Thirty men were instantly ordered out, with a stripling of a lieutenant, from the citadel, to the place where the ship lay, in order to keep a strict look-out, and prevent any of the company's effects from being stolen; and a gibbet was erected, and at the same time an edict issued, importing that whoever should come near that spot, should be hanged up immediately, without trial or sentence of judgment being passed upon him. This was the cause that the compassionate inhabitants, who had gone out on horseback to afford the wretched sufferers some assistance, were obliged to turn back without being able to do them the least service; but, on the contrary, were, together with me, ocular witnesses of the brutality and want of feeling shown by certain persons on this occasion, who did not bestow a thought on affording their fellow-creatures, that sat on the wreck perishing with cold, hunger, and thirst, and were almost in the arms of death, the least assistance or relief.

Another circumstance contributed to render this otherwise distressing scene still more afflicting. Among the few, who were lucky enough to be able to save their lives by swimming from the wreck, was the gunner, a man with whom I was acquainted, and met with several times afterwards in the town: he had stripped himself quite naked, in order that he might swim the easier, and had the good luck to come alive to shore, which was not the case with every one that could swim; for many were either dashed to pieces against the rocks, or else by the violence of the surf carried back again to sea. When he arrived on shore, he found his chest landed before him; but just as he was going to open it, and take out his great coat, the lieutenant, who commanded the party, drove him away from it; and though he earnestly begged for leave to take out the clothes necessary for covering his naked and shivering body, and could also prove by the key, fastened, according to the sailor's custom, to his girdle, as well as by his name cut out on the lid of the chest, that it was actually his property, he was, nevertheless, forced to retreat without effecting his purpose, by this unmerciful hero, who gave him several smart blows with a cane on his bare back. After he had passed the whole

whole day naked and hungry, and exposed to the cold winds, and was going to be taken in the evening to town along with the others who had been saved from the wreck, he again asked leave to take a coat out of his chest to cover himself with; but this having been previously plundered, he found empty. On entering the town, where he arrived stark naked, he met with a burgher, who took compassion on him, and lent him his great coat. Afterwards he, as well as the other unfortunate wretches, was forced to run about the town for several days together, begging for victuals, clothes, and money, till at length they were supported at the company's expence, and taken back again into its service.

Another action that does great honour to humanity, deserves the more to be recorded here, as it shews that at all times, and in all places, there are both good and considerate people, as well as such as have nothing human but the shape. An old man, of the name of Woltemad, by birth an European, who was at this time the keeper of the beasts in the menagerie near the garden, had a son in the citadel, who was a corporal, and among the first who had been ordered out to Paarden Island (Horse Island), where a guard was to be set for the preservation of the wrecked goods. This worthy veteran borrowed a horse, and rode out in the morning with a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread for his son's breakfast. This happened so early, that the gibbet had not yet been erected, nor the edict posted up, to point out to the traveller the nearest road to eternity. This hoary fire had no sooner delivered to his son the refreshments he had brought him, and heard the lamentations of the distressed crew from the wreck, than he resolved to ride his horse, which was a good swimmer, to the wreck, with a view of saving some of them. He repeated this dangerous trip six times more, bringing each time two men alive on shore, and thus saved in all fourteen persons. The horse was by this time so much fatigued, that he did not think it prudent to venture out again; but the cries and intreaties of the poor wretches on the wreck increasing, he ventured to take one trip more, which proved so unfortunate, that he lost his own life, as on this occasion too many from the wreck rushed upon him at once, some of them catching hold of the horse's tail, and others of the bridle, by which means the horse, both wearied out, and now too heavy laden, turned head over heels, and all were drowned together. This noble and heroic action of a superannuated old man, sufficiently shews that a great many lives might probably have been saved, if a strong rope had been fastened by one end to the wreck, and by the other to the shore. Along this rope either a basket or a large copper vessel might have been hawled to and from the ship, with a man in it each time. When the storm and waves had subsided, the ship was found to lie at so small a distance from the land, that one might have almost leaped from it on shore.

The vigorous measures taken to preserve the Company's effects and merchandize, were not, however, so efficacious, as to prevent certain persons in office from enriching themselves considerably on this occasion. For when whole horse-loads of iron from the wrecks could be sold to the smiths in town, it is easy to conceive that their consciences would not stand greatly in their way, if they could lay their hands upon portable and valuable commodities. The soldiers also were so careful when on guard, that nothing should be pillaged from the wreck, that they themselves every night, when relieved, marched into town with their musket-barrels stuffed full of solid gold lace, which, though somewhat damaged by the salt water, answered very well when thrown into the melting-pot.

Though the hardest hearts frequently are softened by the uncommonly severe misfortunes and distresses of their fellow-creatures, and though great and noble actions have

have at all times been able to excite the gratitude and benevolence of the fellow-citizens of the perpetrator ; yet (I am sorry to say it) I have it not in my power to conclude this melancholy picture with some delightful trait of generous compassion on the part of the governor towards the poor sufferers, and especially towards the drowned hero, or of some noble remuneration of his son. For when, shortly after, this young man solicited for the employment of his deceased father, which was a post of such small importance, that it could neither be considered as a recompense, nor could it be envied him by any one, it was refused him, and given to another.

This unfeeling *bon vivant* of a governor, rich in money, but poor in spirit, permitted him, nevertheless, afterwards to do what others consider as a punishment, viz. to go to Batavia, where he hoped to find kind patrons and a wider field for making his fortune in. And here he would doubtless have attained his desires, had he lived longer ; but in the very unwholesome climate whither he was now gone to see his only brother, a merchant, he died, before an order arrived from the directors of the Company in Holland (which did as much credit to them, as it ought to have accumulated shame upon the officers of the Cape), viz. that the sons of Woltemaad for the sake of their father, should be rewarded and promoted in every way that could possibly be done. On this and similar occasions, I have observed, how much an enlightened mind and a generous heart are to be prized among the gifts of fortune, above riches and honours ; and how infinitely these latter are exalted by the former, if they are united with them, in which case they command every one's esteem.

I now also perceive the reason why the Europeans, both sailors and soldiers, are in many respects treated worse and with less compassion, than the very slaves themselves. With respect to the latter, the owner not only takes care that they are clothed and fed, but likewise, when they are sick, that they are well nursed and have proper medical attendance. The former go as they can, viz. naked, or dressed in tattered clothes, which, perhaps, after all, do not fit them ; and when one of them dies, it is a common saying, that the Company gets another for nine guilders.

The violent hurricanes from the north-west have more than once occasioned shipwreck in these roads. In 1692, three vessels, one English and two Dutch, were driven on shore and lost. From the same cause, thirty years ago, in the month of May, seven of the Company's ships were said to have been wrecked and lost.

On the 31st of July a slave was executed, who had murdered his master. The delinquent being laid on a cross and tied fast to it, first his arms and legs were burned in eight different parts with jagged tongs, made red hot ; afterwards his arms and legs were broken on the wheel, and lastly, his head was cut off and fixed on a pole. The judge that tries and condemns the criminal, is always present, and walks in procession to the place of execution, in order to give solemnity to the ceremony. The soldiers form a circle. The place of execution is between the town and the citadel, on a small eminence.

On the 8th of August, a slave was hanged for some great crime.

After malefactors have suffered at the place of execution, within the town, they are always brought out in the evening to the gallows without the town, where they are either hanged, and that generally in irons, in which manner the skeleton may be preserved for a long time, or else drawn and quartered. There are two gallows out of the town, one at the entrance to the harbour, under the Leeuwe Staart (Lion's Tail), on which Europeans are hanged, and the other beyond the citadel, near Zout Rivier, on which slaves and Hottentots are executed.

Zout Rivier (or Salt River) is a river of considerable size, which derives its source from Table Mountain, and disembogues itself into the harbour. The water here is salt, from the admixture of sea water, and rises and falls with the tide.

The oak (*quercus robur*) and apricot (*prunus Armeniaca*) blossomed in August, the former, just after it had thrown out its leaves, and the latter, before it had any leaves. The alder also (*betula alnus*), as well as the almond and peach-tree, were now in blossom.

In the winter-months, when much rain fell, the water was in some places seen rushing like a torrent through the clefts of the mountains, down the highest, steep, and bare rocks.

Though the colony is inhabited to a great extent, and the Hottentots are almost extirpated, yet it sometimes happens that slaves run away and hide themselves, and that chiefly in the mountains. But it is very uncommon for a soldier or sailor to run into the country, as he would easily be discovered there. When an unconverted slave runs away and is taken, he is beaten by his master or the officers of the police; but if a Christian deserts from the Company's service, he is hanged. The money laid out in the purchase of the former, saves him from death, but the established laws do not spare the latter.

For the use of the soldiers in the citadel, cooks are taken into it, who dress victuals, and sell them out in portions to the soldiers. Every soldier receives from the Company three pounds of bread twice a week.

Every soldier pays out of his wages two stivers per month to the courier for boots, and is besides obliged to keep guard for him.

Those wretches that are guilty of bestiality, are not put to their trial, or imprisoned, but are immediately drowned, as being unworthy to appear before the judge, or to be visited by a clergyman. In this manner a slave was now executed.

The fiscal is independent in his office, not being subordinate to the governor, and accountable only to the directors in Holland. When disputes and contentions arise between burghers or others, he fines them. The fine here is not proportioned to the crime of the offenders, but, for the most part, suited to their circumstances. The fiscal therefore, to whom these fines furnish a considerable revenue, treats turbulent and offending persons as a physician does a plethoric patient, of whom he always draws blood in proportion as the strength of his habit will permit.

Constantia, consisting of two farms, called Great and Little Constantia, which are situated below the east side of Table Mountain, is celebrated for its highly delicious wine, known by the name of Constantia or Cape wine, which is sold in Europe at so high a price. This wine is extremely sweet, agreeable and luscious, and only fit for the desert, as, on account of its sweetness, if drank in abundance, it lies heavy on the stomach. Of the red wine, about sixty pipes are made, and of the white about ninety; yet the vintage here, as in other places, is different in different years. These two farms were for a long time the only spots which, by reason of their situation, could produce this delicate wine; but lately some other farms in this district, and in a few other places, have been able to bring their wines to the same degree of excellence. But as the Company has reserved to itself the exclusive sale of the Constantia wine, which consequently is considered as contraband, and is not to be bought or transported to Holland under that name by individuals, they have hit upon the expedient of giving their wine, which in point of goodness does not yield to Constantia, the name of Mag wine (or Stomach), which in general is sold to the naval offices of foreign nations cheaper than the Constantia wine itself.

It is remarkable, that the governor increases his revenue by every pipe of wine purchased on the account of the Company. The Company usually pays forty rix-dollars for every pipe, and the feller gives a receipt for forty, but receives no more than twenty-seven rix-dollars, three being deducted for the clergyman's tythe. Ordinary wine is sometimes sold at the rate of ten rix-dollars a pipe, as was the case one year that I was at the Cape. As a pipe contains about one hundred and twelve gallons, the wine is consequently very cheap. In like manner other persons in office make considerable profit on every thing that passes through their hands, which they are indeed often obliged to do, as their salaries cannot support them in a country where most of the necessaries of life are many times dearer than they are in Europe. Thus, while the governor makes ten rix-dollars of every pipe of wine that is sold, other officers find their advantage in giving leave of absence to people who receive pay from the Company without doing any service for it. Some make their fortunes by false weights, others by damaged goods. A shipwreck fills the pockets of many. In consequence of the rapacity of their captains and their mates, the sailors seldom get their due. The soldiers must yield something to their officers. The sick must starve for the support of many that are in health, and the defunct must leave part of their effects to the first comer.

The governor this year caused a hot-house to be built in the Company's garden for pine-apples. This fruit, so delicate at Batavia, could not arrive here at the maturity and high flavour that it does in the East Indies; in like manner the Pisang (*musa paradisiaca*, or *bananas*) would seldom blossom in the few gardens where it was cultivated, and never yielded any fruit that was perfectly ripe and high flavoured.

The American Aloe (*agave Americana*) imported from the botanic gardens of Europe, was now common on the hills near the town, and blossomed finely every year, without attracting such a great concourse of spectators as it does at Amsterdam.

The Porcupine, or Yzer-varken (*hystrix*), whose usual food is the root of that beautiful plant, the *calla Ethiopiaica*, will frequently deign to put up with cabbages and other vegetables, by which means he sometimes commits great depredations in the gardens.

By the Swedish ships that were newly arrived, and brought several of my friends, I not only had the pleasure of receiving letters, but also the joyful tidings of the happy change of government made last year in my native country, by which a great and good king, without bloodshed, and in a manner as noble as his conduct was wise, had been able to put an end to the discord which for many years had divided his subjects, to the great detriment of the kingdom.

In my various excursions to Table Mountain, I observed in its crevices both Dasses and Baboons. The former I perceived generally near the top of the mountain, just at sun-rising, when they used to come out to bask in the sun. Whoever wishes to shoot them, must cautiously approach them, and with a quick gun take his aim in such a manner, as to lay them dead on the spot. If the gun was not quick, they would make off, as soon as ever the prime flashed in the pan; and, if the animal was not instantly killed, it would withdraw into a crevice, so that it could not possibly be got out. The flesh is sometimes eaten, and is tolerably well tasted.

The baboons were pretty numerous, and indeed dangerous to travellers; for sitting undismayed on the tops of the rocks, where they were frequently out of the reach of shot, they would roll, and even throw down, stones of all sorts and sizes. The use of the gun, however, was on these occasions indispensably necessary, as by means of it they might at least be driven to such a distance, that the stones they threw could not do so much mischief. It is curious to observe them in their flight. With their cubs on their

backs they will often make astonishing leaps up a perpendicular rock; and it is but seldom that they can be shot; and even if any one of them is shot, it is not easily killed.

In the town, tame baboons are sometimes kept, made fast to a pole. Their agility in climbing, leaping, and dodging any one that offers to strike them, is almost incredible. Though one of these baboons was tied up, still it was impossible at the distance of a few yards to hit him with a stone. He would either catch the stone, like a ball, in his hand, or else avoid it in the most surprising and nimble manner.

The baboons of Table Mountain, besides paying frequent visits to, and plundering the gardens of the Europeans, feed also upon the pulpous bulbs of several plants, which after digging up, they peel and eat. Heaps of these parings were frequently seen left after them, particularly near the stones, where they reside. The *gladiolus plicatus* appears to be the most favorite plant with those that live near the Cape, for which reason also this plant is known by the name of the Baboon. The root of this plant is sometimes boiled and eaten by the colonists.

In the sandy plains near the Cape, the great white African mole (*marmota Africana*) is more particularly to be found, and that in abundance. It makes large holes in the ground, over which it lays little heaps of mould; these holes are very inconvenient to people in walking, who step down into them unawares, and are frequently in danger of falling. The size of it is nearly equal to that of a cat; it is of a fierce nature, and, when caught, defends itself with its teeth. It feeds on several sorts of bulbous roots that grow in these sandy plains in abundance, especially *Gladioluses*, *Ixias*, *Antholyzas*, and *Irises*. Pennant mentions it at p. 472. under the name of the African Rat.

Those that are but in a small degree acquainted with botany need not be told, that by the opening and closing of flowers, one may frequently know with certainty, as from a watch, what hour of the day it is, as well as if the weather will be fine or rainy. Plants of this kind are common on the African hills.

The *moræa undulata* never opens before nine o'clock in the morning, and before sunset, at four in the afternoon, it closes again.

The *ixia cinnamomea* (Avondbloem, Canelbloem) opens every evening at four, and exhales its agreeable odours through the whole night.

The approach of rain is announced by the flowers of various bulbous plants, such as the *Ixias*, *Moræas*, *Irises*, and *Galaxias*, the tender flowers of which do not open in the morning if rain is to be expected soon; and if a shower is to fall in the afternoon, they close some time before.

Several of these likewise diffuse an agreeable fragrance, particularly at evening or night, somewhat like the odour of pinks, but fainter; such are the *gladiolus tristis* and *recurvus*, the *ixia pilosa*, *falcata*, and *cinnamomea*.

The Earth-rose (Aard-roos) was the name by which the inhabitants, both of the town and country, distinguished the *hyobanche sanguinea*, a plant with a low deep-red flower, which is scarcely of a finger's length, and has neither branches nor leaves. It grows in winter and spring in the low sandy plains, both near the town and elsewhere towards the sea-shore, pushing only its cluster of blood-red flowers above the ground. The *antholyza ringens*, with its gaping flower, and the ever-varying *gladiolus plicatus*, which decorate these sandy plains in abundance, have their pulpous bulbs deep down in the sand, and do not raise their flowers much higher than the *Hyobanche* above the surface of the ground.

During the winter-months, three beautiful species of *gardenia* were blowing in the Company's garden. The *gardenia florida* was probably brought hither from the

Indies; at least, in my travels in this southernmost angle of Africa, I never perceived it growing wild any where, but always planted in the gardens, and that even among the colonists far up the country. Here it always produced double flowers, and, consequently, no fruit, which the Chinese use for dyeing yellow. The *gardenia Rothmannia*, which has less conspicuous flowers than the former, and of which both the flowers and fruit, on being dried, always turn black. The *gardenia Thunbergia*, with respect to its blossom, is one of the finest trees in the world. This little tree had been brought a few years before from the forests of the country, where it is scarce, and grows very slowly, the wood being at the same time so hard, that on this account it is used for clubs. This tree, after it has once begun to blossom, continues to blow for several months, producing fresh blossoms every day, as fast as the old ones by degrees fade and droop, and at length fall off. The blossom is almost six inches long, white and thick, like the most beautiful wash-leather, of an agreeable odour, and does not lose its white colour.

If the cold in this country were severe, and it were absolutely necessary for the inhabitants to keep fires in their ordinary apartments, it would be a wretched country indeed, on account of the great want of fuel it labours under. The wood that is used for dressing their victuals in the kitchen is nothing but brushwood, being got with no less pains than expence from the smaller trees and bushes. On making some inquiry concerning this matter, I found that the following were the most commonly employed for this purpose; viz. the stems and roots of the *protea grandiflora*, *conocarpa*, *speciosa*, *birta*, *mellifera*, and *argentea*, a few species of *erica*, and some sorts of *brunia*.

In a country like this, where it is for the most part impossible to have recourse to an apothecary, and the medicines sent from Europe extremely dear, the inhabitants had prudently thought of trying the indigenous plants of Africa; and, among these, they had discovered various useful remedies in different diseases. As a botanist and physician, I was eager to be acquainted with them, and never lost an opportunity of adding to the slender stock of my knowledge, which often proved serviceable, both to myself and the benevolent and obliging colonists. For when any of these could impart to me, in their plain and artless way, a slight notion only of some useful plant, I was able afterwards to give them a more accurate idea of its true use in curing diseases.

Many *gerania*, with their red and pulpy roots, grew in the sandy plains near the town; and as these roots are of an astringent nature, the country-people used them in the diarrhoea and dysentery.

The root of the *bryonia Africana* was employed both as an emetic and a purge.

The roots of the *asclepias undulata* (Bitter-wortel) and *crispa*, as well as the whole of the herb *eriocephalus*, were used for the purpose of expelling urine in the dropsy.

For the same purpose also they frequently made use of the root of the *beemanthus coccineus*, instead of squills, or the *scilla maritima*. This plant is very common on the hills below the mountains, and hence has obtained the name of the Mountain-squill. Its root is large, white, mucilaginous, fibrous, and somewhat acrid. After being cut into slices, it is steeped in vinegar, and from this is made a kind of weak *oxymel scilliticum*, which is used in dropsies and asthmas.

The *polygonum barbatum*, which grows in ditches, and is of an acrid nature, is, like its kindred species, used for dropical and swelled legs.

A decoction of the leaves of the *crotalaria perfoliata* was esteemed a powerful diuretic, and, in consequence of this property, to cure dropsies.

The *piper capense* was in some places used as a stomachic, instead of common pepper; and the *fagara capensis* (Wilde Cardamom) was of great service to many people in the flatulent cholic, and the palsy.

The juice of the *mesembryanthemum edule* was used both as an internal and external remedy : internally for the dysentery and the thrush (*aphthæ*) in children, and externally for burns.

They were very loud here in the praises of the *osmites camphorina*, to which they were pleased to give the name of *bellis* (or daisy). This plant has certainly great merit on account of its camphorated principle, and its strong poignant smell and taste, both of which evince it to be of a highly resolving nature. The plant itself is sometimes used externally, applied in bags to inflammations, and on the stomach in cholics. But the spirit distilled from it, called *spiritus bellidis*, was highly esteemed in coughs and hoarseness. In these cases, however, it appeared to me to be too heating ; but I used it more than once with advantage in the palsy and apoplexy. The genuine species, or the *osmites camphorina*, which is the very best, I found growing on the top of Table Mountain only ; and as it was obtainable only by a few, the *osmites asteriscoides*, which has a fainter smell and weaker virtues, was used in its stead. As an astringent in the diarrhœa, the rough and austere bark of the *protea grandiflora* was frequently used. In the environs of the town grew likewise various plants, which the inhabitants had learned to convert to their own benefit when afflicted with disorders ; as, *e.g.*

The *adonis capensis* and *atrargene vesicatoria* (Brandblad) used instead of Cantharides : these plants grew on the sides of the mountains and hills ; and were exhibited in the sciatica and rheumatism.

The *adiantum Æthiopicum* (Vrouwehaar), a species of maidenhair, grew chiefly on the sides of the Devil's Mountain, and was drank at tea, in colds and other affections of the breast.

The *protea mellifera* (Tulp-boom and Zuyker-boom) contains in its calyx a sweet juice, which, when inspissated, was used in disorders of the breast.

The *salicornia frutescens* (Lee-koral, or sea-coral) grew on the sea-shore, and, notwithstanding its brackish taste, was eaten by the soldiers and some few others as a salad, dressed with oil and vinegar.

Besides the Company's dispensary which was at the hospital, another was founded this year in the town, by which means the country-people may now have a better opportunity of procuring medicines than they had before, when they are obliged to purchase them of the surgeons at a very high price.

From the *oxalis cornua* (Wilde Syring), which grew to the greatest size and in the greatest abundance of all the species appertaining to this genus, was prepared a good and serviceable *sals acetosellæ* (or salt of wood-forrel).

Hard Looper (or Fast Runner) was a name given, on account of the swiftness with which it ran, to the *carabus 10-guttatus* ; an insect that frequented several places, and often the highways themselves. This animal has the same property as our Swedish gunner (*carabus crepitans*), viz. that when it is pursued or caught, it blows out with violence from behind a liquid, which has the appearance of a thin fine smoke, diffusing itself all around, and if it gets into the eyes, making them smart just as if brandy were squirted into them. By these means it blinds its pursuers, and gets an opportunity of escaping while the pain lasts, which is about a minute or two.

Fiscal and Canary-biter were the appellations given to a black and white bird (*lanius collaris*), which was common in the town, and was to be found in every garden there. As it was a bird of prey, though very small, it sought its food among the insects, such as beetles and grasshoppers, which it not only caught with great dexterity, but likewise, when it could not consume them all, it would stick them up on the pales of farm-yards, so that one would have supposed them to have been impaled in

in this manner by human beings. It also caught sparrows and canary-birds, but did not devour any more of them than the brains.

A beautiful green thrush (*turdus ceilonicus*) frequented the gardens of the town, and delighted the ears of the attentive burgher with his sweet song.

The winter rains having moistened the dry hills in the environs of the Cape, various beautiful and elegant flowers of bulbous plants began to spring in the month of August. The plants that were more particularly common were the *ixia bulbocodium*, which varied much in the size and colour of its flowers; the *moræa collina* and *spatibacea*, the dependent leaves of which twined round the feet of the perambulator, and frequently threw him down: and the *moræa undulata*, the flower of which has the appearance of a large spider, and attracts the flies called blue bottles by its fetid smell. The elegant family of the *irises*, however, especially the *papilionacea*, excelled all others in the superb grandeur of their flowers, which was greater than can be expressed.

Coffee Corn (*holcus Caffrorum*) was cultivated by some few people in their gardens as a rarity, and grew to the height of a man, bearing large clusters of flowers; consequently it is a very profitable kind of corn, but requires a great deal of heat.

The *mirabilis dichotoma* (Vieruurs Bloem, or Four-o'clock Flower) was planted in a few gardens, both for the beauty of its flowers, and its singular quality of closing them every evening at four o'clock.

Among the various sorts of fish that appeared on the tables at the Cape, were the *chimæra callorhynchus* (Dodskop or Joseph), the flesh of which is white and well-tasted; and the *raja miraletus* (or Rock). The *raja torpedo* too, (called here Trill Vifch,) was sometimes caught in the harbour, but not brought to table.

Pelicans with their large claws, called here Kropgans (*pelecanus onocrotalus*), which are not scarce on the coast, were also kept in a tame state, and lived on fish, and food of a similar nature, by the water-side.

Of the *restio dichotomus* (Beefers Riet) brooms were made to sweep the floors with.

The singular name of King of Candia was given by the inhabitants to the *hæmanthus coccineus* and *puniceus*, one of the largest and most beautiful flowers that made their appearance towards winter on the hills of the Cape, exhibiting in stately pomp its blood-red clusters of flowers that grew close to the ground, and bare of leaves, which, previously to the blowing of the plant, had withered and disappeared. After the flowers come the fruit; and this is succeeded by the leaves alone, which are but two in number, and lie down flat on the ground, like those of the *amaryllis ciliaris*: which latter plant, with its leaves fringed with black hairs, grew all over this district, though it was never once seen to blossom.

Besides the chameleon, which changes its colour, there were two lizards, very common on the hills near the town; the *lacerta stellio* and *orbicularis*, sitting every where on the stones, and basking in the sun. Both of them made a hideous appearance with their protuberant points, and when any body approached them, ran quickly down under the stones to hide themselves.

The Hottentots generally elect a chief, whom they call captain; and as they pretend to be in alliance with the Dutch East India Company, the captain whom they have elected, is to be confirmed by the governor at the Cape. One of these captains was now come to town, attended by a few Hottentots, to be confirmed in his new dignity, and, agreeably to ancient custom, receive some presents. As a token of his authority, he is presented with a large brass head, on which are engraved the Company's arms. The captain heads the troops when they take the field, either against their enemies, or for the purpose of hunting wild beasts, on which occasion he also throws the first spear. In

other respects, very little more regard is shewn to him than to the rest; and the chief difference between them seems to be, that he commonly wears either a calf's or a tiger's skin, while the rest are clad in sheep-skins.

In winter, when the north-west wind blows stormy into Table Bay, whales are sometimes driven in. One of these fish had lately been cast on shore dead. It was above two fathoms long. From its back, which lay above the water, they cut out large pieces, in order to extract train-oil from the blubber.

In like manner, during this season, there arrived at the numerous islands that lie round about the Cape a great number of seals, which in this part of the world are commonly called sea-dogs, because, while they are bounding up and down in the water, they bear some resemblance to a dog. There they breed at this time, and bring up their young ones, and are caught in abundance for the Company, for the purpose of making train-oil. It is singular that the sea-dog, which is in fact a marine animal, cannot swim by nature, as soon as it comes into the world. It is the same case with this as with some kinds of birds, which cannot fly till they are taught by the mother. Thus it is that the sea-dog learns of its mother to swim. When the young seal is arrived at a certain age, his mother catches him by the neck and throws him into the water, where he plashes about, till at length he begins to sink: the mother then catches him up again, and thus makes him try several times, till at last he can swim and go out to sea.

The farming out of wine and victuals produces to the Company a considerable revenue. The former was now, according to annual custom, sold by auction on the last day of August; and he who bids highest becomes the farmer-general of the wine-contract, having the exclusive right of selling wine, not only to strangers and to the officers of the Dutch ships, but also to the inns and taverns. The owners of vineyards, it is true, may dispose of their wine to the burghers at the Cape for their own consumption; but neither they nor any one else are suffered, under a heavy penalty, to sell a single drop of it to any other person. By this means the wine comes very high to foreign nations, and at a tavern a bottle costs several times as much as it does to private people at their own houses. The farmer of the wines has alone the power of retailing out wine himself, or of permitting others who keep inns, for a certain consideration, to do the same. The revenue from the wine-contract amounts yearly to between thirty and forty thousand guilders.

The victualling contract is conducted in a different manner. He that bids the lowest at the auction is appointed the farmer-general of this monopoly; viz. he that offers to furnish the Company with fresh meat for its ships and its other exigencies at the lowest price. From this contract, it is true, the Company receives no pecuniary advantage; but then it gets all its meat at a much lower price, than it otherwise could possibly be obtained. It is in consequence of this contract also, that the burghers as well as strangers, are obliged to pay an extravagant price for butchers-meat. Thus whilst the Company get butchers-meat for two droits per pound, the burghers must pay at the rate of four or more, and strangers two stivers; and while a bullock, fit for slaughter, is commonly sold for five Dutch rix-dollars, strangers must pay at the rate of ten or more. This contract is farmed out for one, two, three, five, or seven years; and certain spots near Groene Kloof are ceded to the contractor for pasture grounds without any separate charge.

On this account, as well as on that of the language, which strangers do not always understand, every nation whose ships anchor here, is obliged to have a commissary or broker, who manages their concerns, and also contributes, as far as in him lies, to raise the price of every article to them.

Wheat,

Wheat, when it is wanted by foreign nations for exportation, is only to be had of the Company. The French ships frequently exported it in the course of this and the last year to the Isle of France.

Many people, and particularly the sailors, instead of butter, used to purchase the fat that had been melted down from the large tails of the African sheep. One of these tails, weighing twenty pounds, consists of nothing but fat, which is the highest luxury of the Hottentots. This fat is laid down in tubs with some salt and pepper, and used at sea with bread in lieu of butter.

Ostriches eggs were mostly purchased by the naval officers. They are in general the perquisites of slaves, who, in tending their cattle, frequently find places in the sands where the ostriches have laid their eggs. During the time of incubation, a dozen, and sometimes even a score of these eggs (though for the most part fewer), are to be found in one place. The slaves always use the precaution not to take away the eggs with their hands (in which case the birds, who perceive it by the scent, are apt to quit the nest); but by means of a long stick they rake them out of the nest as fast as the birds lay them. These eggs sold in general for a skelling a piece, or about sixpence English. They are fittest, and most used for cakes and *aufs perdus*; and they are particularly good, when eaten with a large quantity of butter. One single egg is sufficient for several people. And whereas hens eggs will seldom keep for any length of time on board of ship, and require great pains to be taken with them in order to turn them every day, ostriches eggs are easily preserved at sea, on account of their size, and of their thick and strong shell.

The Camphor-tree (*laurus camphora*) brought from the East Indies, and planted here, thrive very well, though no great pains were taken to increase the number of them, or collect any camphor from them.

In like manner Turmeric (*curcuma longa*) was cultivated on a small bed in the Company's garden; the root was scarcely ever used here, though it is so much in request in Europe for the purpose of dyeing, and in the East Indies enters into almost all their dishes.

During the whole time that I staid at the Cape (almost a year and a half), I never observed that any public fair was kept here. In fact, fairs are not usual in this country. In their stead, public auctions are the more frequently made for all sorts of foreign merchandize, especially such as is brought here from the various factories belonging to the Company in the different parts of the East Indies.

The burghers in the town generally make an agreement with some of the surgeons in the hospital to attend them and their families, and furnish them with medicines. This is the more necessary, as they have always a number of slaves, and sometimes dangerous epidemic distempers prevail among them. This circumstance is the cause that the physicians and surgeons, who come as strangers to this place, and stay some time at it, are scarcely ever called in, unless they can work miracles. My medical practice in the town consequently was not very extensive; neither, indeed, did I strive to enlarge it, for fear of being impeded in my botanical pursuits. On the other hand, I had the greater opportunities of assisting the country-people in my medical capacity, who were both in greater want of my aid, and more grateful to me for it. Almost always, and every where, I observed that my medicines acted with the greatest efficacy as well as certainty upon the slaves, whose constitutions were not so much impaired by improper diet, and were, besides, less accustomed to the use of remedies.

Though slaves are not usually instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, nor their children baptized, the Dutch East India Company takes care that the children born in
the

the lodges of their own female slaves are baptized, and in some measure instructed in the Christian religion. The reason for this, perhaps, may be, that most of these children have European fathers, to whom they frequently bear the most striking resemblance.

The children thus issued from Europeans, I had frequent opportunities of seeing married to black women. Their progeny, however, were not always like each other. I once saw issued from such a couple, one son, who was black, with large eyes, and resembled his mother; another, who was rather of a white complexion, but varied with black spots scattered up and down, and, upon the whole, bore a greater resemblance to the father; and a girl, that was half black.

When the negroes are wounded in any part of their bodies, and these wounds heal again, the scars at first are white, but the skin afterwards grows black by degrees.

I saw an old Hottentot here, who was very much afflicted with an erysipelas in his leg. The erysipelas discovered itself by its usual bluish-red colour; and on the black ground it had a very frightful appearance. Otherwise it was very rare to find any of these people with blemishes on any part of their bodies, and much more so, to see any among them crippled. As they not only live sparingly, but also on unseasoned and unsalted food, they are in general subject to few diseases. The changes of the climate are almost the only causes of the rheumatisms and fevers which sometimes prevail among them; still, these distempers are much more scarce among the Hottentots that enjoy their liberty, than among those who have entered into the service of the Dutch colonists.

As far as I had an opportunity of travelling last summer, both to the northward and eastward, in this extensive country, I met with but small remains of the once more or less numerous Hottentot nations, which, as late as the beginning of this century, still inhabited these vast plains. It is true, as fast as the colonists spread over the country in gradual succession, the Hottentots have been obliged to retire, and make room for the dwellings and cattle of the Europeans; but it is an undoubted fact also, that the small-pox, a new and to them unknown distemper, has, like a pestilence, exterminated the greater part of them. Now there are only a few scattered villages (Kraals) or societies of them to be found, in which state they either live by themselves, or are taken into service at the Company's posts and grazing-farms, or else by the colonists themselves. For the most part, these societies, especially in the vicinity of the Cape, are far from being numerous; but farther in the country they are both more populous and more wealthy. The few remains of them that still exist, have, in some instances, retained the names of their tribes; but more frequently those names are retained which formerly distinguished each nation separately, and are applied to the district itself, and to the larger rivers which run through the country, or form the limits of it. The better the country was provided with water, the more populous were the inhabitants, and the more cattle they possessed; still, however, the whole nation did not amount to more than a few thousand men, and each of their districts formed a smaller or larger province.

The Gunjemans Hottentots were those that lived nearest the Cape, and on the very point itself; they extended as far as False Bay, the Hottentots Holland Mountain, and from thence to the left as far as Stellenbosch. This country is extensive, but consists in a great measure of a sandy unfruitful soil. These were the first, who, in barter for certain merchandizes, ceded to the Dutch East India Company a tract of their country; and of these there are but a few, and I had almost said none, now remaining.

The Kokoquas nation inhabited the country that bordered upon the Cape on the northern side, in the environs of Groene Kloof. In my first expedition, which was directed towards that side, I met with several of this nation still in being, and even received from the Company's posts two of them to attend me on the journey. Their country, like that of the preceding tribe, is low, level, and sandy, is much in want of water, and was formerly not very populous, neither have the colonists been able to cultivate every part of it. It extends as far as the shore of the ocean; and has a few small hillocks dispersed over its surface.

In continuing my journey to the northward, and to Saldahna Bay, I visited the Saffaquas Hottentots, some of whom were still remaining. As the country is every where low, sandy, and in want of fresh water, this nation was always very considerable, and subsisted by grazing.

The Hottentots that live still farther to the northward, and are descended from tribes that were once numerous, I had not the opportunity of visiting in this excursion, but proceeded more towards the mountains in the east, and the tracts of land that lay beyond them. However, from the inhabitants in these parts I got particular information concerning the neighbouring nations, which I was in hopes of visiting at some future period. From these I learned that, all along the sea-coast, and round about St. Helena's Bay, in a low, sterile, and sandy tract, the Odiquas Nation borders on the Saffaquas. The next neighbours to these are the Chirigiquas, a more populous and wealthy nation, which inhabits a fine grazing country, watered by the great Elephant's River: and these again have for their neighbours two great and famous nations, the Little Namaquas, who live on the sea-coast, and the Great Namaquas who reside farther from it.

In the excursion I made the preceding summer, I visited, in going, and returning, almost all the nations that once inhabited the eastern tract or the coast of Caffraria. After passing the mountain called the Hottentots Holland Mountain, I came to a hilly and mountainous tract of land, which was inhabited as far as the hot-back by the Koopman Nation; next to these, on the sea-coast, were the Sonquas Hottentots, whom on my return homewards I had to my left. The country of these latter is rather barren, and not much subject to the encroachments of the Europeans.

Next to the Koopmans is the Hessaquas Nation; of this but few remain. And more towards the east, near the great and deep river Zonder End, is the country once inhabited by the Dunquas Hottentots.

Gauriquas land extends more to the north-eastward: this is a very fine country, and abounds in grass; it is watered by a considerable large river, called Goud's Rivier, and was formerly very populous.

Travelling further on, and following the shores of the ocean, one comes to the Houtniquas Hottentots, who in their hilly and woody country have remained the longest sheltered from the Europeans; and had hitherto suffered so little from their encroachments, that of all the Hottentots I had as yet seen, no nation was more considerable in point of numbers, till I came to Kamtous River.

Farther to the northward, and near the large valley, through which one must pass in order to go to Lange Kloof and the adjacent country, occurs the district of the Ataquas Hottentots, which is mountainous and abounds in grass.

Still farther to the eastward, following the coast, one finds first the Kamtours Nation, then the Heykoms, and lastly the Caffres. All these nations are in possession of hilly and extremely rich meadows, intersected by many, and those frequently considerable rivers, abounding in fish. And as these people have not hitherto been subject to the
encroach-

encroachments of the colonists, though a few grazing farms have already been laid out here, they are not only numerous, but also rich and abound greatly in cattle.

All these Hottentots, whom I visited in their own country, agreed in this particular, that they were mostly short, thin, and slender, with prominent cheek bones, flat noses, protuberant mouths, peaked chins, crooked backs, and pot-bellies. The colour of their skins was yellowish, but more or less dark from grease and dirt. Their hair is of a singular nature, curling like wool, and on most of them as short as the knaps of frieze cloth, but sometimes, though seldom, of a finger's length, when it looks like twisted yarn; but few of them have any vestiges of a beard; and when they have, it is curling like their hair. The other sex always have their breasts hanging down to a considerable length. All of them are mad after brandy and tobacco, and find a peculiar pleasure in filth and stench. They besmear themselves with grease, and powder themselves all over with the fetid substance called Bucku, or the powdered leaves of the *Diosma*. A sheep's-skin thrown over their shoulders, and another over their loins, with a small bag for the male, and a square bit of skin for the female sex, constitute almost the whole of their apparel. Besides this, they also wear on their heads a skin-cap, and, by way of ornament, rings of iron or copper round their arms, strings of beads round their wrists, and rings of leather round their legs. The huts, in which they live, are low and small, and convex like a hay-stack. They always sit squat on their arms; are nimble and active, but, in general, extremely lazy. Their furniture is scanty and mean. Their dishes are tortoise-shell. The water they have occasion for they keep in the guts of animals, and milk in baskets and goat-skins. Their wants, it is true, are not great; nevertheless their poverty displays itself in every particular.

The *galenia Africana* was known under the appellation of Kraal Bosch, and in some places was used for fences about the enclosures for their cattle, when no other bushes fit for the purpose were to be had.

Almonds were sold here, not by the weight, but by the hundred and thousand. They were bought up in great quantities by officers who went to Batavia, where they could sell them to advantage.

Strawberries (*fragaria vesca*) had been brought from Holland, and planted out in beds in the gardens round the town. They were transplanted every third year. They sold at a high price, and to great advantage, and were well tasted, though they had not so delicious a flavour as those that grow in Europe.

Mulberry-trees (*morus nigra*) were found at several of the farms near the town, and produced ripe and fine fruit, which however was seldom seen in the markets.

In the beginning of September the slaves used to weed the corn-fields, both the barley, which is ripe and reaped in November, and the wheat, which is reaped in December.

An unfortunate accident happened about this time. A huntsman who had accompanied Major Baron Von Prehm, the commander of the garrison here, in a short excursion into the country, lost one of his hands in consequence of the bursting of his gun, and was brought into the citadel. He had taken aim at a Koor-haen, and probably loaded his piece too high. Accidents of this nature are not uncommon in this country, where sound and good guns are extremely scarce. Many other people had lost a hand in the same manner; and the late Governor Tulbagh, who from the condition of a private soldier had risen to the highest pitch of honour, had lost one of his eyes by the bursting of a gun. The same misfortune had like to have befallen me also this winter, as I was shooting in the harbour at some of the pelicans, which fly over it every evening in large flocks. On the firing of the gun, the whole flock was broken into a

thousand splinters, several of which wounded my face and hands. To prevent such an accident from happening to me again, the celebrated Captain Ekeberg, who commanded a Swedish ship that anchored this year in the road, presented me with a handsome and sound Swedish gun, which ever after, during my residence and travels in Africa and the Island of Java, was a safe and constant defence to me.

The *Loxia Afrild*, on account of its red beak, was called Rood-beekje, or Red-beak, and was found in great numbers in the farmers' gardens. They usually flew in large flocks; and lighted in the grass, so close to the ground that they could not be seen, though on account of their multitudes, one was sure to kill a great many of them at one shot, notwithstanding that it is a bird of the smallest size.

Turtle-doves (*columba risoria*) were common in this country, particularly in places where there was much under-wood. They were seldom eaten by the country-people. It is remarkable, that this bird cannot remove from one place to another without laughing afterwards. This laughing noise, as well as its cooing, always betrays its place of abode. The flesh of it tasted rather dry.

Green Mountain Swallows (*merops apiaster*) were also to be seen near some of the farms, and that frequently in the greatest numbers. These birds are extremely beautiful in their yellow and sea-green attire. In the day-time they seek their food, which consists of insects, in the fields; but in the evenings they return in flocks, chirping in such a manner as perfectly to deafen one. They then assemble together by degrees in the gardens, and at length go to roost in the branches of orange and other trees before it grows quite dark.

The month of September was already begun, and the beautiful and flowery spring making its appearance, put me in mind of preparing for a long journey up the country. But here more obstacles and disagreeable circumstances threw themselves in my way than I could ever have imagined. The trifling viaticum I had brought with me from Europe, I had long ago consumed, and in the seventeen months which I had passed here, I had received no supplies from Holland. At Amsterdam, indeed, I had great and powerful patrons in the burgomasters Ryk Temmink and Van der Poll, together with the privy counsellors Van der Deutz and Ten Hoven, by the persuasions and at the expence of whom I had undertaken this long voyage; but to my great misfortune, both of the governors Tulbagh and Rhee de van Oudshoorn, to whom I was strongly recommended, and from whom I had reason to expect every support, had departed this life, the one dying previously to my arrival at the Cape, and the other in the voyage thither. I was therefore a stranger in an unknown place, and left to myself and to my fate till my friends at Amsterdam could be informed of my situation, and endeavour to better it. Misfortunes seldom come single; and I had now my double portion of affliction. For when I intended to take up my salary from the company, it appeared, that the ship in which I had arrived, was come without its muster-roll. This was therefore first to be brought from Europe, before any one could receive his pay. When the ship sailed from the Texel, the visitation-officers in their hurry had forgot to deliver in the muster-roll, and the captain to demand it. The consequence of this was, that none of all those that were engaged on board the ship, could, during the space of two or three years, either obtain their pay or leave to go home. The visitation-officers (*kruyd leesters*) are two of the Company's servants of the lowest rank, who are stationed in each ship during the time that the ship lies at anchor in the Texel: these people have the inspection over every thing that is brought on board, and the care of providing the ships with what they want every day, till they go out to sea. These, who, in order to keep account of the officers and crew, had the muster-roll in their possession, were

interested scoundrels, and more intent upon being treated and bribed, and felling and bartering their cheefe and butter, than they were sober and vigilant in the performance of their duty.

The preceding year I had been obliged to contract debts to a considerable amount, and had now no other resource left than to encrease them, especially if I were to be enabled to undertake another expensive journey into the country, and not to remain an idle spectator at the Cape. I therefore again had recourse to M. Bergh, the secretary of the police, who had not only hitherto kindly assisted me with his purse, but also generously opened it to me on this occasion, and thereby enabled me to make another excursion into the interior part of the southernmost point of Africa.

My equipage was in most respects the same as that of the foregoing year, with this difference, that instead of the old broken cart, I had a new one which was tilted with sail-cloth. I was also now the sole possessor of it, and avoided being encumbered with the serjeant and gardener, who the year before greatly contributed to render a small cart still more insufficient for my wants. Besides boxes, paper, ammunition, and other necessaries, I also took with me this year several medicines to distribute among the colonists in the interior parts of the country, who might stand in need of them, and had before upon various occasions shewn me the greatest kindness.

For my fellow-traveller I had an English gardener, of the name of Mason, who had been sent hither by the King of England to collect all sorts of African plants for the gardens at Kew. Mr. Mason arrived the year before, in the same ship in which Captain Cook, with the professors Forster and Sparrman, were to make their celebrated voyage round the world, and towards the southern pole. He had arrived at the Cape after I was set out on my journey to Caffraria; and shortly after this he made an excursion into the country, accompanied by Mr. Oldenburg, who went with him, partly as his companion, and partly as his interpreter. Mr. Mason was well equipped with a large and strong waggon tilted with sail-cloth, which was driven by an European servant, upon whom he could depend. We had each of us a saddle-horse, and for our waggon we had several pair of oxen.

Thus we formed a society, consisting of three Europeans and four Hottentots, who for the space of several months were to penetrate into the country together, put up with whatever we should find, whether good or bad, and frequently seclude ourselves from almost all the rest of the world, and of the human race.

Second Journey into Caffraria, 1773.

WITH so slender an equipage as the before-mentioned, and in such a mountainous and desert country as Africa, I had resolved to make an expedition this summer into the country, to the north-eastward, as far as the Snow Mountains; and first directing my course to the northward, to pass afterwards through Camdebo, and other most uncultivated tracts, without taking the nearest and most beaten road.

This resolve was indeed rather extravagant; yet I would not leave it unsatisfied, particularly as it was a matter of indifference to me what parts of the country I visited, provided only they were such as I had not seen before, and where I might collect animals and plants hitherto unknown.

My fellow-travellers and I having set out from the Cape, on the 11th of September 1773, we arrived first at one of the Company's posts, called Jean Besis Kraal, and then at Riet Valley, a farm where cows are kept, solely for the governor's use, and for the purpose of furnishing his table once a week with fresh butter. For this reason, all that travel this road are forbidden to suffer their horses or oxen to graze in the neighbouring pastures; whereas otherwise all Africa resembles a common, in which any one is at liberty to turn his cattle out wherever he pleases.

On the right, as we passed along, lay the Tiger Mountains, and, on our left, the Blue Mountains; over one extremity of which we passed on horseback. These, just before they rise, have a few sand-hills scattered in the front of them, and contain no stones at all that are visible; so that they appear, for the greater part, to be merely huge sand-hills, formed by the drift-sand from the harbour.

The whole country was covered with sand and downs, and abounded in swamps (Valley), which having been filled with water during the winter, now began to produce fine pasturage for the cattle. For this reason the farmers here graze only, and sow but a small quantity of wheat, but pay no attention to the vine. The water is for the most part brackish, and even this, for the greatest part of the year, is very scanty.

Turtles were seen here and there in the ponds; and sometimes they were kept in the houses in glass vessels full of water, for the purpose of being conveyed to other places. At the approach of rainy weather, we were informed that the turtles always rose higher in the glasses.

Towards evening we arrived at Mrs. Muller's farm.

Among the bushes in the sands we frequently saw land-tortoises crawling, and the young ladies in the house had ordered the slaves to bring several of them home, of various sizes, for our repast. The *testudo pusilla* was the most common species here, and it was this which was now laid upon the fire for our eating. I slipped into the kitchen on purpose to see the mode of dressing it, and found that the girls were cruel enough to lay the poor animal wide open on the live coals, where, sprawling with its head and feet, it was broiled alive, till at length it burst to pieces with the heat. The eggs, which were in a great number, and consisted of yolk only, were the most delicious and desirable part of it.

The roots of fennel were roasted and eaten in the same manner as those of anise.

The bulbs of the *iris edulis*, a plant which grew here in abundance, and decorated the fields with a variety of white, yellow, and blue flowers, were brought in great quantities by the slaves. They were eaten either roasted, boiled, or stewed with milk, and appeared to me to be both palatable and nourishing.

On the 13th, we arrived at the Company's post in Groene Kloof, having passed by Dassenberg, Burger's Post, and Groene Kloof Mountain. At Burger's Post, as well as on Koberg, there stands a cannon, near a high flag-staff, for the purpose of summoning the colonists on this side of the country to the Cape, on any sudden approach of danger.

The country here was a deep sand, and full of downs, which made the roads very heavy. The houses, for want of wood, were built of unbaked clay, formed into bricks, and dried a little in the air.

The cattle were infested with the stranguary. This disorder was remedied by thrusting a straw into the urinary passage, by means of which the clod of gum, *euphorbia*, which had settled there, was removed. This operation, however, was not performed without loss of blood. It was told us for certain, that unless this obstruction was removed,

removed, the bladder would burst, not from the acrimony of the gum, but from the great quantity and pressure of the urine.

Having rested a few days, we continued our journey on horseback by Ganssekraal to the sea-shore.

The inhabitants caught a *haliotis*, a kind of cockle, which, as well as muscles, they ate boiled.

Both the variegated and the white Sand Mole (*marmota capensis* and *Africana*) frequented the sandy plains; and were also said to do great damage to the gardens. They are caught either in traps, or by digging; in the latter case, they dig a hole first before, and afterwards behind that made by the animal, or else, after stopping up the animal's hole behind, they dig another directly opposite to her.

Charcoal, though it is but seldom made in this country, which is bare of trees, so that the smiths must be supplied from Europe, I saw prepared in the following manner: the wood was placed on one end, as usual, but in such a manner that the smaller and larger pieces were mingled together. Round this pile were laid reeds, and the whole was covered with turf. In the middle, and also at the sides, was put some resinous wood, by means of which the pile was set on fire. This being done, the aperture at the top was covered up closely with turf. All around the bottom several air-holes were left, which, as soon as the fire began to blaze forth, were successively stopped up, and the sides were gradually pressed more and more closely together. In a few days, when the operation was finished, the pile was opened, and what fire remained was thoroughly extinguished with water. The whole pile was no larger than a hay-stack.

The Bucku (*diosma*), which was collected here by the Hottentots, was first dried in the shade, and afterwards over the fire, before it was pulverized.

I also visited the Salt Pan, which was situated at a short distance from the sea-shore. It was at this time full of water. The name of Salt Pans is given, in this country, to large collections of salt-water; which, when the winter rains have ceased, partly in consequence of the heat of the sun, and partly of the violence of the winds, gradually evaporate, and precipitate a salt, which the colonists collect for their own use. The crystallization is the most powerful in the months of November and December, and in the middle of the day, between the hours of ten and three. During that time, one may plainly see the salt, somewhat like the cream of milk, first crystallize on the surface, till, in consequence of its own weight, it sinks to the bottom. This saline incrustation is very fine, and yields a fine salt, which must be collected as fast as it crystallizes, and is driven by the south-east winds towards the north-western side. Unless this be done, the incrustation will fall to the bottom in several different strata, forming a thick bed of a coarse-grained salt, which is frequently of a grey colour, from the admixture of dirt, and is used for salting fish and meat. On the other hand, the fine salt, being cleaner and whiter, is used for the table only, and for salting fresh butter.

On the 19th of September we set off from Groene Kloof, leaving to the right the chain of mountains called Burger's Post, and, to the left, Groene Kloof Mountain. Before us, a little to the right, we had the Reebokskop, and, in front of that, we descried the Konterberg, behind which we saw the Baboons Mountain.

Having passed these mountains, the level country presented to our view Ribeck Kasteel, Four-and-twenty Rivers Mountain, and Piquet Mountain, together with a great number of roe-bucks (*capra*), hart beasts (*capra dorcas*), Steen-bocks (*capra grimmia*), and diving bucks (*duykers capra*), besides Korrhaens and ostriches.

We

We passed by Papenkuyls Fountain, and Uylekraal, to a farm belonging to Jan Slabbert.

On the 22d we arrived at Saldahna Bay, which has many islands and dangerous shoals, some of which have only three fathom water. On Foundling Island train-oil is prepared from seals in earthen pans, in which it is first exposed to the heat of the sun to evaporate. After this, it is boiled in a kettle, at first with wood, and then with such remains of the blubber as will yield no more oil. There are several islands lying near this harbour, such as Fundling Eyland, Taxen Eyland, Jutland, remarkable for its large hills of stone, Meuven Eyland, Dassin Eyland, and Schaapen Eyland, all of which are very stony, and, on account of their rocks, difficult of access to the ships.

In Taxen island, rabbits have greatly increased since they were carried thither, and are now to be found in great abundance.

Dassin Island, in particular, is an asylum for the penguins (*diomedæa*), a kind of sea-fowl, which cannot fly at all, but dive the better on that account, and pass most of their time out at sea.

The ships but seldom enter this harbour, and then no other than such as come too close under the coast, so that they cannot make the road of the Cape. The harbour makes several windings, and various winds are requisite for ships to sail out of it.

On the 28th, we pursued our journey to Witteklipp, an estate belonging to Tobias Mostert, which received its name from a little mountain, or large insulated rock, situated near it, and of a singular appearance, on account of its bare and white surface, formed, not by lime, as the inhabitants of the place imagined, but by a white moss (*byffus lactea*). In front, on the side next to the house, this rock had a large excavation, in the form of a crescent, with a vaulted roof. It was no easy matter to come at this singular cavity, as the part of the rock that stood before it was not only very steep, but also convex, and at the same time very slippery, except a few channels that ran longitudinally downwards, and were formed by the rain-water. I had, nevertheless, a strong inclination to reconnoitre it, as I saw a few swallows that had their nests there flying into it, and, as I imagined, that some curious plants might be found there. I therefore took off my shoes and stockings, and made a shift to clamber up thither bare-foot, but found more difficulty in getting down again; and, as no other descent was practicable, I slid down the rock upon my breech by the same way. This cavity, which probably seldom receives such visitors, had nothing remarkable in it, besides a dead swallow (*hirundo apus*), the singularity of its form, and the difficulty of its access. It was about four fathoms from the foot of the rock, nearly in the middle of it, and a couple of fathoms wide and high.

Ostriches were very common in this tract. It was said that a male ostrich makes a nest with three or four females, which, together, lay twenty or thirty eggs, on which they sit by turns in a hole they have made with their feet by trampling in the sand.

A kind of wild dogs, which were here called jackalls, and are the same as Samson's foxes mentioned in Scripture, frequented these plains in large troops. They caught a great number of the wild goats (or antelopes), that abound here, as well as of ostriches, in the hunting of which they set up a regular cry, surrounding the game first at a distance, and approaching nearer to it by degrees. They likewise committed great havoc among the farmers' sheep, unless these were carefully guarded by shepherds furnished with fire-arms.

It is only in the spring and in the beginning of summer that these low sandy plains are adorned with flowers. After the south-east winds and the drought have set in, the seeds of these flowers are quickly scattered over the fields, often before they are quite ripe.

For

For this reason I was obliged, when making collections for the botanical gardens of Europe, especially of the annual plants, to gather the seeds in an unripe state, and lay them up in paper to dry and ripen gradually.

On the 30th we arrived at Honingklipp, a farm belonging to Nicholas Klein.

The crows (*corvus Hottentottus*) here were seen sitting on the backs of the cows, and picking insects (*acari*) out of them, by which at times they were much infested. These creatures also were accustomed to picking the wheat out of the fields immediately after it had been sown.

Here I saw a tame Griefbok or Greybuck (*capra*), of the size of a middling lamb, that had been caught in the sandy fields. Both this species, and that called Steinboks, were reported to hide their heads, in the idea that nobody can see them, for which reason also they seldom run out from among the bushes, till one is come quite close to them.

The thickets in the sandy plains consisted solely of tall and slender shrubs from four to six feet high. Their trunks and branches were frequently so small and slender as to be unfit for fuel, though they afforded sufficient retreats for various species of game. To me they were often very troublesome, in hiding from me a number of small birds, which I had shot down from their supple twigs.

We continued our journey, passing Patryskerg, and came to a farm of Peter Lofper's, called Rosendal.

On the first of October we visited another estate of Lofper's. This country, situated between the bays of Saldahna and St. Helena, near the sea-shore, was low, abounding in sand-hills and pools of water, now swelled by the winter rains and by Mountain River.

We intended to have arrived at Mountain River on the second of this month, but could not attempt it by reason of the depth of water in the above-mentioned pools, and thus we could not get to the estate of one Melk, for which purpose we otherwise might have crossed the river in a boat; we were therefore obliged to go on to Brandt's house on the Salt River, and from thence to an estate of his son's near Matje's Fountain.

This Salt River (Zout Rivier) is different from that near the Cape, and which, from the same quality, derives the same name. It happens frequently that islands and mountains, as also estates, in different places pass by the same names, a circumstance which causes a great confusion in the geography of this country. As to the estates, the names of which are proposed by the farmers, and confirmed by government, this might easily be remedied, if the governor paid a little more attention to such a vast colony, the extent of which many times exceeds that of the Seven United Provinces in Europe. But considering that the whole colony, as well as the town, though founded near one hundred and fifty years ago, as yet pass by no other name than that of the Cape, which sufficiently shews great carelessness and a bad police; it is not surprising that the farms often obtain the most absurd names.

The Hottentots had such a quantity of leather thongs about their legs, as even to reach above their calves, inasmuch that by them they were freed from the danger of being bitten by venomous serpents, for which purpose I suppose it probable they wore them.

The gold-finches (*loxia orix*) were said first to devour the blossoms of the wheat (*antheræ tritici*), and afterwards the corn itself. They are seen here in innumerable flocks, especially near such rivers as are overgrown with tall reeds, on which they build their nests, from whence their chirping, especially towards evening when they come to roost, is heard at a great distance. The hen is always of a grey colour; but, from the month of July till January, the blood-red feathers of the cock gradually make their appearance.

pearance. This bird is somewhat smaller than the *loxia capensis*, and has smaller eggs, which are perfectly green; whereas the *loxia capensis* lay grey eggs with black spots, and somewhat larger. This bird is, like the whole genus of *loxia*, very stupid, and consequently the more difficult to frighten from the wheat-fields, where the mischief it does to the husbandmen is often great. Though considerable numbers of them are shot, yet they immediately return, heedless of danger.

The Korrahaens were observed to devour the buds of the *cotula turbinata*, which was common in all the low and sandy plains.

On the 3d, we arrived at the estate of Floris Fisher. This tract, from the Groene Kloof (Green Valley) and still farther, was called Zwartland, and had a church of its own. Ever since the death of the vicar, which at that time was three years, this had been vacant, no one being arrived from Holland to succeed him. Nevertheless, service was performed here once a month by a clergyman from the town: the farmers had a long way to church, some of them two days journey.

We penetrated, on the 5th, farther up into the country, along and beyond the Black Mountain to Stoffel Smidt's. The sand-hills vanished by degrees, and the country became both more lofty and of a firmer nature.

The *cyamella capensis* (Raapuyntjes), a kind of onion, was roasted for the table of the farmers.

The *viseum Æthiopicum* was used in diarrhœas, and also for tea.

On the 6th, we arrived at young Stabbert's, and had Picketberg behind us to the left.

When one is at the Cape, this part of the country rises to the view, like a ridge of contiguous mountains; but, on approaching them, I discovered, that the hills are divided, and form several distinct ridges. Ribeck Kasteel is a ridge of mountains, extending from east to west, till the Zwarte Berge (or Black Mountains) close the ridge. These therefore do not run parallel with the long tract of mountains that lie higher up the country.

We proceeded farther to Cornelis Gosen's farm, who is a faddler, and where I was obliged to leave one of my oxen that proved lame in the loins, and was rendered unfit for the journey. The great mountain river (Berg Rivier), to which we were now arrived, had, through the great quantity of rain that had fallen, become impassable at the usual fording place near Vleermuys, so that we crossed it on the 7th, in the ferry near Pit Juber's farm.

This man keeps the ferry in order and going, and thereby gets a snug sum of money yearly; for, each farm situated on the opposite side contributes eight gilders per annum, and besides this, he has the advantage of casual passengers. It is to be observed, that every farmer is obliged to pay his quota towards the keeping of this ferry, let him be rich or poor, and whether he uses it or not; for many of them do not, but repair to town with their goods in summer, when the water is low and fordable, easily by their waggons.

From hence we directed our course to Johannes Liebenberg's, where we began to see vineyards and gardens with lemon and orange trees. The road was now perfectly hard, consisting of reddish rocks, and the fields were tolerably well covered with grass.

On the 8th, we proceeded to Christian Liebenberg's farm, and, on the 9th, to Gert Kemp's, near Daffi Klipp, and afterwards passed by Frederik Leibenberg's, crossed the difficult passage of Kartous Kloof to Wilhelm Burger's, where we arrived in the evening wet and terrified, the rain having continued during the whole time of

our passing the mountains, which were besides so steep as none but those who have travelled over them can well conceive. Kartous Kloof, which crosses the same ridge as Roode Zand Kloof, but lower down towards the northern end, is also considered by the husbandmen as one of the most difficult roads that go across the African mountains. It is not very high at the western part, but becomes the more terrifying on that account to the eastern side, being there very steep and the road very stony and narrow, with an abyss to the left. The driving a hand's-breadth only out of the track may demolish waggon, oxen, and driver, and the passing was now made more difficult from the frequent stumbling of the cattle, owing to the slipperiness of the road, which was occasioned by incessant rains. The farm was situated just at the foot of the mountain where we arrived, to the great astonishment of the farmer and his wife.

This spot is like Roode Zand, a broad valley surrounded by mountains, watered by a rivulet, called Olyfant's (or Elephant's) Rivier, and abounding in grass. It is entirely separated from Roode Zand by Winterhoek and other ridges of mountains. However it differs thus far from Roode Zand, that it lies much lower, and is likewise considerably narrower, being only a few musket-shot broad.

On the 10th, happy to find our vehicle in a tolerable condition, after so dangerous a journey, we set out to Skalk Burger's, and crossed the Elephant's River, which we afterwards had to the left.

After taking a hearty breakfast, we set out for the warm-bath, situated at a small distance from the farm. The road thither was very low, swampy, and troublesome, till we approached the foot of the mountain. This Olyfant's warm-bath is also called Engel Bath, after the attorney-general Engelman, who caused it to be cleaned and dug, and erected a handsome stone building at the Company's expence, for the accommodation of the bathers. The veins of this spring arise from the eastern side of this long tract of mountains somewhat above the foot of them, in a cleft which inclines to the southward, and there forms a cross cleft. Of these veins there are many, but three of them in particular, carry the water into several small huts, for the colonists, slaves, and Hottentots, for each of these separate huts. All of them have three or four steps going into the water for the bathers to sit on, and are also floored on one side for them to lie on, whilst they are sweating. This water is not boiling-hot, but lukewarm, has no taste, leaves no sediment, but had only some green vegetable matter (*conferva*) growing in its runnels. It lies on the same side of the same range of mountains, and is of the same nature with the warm-bath already described at Brand Valley. With this water as well as with the former, linen may be washed without being stained, and victuals dressed without any disagreeable taste being imparted to them by it; the blue-colour of sugar-paper is not changed. The farms here have vineyards and orchards, and excellent fodder for cattle.

The mountains to the right divide Bocke-veld from this valley, and seem to form five considerable ridges separated by deep valleys, which, when we fired, gave reiterated echoes, like those that are heard after thunder. A high and flat mountain here, with two heads at each end, was called the Little Table Mountain.

On the 11th, we rode past Andrew Lubbe's, to a farm belonging to Peter Gaus.

Lions and other beasts of prey are, at present, so effectually scared and routed out of these mountainous tracts, that the farms are seldom visited by them: nevertheless the farmer continues paying to the Company the old tax, called Lion and Tyger Money. This tax is paid by each burgher, at the rate of four rix-dollars for lion, and two guilders for tyger-money; out of which fund, at the time when the colony began to extend itself, and when the colonists were much infested by wild

beasts, a certain premium was paid to every one who killed or caught any of these animals. At first, government paid sixteen rix-dollars for a lion, and ten guilders for a tyger, after which the sum was diminished to ten rix-dollars for a lion's, and six guilders for a tyger's skin; but, at present, these animals being so far extirpated that there are seldom any of them to be seen, the premium is discontinued, excepting in case they are brought alive to the Cape, which is hardly practicable. This tax, nevertheless, is not abolished, although its institution has had the desired effect, and the cause has ceased; but, in the same manner as in many other countries, has assumed the nature of taxes and funds.

Besides the annual tax which the farmer pays for his farm, he pays also for wax-candles four rix-dollars a year, for every horse, one stiver, and for every hundred sheep, one guilder. Each farmer, whether he be rich or poor, whether possessed of a large or small farm, pays for mending the roads and streets. The bridge and ferry-money all pay alike, let their road lead them that way or not; but then they are exempt from all billettings, crown duties, tithes, clearing the roads, furnishing horses for travelling, day-labour, &c.

I saw here a girl that had had the measles three years before, which had left behind them black and blue marks on her forehead, and under her eyes (*fugillationes*), which were of a greenish cast. They generally remained two or three weeks, then went away, and afterwards returned. The parts above-mentioned were particularly affected by these spots, though they appeared also in other places, as for instance, in her hands and arms.

A farmer advanced in years, likewise, had fallen into a decline after the measles; however, he was perfectly restored by what I ordered him.

On the following days we proceeded along the valley to Barent Lubbe's farm, past Pickenier's Kloof, and Matton's farm, which lay to the left of us.

On the 14th, the country began to grow hilly, and we arrived at young Barent Lubbe's, at the end of the cleft.

The root of the species of Stoebe, which grew here, smelt quite like valerian (*valeriana phu*), and might possibly have the same effect as this plant has in the epilepsy.

On the 15th, we proceeded on our journey, furnished with a few days' provision, and meant to get over the mountains to Kis Koopman's farm, from thence to Spaunenberg's, over the river Dorn, and, finally, as far as Clas Losper's farm, which is situated in the lowermost Bocke-veld; but we had not got far up the mountain before a misfortune befel us, through the carelessness of the driver. Our cart overturned, and one of the shafts were broken; so that it was impossible for us to proceed any farther across these uninhabited mountains. We were, therefore, under the necessity of remedying the evil as well as we could, by tying the shaft up with cords, and returning to the farmer, to alter the plan of our journey.

After having still more completely repaired our shattered vehicle, we resolved to let both the waggon and cart go slowly back, through Pickenier's Kloof, and afterwards, up the country, through Roode Zand's Kloof to Roode Zand, there to rest and wait for our arrival. In the meantime I and my English travelling companion made a tour on horseback farther back into the valley to Gaus's farm, and passed through the long vale, called Eland's Kloof, across the mountains to Bernard Forster's, in the Koude Bocke-veld, as it is called, or Cold Goat's-field. Eland's Kloof was very broad, and had a large river in it. This country, which is situated between the lowermost, or warm Bocke-veld, and between Olyfant's Kloof and Carro-veld, lies very high, and is, in the winter, very cold, although not so cold as at Rogge-veld, which lies farther to

the other side of the Carrow, and whose inhabitants, for several months in the year, that is, from April to September, are obliged, on account of the snow and cold, to remove down to the lower and warmer Carrow, which, at that time, is plentifully supplied with water by showers of rain, attended with thunder. Those that inhabited this Bocke-veld sometimes remove across the mountains with their cattle to Carrow, though this is strictly prohibited.

A serpent, called Boomslang, was said to get into the trees, and swallow the birds it found there; and the Roodbeckjes (*Loxia Afrild*) made great havock in the gardens, where they devoured both blossoms and feeds.

The wild-goats (Steenbocks), and particularly the diving-goats (Duykers), damaged the gardens greatly, where they ate off the buds of the trees. The leaping-goats (Springboks) also do a great deal of mischief in the wheat-fields, especially as they come in troops, and cannot be caught easily, either by snares or spring-guns, but must be shot with rifle-barrelled guns in the corn-fields when they come there. This is done in the following manner; a man digs a hole in the field, where he can sit unseen, till the animal approaches near enough to be fired at with a rifle-barrelled gun.

The cold Bocke-veld is nearly as broad as Olyfant's Kloof, surrounded by high mountains on all sides, which close together to the north-westward, leaving only a narrow passage to a small plain, situate on the other side of it. Snow sometimes falls here, and lies for a while undissolved.

As cold as this country is, still it was formerly much more inhabited by the Hottentots than it is at present by the Europeans, who only occupy a few farms in it. All over the country the Hottentots live together, many in a community, sometimes to the amount of several hundreds in a village, feed on roots, and the flesh of wild beasts, and of their own herds (which have the whole country open to them for their pasturage), and at the same time are satisfied with a little. On the other hand, every colonist has a farm to himself, part of which must be laid out in wheat-fields and vineyards, besides which, his herds of cattle must be large and numerous. Wild beasts are destroyed without mercy, consideration, or economy, inasmuch that some are killed for amusement, and others are destroyed on account of the damage they do, and for their skins or hides.

As for the rest, the Bocke-veld is tolerably smooth, without trees or bushes: except a few low rhinoceros bushes, which are seldom to be met with; it bears only grass, and, in some places, a kind of tall rushes. Near the mountains are sometimes seen a few low and scattered trees of the *protea grandiflora* species (Waageboom).

The whole of this country has received its name from the Spring-boks (*capra pygargus*), which reside here in scattered herds, and, in certain years, migrate hither from the more remote tracts of the continent in astonishing numbers.

The mountains which lie on each side are quite barren, like an old wall, and rise up boldly without any foot projecting from them, or any hillocks lying directly before them, as is usual with other mountains. They seem to be greatly worn and consumed by the operation of the air upon them, and will probably, in time, undergo considerable alterations in their external appearance. The air destroys the cohesion of some parts, and causes them to crumble away into small particles, which are afterwards carried off by the rain, not to mention larger fragments, which sometimes fall off from the main body, and the cavities formed by the stagnation of the rain-water on their surface.

The rocks, which had many sharp projecting points, were sometimes composed of quartzose-stones, quartz-rubble, and sand-stone cemented together. From moisture these crack, and, getting loose, fall out, and roll down in large pieces. Hence the

mountains look, as though they were torn asunder, and themselves proclaim their own vast antiquity and decay. These mountains differ greatly in the hardness of their rocky parts; and, consequently, they must differ in their dissolution. In many parts of them pebble-stones were found inlaid in large clusters, sometimes to the amount of a hundred and more. Here were likewise to be seen large hills consisting of sand-stone, which at the bottom was as white as chalk, and friable, and at the top yellow, with a mixture of yellow and red tints. In the valleys and near the rivulets, was found the finest sand, which must doubtless have been brought down from the mountains and their adjacent hills by the rain-water. In the Bocke-veld mountains to the eastward, the strata lie obliquely, as if one side of the mountain had sunk down; the broader strata also were lower to the north-west than to the south-east end.

These large and high chains of mountains, therefore, which lie in several rows, divided by broader and smaller clefts and openings, are the Alps of the southern parts of Africa.

The Spring-buck (*capra pygargus*) does not reside in the mountains like the roe-buck, nor in the thickets like the Steen-buck, or Duykers-buck, (where the hounds would easily catch him, as he could not run very fast there) but in the open fields, where he makes the finest and most surprising leaps that can be imagined, frequently above six feet high.

Among the few shrubs that grew in the mountains, I found here that curious shrub the fly-bush (*roridula dentata*), the leaves of which are covered with fine hairs, and a tough glutinous substance, to which smaller insects adhere. It is placed in the houses for the purpose of catching flies.

On the 18th, we rode to Isaac Vilage's; the sheep here are counted morning and evening, viz. when they are turned out and brought home, and are marked in one or both years, that they may be known again when they come to be mingled with others. This counting of the sheep was always the mistress's business, who had also given to each sheep a particular name. An excellent memory and daily practice had so sharpened her attention in this respect, that, if one amongst several hundred sheep were absent, she missed it immediately.

On the 19th, we passed Nicholas Jansen's farm, in our way to Carl van der Merwell.

A Table Mountain which stands single and alone in the middle of the country, is, to the north-west, flat at top, and steep on the side, but, to the south-east, it is convex, slopes off gradually, and is very high. The wheat here had not yet got into the ear, which however we saw it had already done on the other side of the mountain, and the pease were now sowing. Here they both sow and reap a couple of months later than they do nearer the Cape, and in the country which lies lower on the other side of it.

Although the husbandman, that inhabits these mountains, lives so high, yet he always (though very improperly) calls it travelling up to the Cape, where the country lies much lower.

The great wheel of the African plough has eight spokes, and is so made (at the same time that it is provided with an iron plate) that it cannot be taken off. The small wheel to the left has only four spokes, and runs always on the grass ridge, and thus keeps the plough even.

On the 20th, we travelled on to William Pretoris's, whose farm stands in a very good situation; but the weather, in the months of June, July and August, is so severe, that much snow falls, sometimes for days together, and icicles are formed and adhere to the eaves of the roof. All the calves, lambs, and goats that are brought forth during

the frost, die of cold and hunger in the stables in which they are kept shut up, without a possibility of their being turned out to grafs.

We travelled afterwards past two farms belonging to Jan Rafmus and Van Heere, to that of Jacob Pinard's, where was a small wood. The master and his wife were not at home, but only two slaves and some Hottentot children; we were therefore obliged to content ourselves with having a dry covering over our heads for the night, without any thing to eat or drink, although we had travelled without food all the day long, and had several miles to go to the next farm.

As no entertainment was to be had here, we set out early the next morning, being the 21st, to Skalk van Heere's, where we were kindly received, and entertained both with breakfast and a tolerable good glass of wine of the growth of the country.

Here commenced the warm Bocke-veld, which was screened from the cold by high mountains and hills, some of which were very steep, and which we had this day descended.

The warm Bocke-veld lies therefore much lower, and, in proportion to its situation, is much less cold. In the cold Bocke-veld, the vine can only be cultivated in two places, and then does not arrive at perfect maturity, but, in the warm, it thrives better and yields better wine. The warm Bocke-veld is a small tract of land, neither very broad nor very long, but rather of a round form, and encircled by mountains. The out-let from it is by a narrow opening near Mostertshoek and Hex Rivier. The land is level, all over covered with grafs, and has but a very few Spring-bucks left, which have been for the most part hunted out of the country.

As two young farmers were this day to travel on horseback, the nearest way across the high mountains to Roode Zand, that lies on the other side of them, we determined to embrace the opportunity, and accompany them thither; but my travelling companion, after we had got to a little distance up the mountain, finding he had forgot his saddle-bag, was obliged to return for it, and our weary horses not being able to go very fast in that mountainous country, we were left in the lurch by our guides, and, losing the track, were obliged to return to the farm by the same way as we came. From thence we rode through a great part of the warm Bocke-veld, and before evening arrived to a handsome farm abounding in cattle, milk, and butter, which belonged to Peter Funere.

From hence we had no other road to Roode Zand than by Mostertshoek, through a valley which was very narrow and low, between very high mountains projecting on each side. But this journey was hazardous at such time of the year when the large and wide rivulets which we had to ford in the dale were brim-full.

In order to pass with safety over this dangerous spot, we hired a servant, who, being acquainted with the country, was to precede us on horseback, and point out to us the most shallow places.

On the 22d of October we set out on our journey.

On our entering of Mostertshoek, the road was very stony, mountainous, and steep, and we had afterwards several streams to ford and branches of rivers, such as Brug-drift, Stroom-drift, Elfe Rivier, and Diep-drift, besides several smaller branches of brooks, which, uniting, form the great Breede Rivier. These places were the more dangerous to cross, as the water not only stood up to the horses' sides, but the bottom was full of large round stones, that had rolled down from the mountains, so that the horses could scarcely get on; and frequently the rapidity of the stream was such that they could with great difficulty keep the tract.

Near these streams grew several shrubs, especially some of the *Geranium* kind, that sent forth a pleasant, strong, and refreshing odour.

At length we arrived safely at De Wett's at Roode Zand, where our oxen had already rested themselves, and gathered strength and flesh for our intended journey.

On Winterhoek, a mountain which terminates Roode Zand to the northward, and divides it from Olyfant's Kloof, there still lay a great deal of hail.

Gli is, in the Hottentot language, the name of an umbelliferous plant, the root of which, dried and reduced to powder, they mix with cold water and honey in a trough, and after letting it ferment for the space of one night, obtain a species of mead, which they drink in order to throw themselves into a state of intoxication. A couple of glasses are said to be sufficient for the purpose, and no head-ache ensues. Of the pulverized root, two handfuls only are taken.

This year I examined the mountains at Winterhoek much more narrowly than I had done last year, and as high as to their very summits. The fly-bush grew here in abundance, and the scarce plant, called *protea nana*, the flower of which resembles the dog-rose, was found only in this place. On one side of the mountain was a fine cascade, that fell down a perpendicular precipice, under which there was a hollow in the mountain filled with several bushes. My inclination called me thither, and I must have gone a very round-about way to it, had I not ventured to take a leap of about twenty or twenty four yards in height, which I did without being hurt in the least, the bushes preventing me from making a hard fall. Among other rare plants also which I found here, was the *difa cœrulea*.

In these mountains were found an elegant red slate, consisting of thin laminae, and disposed in broad strata. The same substance was also to be seen in large pieces that had fallen down from the higher parts of the mountain, and disposed in strata with other stony matter, like a marble. It appeared strange to me, that I did not, either here, or in any other mountains, meet with any lime-stone, or calcareous hill, nor with any marble nor flint, excepting a radiated Gypsum, which I found in the mountain near Hex Rivier. Here I saw a farmer's wife, who, through good living and indolence, was grown to such a size, and was so fat withal, that, excepting one more in another part of this country, I never saw her equal. On her way to the Cape, she had suffered herself to be weighed; and she then weighed three hundred and thirty four pounds or twenty-six stone, horseman's weight.

That Roode Zand is nothing but a valley between high mountains, running nearly parallel to the each other, I could clearly perceive from this circumstance, that in the hollows, where the torrents of water had swept away the earth, and dug out channels of one or two fathoms depth, the ground appeared to consist of the naked rock, with its strata, that stood up on their edge almost perpendicular, and only a little inclining to the south-east. These strata were much softened by the water, of a loose texture, and whitish, resembling an indurated clay; in their interstices, they harboured sand, which the water had carried down and discharged there.

The farms hereabouts are not very far asunder, and the colonists are in general in good circumstances. The vineyards were numerous, of wheat there was a great quantity sown, and orchards were planted every where, so that the country produced the most profitable articles, such as wine, wheat, oranges and lemons. The cold might nevertheless be very severe here at times; and it was reported, that its intenseness the last year had done great damage to the vines, and, in some places, absolutely destroyed them.

As to cattle and sheep, more are kept here by the farmers than are wanted for their own consumption and use; and draught-oxen they sometimes buy from other places.

A small dove (perhaps the smallest of the dove kind) called Maquas Duyv (*columba capensis*) frequented the gardens, and there sought its food, which consisted mostly of seeds.

The *ixia bulbifera*, a bulbous plant with a red flower, grew here in the greatest abundance. When one approached the place where it grew, it seemed to be but thinly scattered over the field, but at a distance the ground appeared as if it were covered with scarlet cloth.

In like manner, here and here only, was found beside the brooks, a green variety of the *ixia maculata*, another tall bulbous plant, which is as elegant as singular, with its long cluster of green flowers growing out like an ear of corn, and is so extremely scarce all over the world.

On the 28th, proceeding on our journey, we crossed Breede Rivier; the branches of which went meandering on so far before us on our route, that we were obliged to ford them several times before we could reach Jan Slabbert's farm, where we took up our night's lodging.

On the 29th, we came to Philip Plaisir's near Saffraan's Kloof, a place where there is a foot-path across the mountains, along which one may go on horse-back.

Travelling still farther, we arrived at Jan de Toi's. The country now began to grow broader and flatter. Toi's Kloof again is the name of the foot-path here, leading over the mountains; which also may be travelled over on horse-back, and brings one to Drakenstein, directly opposite Paarl.

We now left Breede Rivier to the right; and the level flat country which here lies about the stream, and is at times inundated by it, is called Goudena.

Farther on lies Brand Valley; opposite to which, on the other side of the mountain, stands Stellenbosch.

On the 30th, we rode past De Ploi's farm, and over Hex Rivier, to Keyser's estate.

The field was here of the Carrow kind, and the sheep were said to feed on those succulent plants, the *mesembryanthemums* (Vygebosches), which were supposed to render the dung of these animals unfit for manure. Now likewise, the farther we advanced, the more hilly the country grew.

On the 31st, we arrived at Alowen Smidt's farm, which lies opposite to Hottentot's Holland. The country here had many hills and ridges of mountains, which lay across our road.

November 2d, we rode over one of the ridges that lay before us to Mrs. Bruel's farm, when we seemed to be in quite another valley.

The mountains to the left now took a somewhat different direction, and ran more to the east-south-east.

Proceeding farther, we came to Philip Bota's, whose farm lay opposite to Tyger Hoek, which is situated behind the mountains that project out from Hottentot's Holland mountains.

The chain of mountains which had continued from Witzenberg seemed here to turn off to the eastward, and, as it were, entirely to dwindle away; but upon a closer examination, it was found to extend still farther on, and to be continued by the ridges of mountains which only lay somewhat farther inwards, in connexion with the same chain.

After this we passed Clas Vogt's Rivier, so named from Clas Vogt, a colonist, who had been trampled to death by an elephant, and that in so shocking a manner that scarcely the vestige of a bone was to be seen in his remains.

On the same day continuing our journey, we arrived at Gert Nel's farm near Kochman's Kloof and Rivier.

Mat-ware (Matjesgoed) is the name given here to a kind of rush that grew in the river, and of which mats were made, that were used by the husbandmen for the tilts of waggons, and also to lie on. These mats were soft and pliable, and the rushes from which they were made, were a species of grass, which I called *cyperus textillis*, of about four feet and more in height, almost as thick as a tobacco pipe, and hollow within.

On the 3d we set out for Drokki's farm. In this tract, as well as in the whole of the interior part of the country, it was said to rain with the wind at south-east, quite the contrary to which is the case at the Cape.

The farmers cultivate their farms here with their own slaves, and these slaves were not only chastised by their masters for misdemeanors and petty faults that merely affected the family, but also, in case of trespasses of a more serious nature, by the officers of police belonging to the landroft.

It sometimes happens, that on the husbandman finding himself under the necessity of complaining to the magistrate of his slave, either on account of flagrant crimes committed by him, or of incurable idleness, or excessive carelessness; in which case this latter takes a liking to the slave, however strange it may appear, the owner, *volens volens*, is obliged to sell him.

November 4th, we arrived at the celebrated Jacobus Bota's, a man who was now eighty-one years of age, and, from twelve sons, had a progeny of one hundred and ninety persons, all alive. It is not this circumstance however, as singular as it otherwise may be, that has given him so much renown, in a country where they marry early, and where the population is very great, but a misfortune that befel him in one of his hunting expeditions. When he was forty years of age, he shot, in a narrow pass in a wood, a lion, which immediately fell, without his observing that there were two of them together. The other lion rushed immediately upon him, before he had time to load his piece, and not only wounded him with his sharp claws to such a degree that he fainted away, but also gnawed his left arm and side, and lacerated him in such a terrible manner, that he lay for dead on the ground. The lion, that in general is possessed of too noble a spirit to revenge itself on a dead man, if not impelled by hunger, left him in this situation, so that he was at length carried home by his servants. His wife, a stirring and active woman, immediately fetched several herbs, which she boiled in water, and with the decoction daily washed, fomented, and bound up his wounds, so that he was at last restored to perfect health. He was so much disabled however in this arm, that he could never afterwards handle a musquet. He had been the first sportsman in the colony, and by killing elephants and selling their teeth, had acquired a tolerable fortune. This man informed me that, in its infancy, the colony had so small an extent, and the Hottentots in it were so numerous, that the christian settlers could not without danger venture as far as Zwellendam. At that time too the elephants abounded so much, even near the Cape, that in travelling to and from the Cape, one might kill a great many of them. Thus he had often shot four or five in a day, and sometimes twelve or thirteen. Twice in his life, when he was out in pursuit of these animals, he had destroyed with his gun twenty-two elephants each day. A good sportsman always kills the elephant at one shot, but, should he hit any of the fore-legs, so as to break it, two shot must be fired; the hunter always takes his aim in such a manner as that the ball shall pass through the lungs. The ball is always mixed with one third of tin, and weighs a quarter of a pound; the piece is in proportion to this, and rather heavy. Each elephant's tooth weighs from thirty to one hundred and thirty pounds.

pounds. They are bought up by the Dutch Company, at the rate of one guilder per pound.

The country here began to be very hilly, and abound with grafs, and at the same time had a sufficient number of rivulets, and some wood in the clefts of the mountain.

These mountains, which extended from Hottentot's Holland, now began to be (higher up the country) more and more low, and afterwards appeared like broken ridges, and at last totally vanished.

On the 5th, we went to Jurgen Bota's, who is a son of the old man already mentioned, and passed Blankenberg's farm in our way to Rock's, near Keureboom's Rivier.

Here we saw a monkey from Houtniquas wood, something like the *Simia Sabæa*. The legs were all black, and the tip of the tail brown; the testicles of the colour of blue stone, or virriol of copper.

From hence we went to Zwellendam, and afterwards to the Company's post, near Buffel Jagt Rivier, where we rested a few days.

The colony of Zwellendam, which is subject to its own peculiar landroft, had been founded about thirty years before. It took its name from Mr. Zwellingrebel, who was at that time vice-governor, or Secundu's (Tweede), at the Cape. The first landroft here was Renius, the second Orack, who was still alive but had resigned, and the third was the present landroft, whose name is Mentz.

The Company's post had at first been established, for the sake of protecting those colonists who had settled on this spot, and farther up in the country, in order to cultivate the land and rear cattle. It was therefore at first laid out as a fort, and provided with seven men and a corporal; but, after the country came to be more inhabited, and the Hottentots quitted it, all these fortifications were found to be quite unnecessary and superfluous. Instead of this, a grazing farm is now established here, and the soldiers are employed in the wood, called Groot Vaders Bosch, or (Grand-father's Wood), in felling, for the use of the Company, different sorts of timber for joiners-work, &c. of which timber a waggon load is sent to the Cape every three months, besides what the people of the colony, in order to assist in maintaining them, are allowed to carry up and sell themselves.

For the service of this farm, those Hottentots are used that still remain here, the reliques of former numerous hordes. This year I contrived to procure some information concerning their mode of living, their manners, and their customs.

On the first night of the new moon one may see the Hottentots run about, pull off their hats, and courtesy.

The ceremony is not quite laid aside of making youth, at a certain age, men; from which time they are separated from the women, and associate only with men. After the youth has been besprinkled, according to custom, with urine, some animal is killed, and its omentum, or cawl, is tied about his neck. The men never drink milk that has been drawn by the women. The women here have frequently a real husband, and a *locum tenens*, or substitute. The men likewise often take two wives. The marriage-ceremony is frequently performed, by the bride and bridegroom, after obtaining the permission of the parents, sleeping together till late in the morning. The dead are interred in graves, over which are set a tortoise-shell, filled with some odoriferous powder, and three twigs of some shrub or other: and, after this, the company that forms the procession makes merry. Of game that has been hunted and killed, no one

is suffered to eat before he is invested with the dignity of man; nor must man and wife eat any part of this animal's heart, or pericardium.

The Hottentots, at present, eat their meat either roasted, or else boiled in a pot in the ordinary way; but not long ago, before they had got vessels of this kind from the Europeans, they used to put their meat into leathern bags, filled with water, and afterwards threw in red-hot stones, which, by their heat, caused the water to boil.

The Hottentots use bows and arrows, not only for their defence against their enemies, but likewise for the purpose of killing wild beasts; but at present they have rarely need to employ them on either of these occasions. The bow is a round stick of about an inch thick, and something more than two feet long, and is bent by a sinew. The arrow is made by a kind of reed or cane, as thick as a goose-quill, and scarcely a foot long, to the end of which is fastened, with a fine string or sinew, an iron point, shaped like a lancet, which is besmeared with the poison of serpents. Several of these arrows are kept in a quiver, which is of the thickness of a man's arm, and about two feet in length, with a lid at the top, that turns upon hinges of leather.

Rabekin is a musical instrument, something like a guitar, made of a calabash and a narrow board, with three or four strings, which may be stretched or relaxed at pleasure, by means of screws. On this instrument the Hottentots play with their fingers.

Kora was a wind instrument, which, however, was seldom used.

A mountain called Potteberg, was seen directly opposite the farm, near the sea-shore, which was said to be about twenty-four miles distant.

A curious grasshopper, of a reddish colour, of the class of *hemipteræ*, was seen in great numbers, seeking its food on the bushes. When taken, it pressed out from beneath a sheath that lay under its breast, a slimy, frothy fluid, like soap lather, which covered both the insect and the fingers of the captor. This was repeated as often as the liquid was wiped off with a linen rag. From the manner in which this animal endeavours to liberate itself, I called it *gryllus spumans*. The Larvas, or half-grown grasshopper, or the species called *pneumora*, were seen in the greatest abundance, both here and elsewhere, on the bushes; but in the day-time, neither I nor any of my companions could find one of them in a perfect state and winged, which astonished me much.

Reeboks, Rietboks (*capra*), and Bonteboks (*capra scripta*), frequented much these hilly and verdant fields. In these antelopes both sexes are furnished with horns; and the young Bonteboks are at first of a reddish-brown colour, but, in time, become spotted with white, though, on account of the openness of the country and the shyness of the animal, it is difficult to get within gun-shot of the Bontebok, yet we were lucky enough to shoot one. It is always dangerous to come near one of these creatures when shot, because, if he is not quite dead, he makes use of his horns, and may put the huntsman in danger of his life.

Here, too, I had an opportunity of observing a curious fact. It happens sometimes, that when a duck is shot in any of the rivulets, it either immediately disappears, and is seen no more, or it is found again with its feet eaten off. This is done by the water-turtle that inhabit these waters, which prey, not only on the larger ducks, but also on their young, which they seize by the leg.

On the 10th, passing by Peter Bota's farm, called Rietkuyl, we crossed Kerremdlk's and Slange rivers to the Widow Fore, near Duyvenhoek's Rivier.

In the whole tract of country through which we had passed all the way from Hex Rivier, I observed that the banks of all the rivers were planted with the very prickly tree called *mimosa nilotica*.

The mountains, which extended from a projecting point at Zwellendam, ran now in the direction of due east and west.

On the 11th of November, having taken an early leave of our worthy hosts, we went down to Duyvenhoek's River, which was at a short distance from the farm. The late rains had filled this rivulet, so as to make it dangerous to cross. The rivulets of this country, however, have usually some shallow places, where, even in the greatest flood, one may cross them with waggon and oxen. To shew us one of these drifts, as they are called, our hosts had been so kind as to send a slave with us; but, as he neither understood nor spoke Dutch, he was obliged to communicate his instructions to us by signs, which, either from ignorance or malice, he entirely perverted, as he pointed out to us a circular track over the river to the right, which we ought to have taken to the left. I, who was the most courageous of any of the company, and in the whole course of the journey was constantly obliged to go on before and head them, now also, without a moment's consideration, rode plump into the river, till, in a moment, I sank with my horse into a large and deep sea-cow hole, up to my ears. This would undoubtedly have proved my grave, if my horse had not by good luck been able to swim; and I, who have always had the good fortune to possess myself in the greatest dangers, had not, with the greatest calmness and composure, guided the animal, (which floundered about violently in the water,) and kept myself fast in the saddle, though continually lifted up by the stream. After having passed over this hole, I was likewise successful in my attempts to get safe out of it, though the edges of these holes are in general very steep, inasmuch that they seldom afford one a sure footing. Holes of this kind, which the Hippopotamus treads out for its resting-place, occur in a great many rivers, though the animal itself perhaps is no longer to be found there, but has either been shot, or made to fly to some other more secure retreat. All this time my fellow-travellers stood frightened on the opposite bank and astonished, without daring to trust themselves to an element that appeared to them so full of danger. However, as soon as I had got off my horse, and let the water drain off from me a little, I ordered my Hottentots to drive across the river, according to a better direction that I gave them, after which the others followed.

I had the greatest reason to be thankful to the Divine goodness, which had preserved me in this imminent danger, and the more so, as it happened on the anniversary of the day on which I came into the world thirty years before.

After our waggons were brought over the water, I did not allow myself time to change my clothes, as I must have been at the pains of unpacking my trunks; but we continued our journey the whole day without the farther interruption, and passing by Christopher Lombart's farm, went to another farm belonging to Daniel Plaafir, where we arrived before evening, and were kindly received.

Here my first care was to examine my pocket-book, watch, and other things subject to be damaged by the water,

A kind of *corvus* (or crow), called Spreuw, was found both here and in several other places in great plenty. It was less than a black-bird, and black, with a white rump: this bird always accompanied the larger cattle and the sheep, especially in the mornings and evenings, before they are driven out to field, and after their return. Its occupation was to pick away the insects (*acari*), which, dropping from the bushes upon the animals, and biting deep into their skins, stick very fast to them, and occasion them great pain.

This bird is very wild and shy, so that when it observes anybody approach it, it immediately flies away, and with many cries warns the others, which instantly take wing, and endeavour to save themselves by flight. This bird is said to make its nest in the sides of the rivers and brooks, for which purpose it digs holes in their banks.

These *acari* which teased the cattle were not less troublesome to our horses. Frequently, while I was riding through the thickets, for the purpose of gathering flowers and seeds in these places, my horse, and particularly his head, was so thickly covered by these blood-suckers, that neither his ears nor any other part of him could be seen, and I was sometimes obliged to make my Hottentots free him from these troublesome guests, before they had time to enter too deeply into the skin.

On the 12th we went to Clas Bruyn's farm, and on the 13th, to Peter de Wett's.

The whole of this tract produced aloë-trees in abundance, which in some places entirely covered the hills and the sides of the mountains, where they appeared at a distance like a numerous army. The trees are of the height of a man, with their stems quite bare below, and a crown at the top of broad, thick, and fleshy leaves.

I observed every where the slaves busy in tapping and preparing gum-aloë, the virtues of which in medicine are well known. De Wett, the owner of the farm, was the first that prepared the gum in this country, for which reason he was said to have the exclusive privilege of delivering and selling it at a certain price to the Company.

Several farmers have since learned the art of preparing it, and at present frequently sell it at the Cape to strangers at less than half this price.

The mode of preparing it is quite plain and simple. It consists, in the usual phrase of the peasants, in the tapping or the drawing off the juice, and boiling it. The tapping may be performed at all times in the year; but during, and immediately after, the rainy season, the leaves yield a more copious but thinner juice. Those days that are calm and clear are chiefly selected for the operation of tapping, as windy weather shrinks the leaf, so that less juice is produced, and it hardens too soon. On this work, for the most part, either slaves or Hottentots are employed. A leaf is first cut off, and laid on the bare ground to serve for a channel, upon which several other cut leaves are afterwards placed on each side, with the large end inwards, and over these again others, to the amount of a dozen or more, so that the juice drips from them into the hollow of the first leaf. The leaves which were cut off not too close to the trunk were not cut into smaller pieces; as, according to what the farmers asserted, they would not yield the more juice on that account. In this manner several heaps of leaves are laid one after the other, as fast as they can be cut off. When the juice ceases running the leaves are taken away, and the juice is poured into calabashes, which here, as well as in many other places, are used by the poor as bottles. The greatest quantity of juice that can be thus collected by a man in one day is a large calabash or small pail-full. The juice is afterwards boiled down at home in English iron pots, to such a consistence, that it will run off a stick that is put into it. All impurities that swim on the top of the liquor are skimmed off in the boiling. The juice thus boiled down to one half, is then poured out into wooden boxes, in which it afterwards grows hard. The juice yields generally one-third of solid gum, and each box weighs from three to five hundred-weight, each pound of which is sold to foreign nations for three, or four, and sometimes two, stivers.

On the 15th we proceeded on our journey to Daniel Pinard's, across Goud's Rivier. This river is one of the largest in this country. Its banks on the western side were extremely steep. The farm was situated on the other side on a tolerably high hill. This stream runs far up into the country, and consequently is supplied with water from the mountains, which are at the distance of several days' journey from hence, and which border upon particular tracts that, at certain times of the year, are deluged by heavy showers of rain, accompanied with thunder. From such a cause this river may be very suddenly filled, and rise to a great height, at the same time that at this place there shall be

be the finest weather imaginable. And for the same reason this river is extremely dangerous, so that the traveller ought not to take up his quarters too near its banks, nor in the low-lands adjacent to it. The water now came up to our horses' saddles.

This day we proceeded as far as to Didelof's farm.

On the 16th, we rode past several estates, such as those of Dirk Marcus, Bernard the son, and the younger Plant, and hastened on to Muscleybay, to a delightfully situated farm belonging to old Bernard.

The harbour here is very large, but no ships ever make it, except they are obliged to do by stress of weather.

A Danish ship, called the Kron Prinsefs, commanded by Captain Swenfinger, was stranded here and lost, and the remains of it were even at this time to be seen.

On the 18th, after having, in the course of the day that we rested there, visited the sea-coast and its sandy hills, which in all probability was formerly occupied in great numbers by Damaquas Hottentots, we rode past Claas Meyer's and Jacobus Tunniffon Bota's estates, and returned to Dirk Marcus near Hagelkraal, an old man and great elephant-hunter.

Thongs made of the hides of animals were every where used by the farmers instead of cords and ropes, both for the tackling of waggons and other purposes. Here we saw these thongs made pliable and fit for use, by greasing them, and rubbing them briskly against a tree.

On the 19th, we travelled up towards the mountains, and into Hartequas Kloof, to a resting place called Groote Paarde Kraal, where we, for the first time in the course of this journey, took our night's lodging in the open air.

On the 20th, we examined diligently the mountains that surrounded us on all sides, and in the afternoon, continued our route through Hartequas Kloof to Zaffraam Kraal, when we got into a more plain and level country, called Canna Land, by some Canaan's Land, and at the same time passed the heights of Canna (Cannas Hoogte).

Here what I had heard before, was confirmed to me, viz. that several female ostriches lay their eggs in one nest; and that, if any one touches their eggs, the birds, that discover this by the smell, never lay any more eggs in the same place; but, if the eggs should chance to be left behind, trample them to pieces under their feet.

On the 21st, we passed Aker Hein's farm, and took up our quarters in the evening near Klipp Rivier. The land between the mountains was many times broader than Roo de Zand, very dry like the Carrow, and much higher than Houtniquas Land, that lay on the other side of it.

That piece of land, which lay on the other side of the mountains to the left, was called Kankou.

On the 22d, crossing Brack Rivier and Matjes Drift, and going through Matjes Kloof, where Lange Kloof begins, we rode past Helbeck's farm to Van Stade's.

Here we observed on the plain, high and long, distinct and separate, mountains, which had the same direction as the large chain of mountains before-mentioned.

On the 23d, we passed Buy's estate in our way to Gert van Roijen's, near Diep Rivier.

The mountains which here formed Lange Kloof, were, to the right, the long range of mountains spoken of above, and, to the left, a connected ridge which began near Matjes Kloof, and was lower than the long chain of mountains that lay by the side of it, and whose tops could plainly be discovered. The land which lay on the other side of the last-mentioned low ridge, and the higher ridge, is called Carmenassie, a tract of land, which is likewise already peopled by the industrious colonists. The country behind

hind that higher range of mountains is a poor, flat, and dry Carrow-field, which borders on the Eastern Olyfant's Rivier.

The mountains in general stretched east-north-east.

On the 24th, we arrived at 'Tunis Bota's farm. Here the ridge of mountains, over which we passed to the left, divided and formed a vale, where nothing but ridges of mountains lay before us, and which was not more than about two mulquet-shot in breadth. The vale which we left to the right, goes to Houtniquas mountains, over which one may get on horseback to Houtniquas woods.

Proceeding on our journey we passed on to Hans Olofson's farm: here was a carriage road that led to Camenaffie Land, and Olyfant's warm bath.

On the 25th, we rode farther on in Lange Kloof to Mat Zondag's.

The land in Lange Kloof is bare, and without any shrubs or bushes, but abounds much in grass.

The cold in winter is very severe in this vale, and snow sometimes falls here which lies on the ground three or four days.

As the year before I had pretty narrowly examined this spot, and had gathered the few plants that grew upon it, I was now determined to climb up to the highest summits of the mountains, in order to observe the direction in which they ran; but I could not possibly have had a better reward for my pains, than the glorious prospect that now lay before me, in which a tract of mountains of a great many leagues (as it appeared to me) in breadth, divided into several ridges, with their intervening vales, was extended, like a map, before my eyes, and shewed me plainly that the greatest part of the road I had travelled lay over various ridges of mountains, and along various dales, on a considerable breadth of hilly country, where many thousands of men, and millions of other animals, find both food and shelter; while, on the other hand, the more plain and level land, in this southernmost part of Africa, for want of water, can seldom exhibit a single quadruped, or afford water to one solitary bird.

I also observed, that the ranges of mountains to the eastward, diverged more and more from each other, so that those that lay to the left, the farther they went into the country, the more easterly was their direction.

Want of house furniture, and a turn for œconomy, had induced the husbandmen here to make lanterns out of calabashes, which was done by cutting several holes in them.

On the 26th, we set out for Peter Frere's, a bold and daring sportsman, and one of the best elephant-hunters in the country; a man who spoke the Hottentot language fluently.

Opposite to this spot ended the Camenaffie country, and a waggon road went from thence across the mountains.

In all this tract of country, no other business was carried on than that of grazing; and a great quantity of butter was sent from hence to town, where the farmer received no more than from three to six stivers per pound, although it stands the Company in as much as two shillings.

The husbandman, on his journey to and from the Cape, rests in the day, and travels in the cool of the night; but we were obliged to do just the reverse of this, if we wished to collect any plants and other things which constituted the whole object of our expedition. We took care therefore to turn our oxen out to graze at night, at every place where it could be done with safety. Thus, one evening here, we had turned our oxen out to graze in the plain, but not far from the farm. The evening was darker than usual: the dogs made a terrible noise, and the whole herd of oxen thronged towards

towards the house, without our being able, as the night was so dark, to go to their assistance with fire-arms. In the morning, we found that the cattle had been pursued by a tyger-wolf (*hyæna maculata*), and that one of our oxen had been bit in the groin, and a portion of the skin, six inches broad, had been torn away; but that the intestines did not hang out, nor were they otherwise hurt. The hyæna is a bold and ravenous animal, which frequently eats the saddle from under the traveller's head, and the shoes from off his feet, while he lies sleeping in the open air. When one of these creatures gets into a sheep-fold, it not only commits great havock amongst the sheep; but terrifies them to such a degree, that they run all together in a heap, and squeeze each other to death.

On the 27th, having passed Stephanus Frere's, we came to Matthew Streidung's; and, on the 28th, to Peter Nyckert's, and afterwards to Andrew de Pre's.

Elandboks (*capra orcas*) were sometimes to be met with and shot in the mountains. This goat is as large as a middle-sized horse, and its flesh has an agreeable taste. The tongue, however, which, when salted and dried, is frequently carried up to the Cape for sale, is reckoned still more delicious, and is not inferior to a rein deer's tongue. This goat was said not to butt with his horns, when wounded, as the Bonteboks and Gefinoboks (*capra oryx*) do.

I saw the kid caught of a very small and extremely scarce goat, called Orebi (*capra monticola*). It was of a brown colour, scarcely larger than a cat, and very handsome.

This animal was said to inhabit the plains in Lange Kloof; and, it was asserted, that neither sex have horns, though, it is highly probable, that the male has.

Kouka lay directly opposite on the left hand, and was a narrow piece of land between the mountains, which was already invaded by the colonists, although it was so small as to have only two farms on it.

I was every where told, that this extensive country came more and more under the dominion of the Dutch colonists, to whom the Hottentots were constantly obliged to give way, and retire farther into the country. The Dutch always took possession at first of the best and most fertile parts of the land, in the wider valleys, leaving to the Hottentots, for a little while longer, the inferior tracts, between mountains, in the narrower vales, till, at length, the poor savages were driven even out of these, and obliged entirely to quit their native plains.

On the 29th we arrived, towards evening, at Thomas Frere's, after a very troublesome day's journey. The roads were very slippery and heavy, in consequence of the great rains that had fallen; and the rivulets that ran in the middle of the valley, and which we were several times obliged to cross, were of an unusual depth, so that the proper place for fording them could not always be found. This occasioned my driver, unfortunately for me, to miss the right path, and he drove so deep into the river, that the water rose up to the middle of the cart, and wetted my plants, both dried and fresh, my insects, clothes, &c. quite through; so that, when we arrived at the farm at night, I was obliged to look over, with incredible pains, and dry before the fire, a great multiplicity of articles, many of which, however, were quite spoiled. I also now travelled in the cart myself, as my horse had lost much flesh, and was so much wearied by the journey, that I had been obliged to leave him behind at the last farm. The water not only came up to my middle in the cart, but the bottom of the river likewise was full of mud, which was stirred up by the wheels, and which was so thick and heavy, that it was with the greatest difficulty that the oxen could drag the cart through.

On the day following, being the 30th, we proceeded to Eessbosch, a pretty little neat wood which has acquired its name from the large trees Eessenboom, (or ash-trees,
Ekebergia

Ekebergia capensis), that grew here; the leaf of which greatly resembles that of the European ash (*fraxinus*). Large fig-trees, too, (*figus capensis*) the fruit of which is eaten by the baboons, grew here in abundance. As there was no farm as yet laid out hereabouts, we took up our night's lodging in the open air, at the side of a few bushes, and our saddles served us for pillows.

On the 1st of December, we went down Krommie Rivier country, which takes its name from Krommie Rivier (the Crooked River), that runs meandering through it. This valley is nothing but a continuation of Lange Kloof; but sinks lower by degrees, and is likewise narrower, being sometimes no more than a gun-shot in breadth. It has scarcely any level ground; but slopes off entirely from the mountains on each side to the middle, where the smaller streams that run down from these mountains are collected, and form a large river.

Lange Kloof and Krommie Rivier, in which there are at present but few of the ancient inhabitants remaining, were formerly, in all probability, inhabited by the Ileykom Hottentots, in great numbers.

At the end of this valley, to the right, the heads of the mountains began to approach closer to each other, and to be lower, till, at length, they quite disappeared, without reaching to the sea-shore. The mountains, too, were bent out of their course in such a manner on each side, that they now chiefly stretched towards the south-east.

We rode past Vermak's estate, where Lange Kloofs and Krommie Rivier mountains came to an absolute termination on the left; and the country now appeared very broad between the sea-shore and that chain of mountains which extended still farther to the left, past Olyfant's warm bath: in this manner, that both the mountains to the right, and those to the left, which had hitherto extended from Bokke-veld, now came to a termination; and, to the left, were only seen the Olyfant mountains, stretching about east-north-east, within which there were a few ranges of mountains that ran mostly east or north-east, but were of no great extent.

So that the Olyfant mountains were seen to continue their course; but of these, several ridges were plainly discerned, which at last terminated gradually in single points. The nearest visible range to the left is called Zeeko Riviers-berg, and comes to a termination near Isaac Meyer's farm, where we afterwards arrived. Behind it, was seen another ridge, called Meulen Riviers Mountain, which terminated near Kok's farm, where we staid and rested ourselves several days, as this farm was almost the farthestmost of the colony on this side. Behind the last-mentioned ridge, another was seen to peep out farther on, which was called Kabeljaw Riviers-berg, and was terminated by the river of the same name.

Zeeko (or Sea-cow) River, which at a small distance from the farm runs into the sea, is, in the part near the sea, tolerably well supplied with fish. The fishes found in this and other rivers all come up from the sea; higher up, fish are seldom to be met with in the rivers of this part of Africa; so that there is no fishing carried on at the mouths of the rivers, and then it is done with nets, and by those only whose farms lie near the shore. One day, when my landlord's sons went down to the sea-shore a fishing with a few Hottentots, I accompanied them thither for the purpose of botanizing. The river was very broad here, it is true, but so choaked up with sand-banks that had been cast up from the sea, that when one went into it, the water did not come up higher than one's middle. I walked about for several hours quite naked, as well for the sake of bathing, as of collecting insects and shrubs that grew there on the banks, with nothing but a handkerchief about my waist, not suspecting that the sun-beams would have had any bad effect upon me. But, in a short time, I found that all that part of my body
which

which was above the water, was red and inflamed. This disorder increased to such a degree, that I was obliged to keep my bed for several days, and could not even bear a fine calico shirt on my body (especially over my shoulders, which were the parts most exposed to the sun's rays), till I had anointed myself with cream, in order to lubricate my parched skin.

The fields here abounded in grafs, and, consequently, were proper for the rearing of horned cattle, which, with butter, were the only articles they could dispose of at the Cape.

They churned here almost every day, and the butter-milk, which was very seldom consumed by the cattle, formed rivulets, as it were, in the places where it had been thrown out.

The Hottentots in this farmer's service were numerous; among these, the girls that were employed in churning were obliged to wash themselves, and keep themselves clean, at least their hands and arms.

A curious and handsome species of Bulfinch (Langftaart *Loxia Macroura*, the long-tailed gros-beak of Latham) was found all over these fields, especially in such places as were boggy, or overgrown with rushes. It resembles the goldfinch in its red velvet summer-dress, in which the cock at this time of the year was splendidly attired; but differed much from that bird by its long tail, which was much longer than its body. In winter the cock is grey, as the hen, who has not a long tail, is all the year round. It was curious to see this bird fly, with its long dependent tail that seemed to weigh it down, inasmuch that it could never fly straight forward, but always zigzag up and down. In windy weather its flight was much impeded by the length of its tail, so that it could not direct its course at will, but was frequently thrown out of its direction. Its slow flight (the heaviest I ever saw in the bird kind) made it easy to shoot; and when it rained, as well as in windy weather, one might almost catch it with one's hands.

The Hottentots that live hereabouts, and even those that are in the service of the Europeans, intermarry without any ceremony or regularity. A woman too, here, has sometimes a husband and a substitute. If a married Hottentot at any time goes on a journey, his wife may in his absence marry another, a circumstance that happened to my driver, who, on his return home, with all that he had earned in his expedition, found himself a widower.

Last year I had seen at different places, that the Hottentots who have no horses, made use of draught oxen for riding and carrying burdens; and I now had an opportunity to learn how these oxen were broke in. An ox that is designed for riding must be accustomed to bear its rider a few weeks after it is calved, for which purpose first a skin is tied over its back, with which it is turned into the field along with the cow. Afterwards little Hottentot boys are set upon its back, and when the animal is thus broke in a little, another calf, quite a novice, is tied fast to its side, in order to tame it the better. This calf-riding, which was always done galloping, was entertaining enough, and the sport generally ended in the calf throwing its rider.

A small grey species of grasshopper (*mantis fausta*) was found both here and at other places, which has obtained the name of the Hottentots god, and is supposed to be worshipped by them. I could not perceive any reason for this supposition, but it certainly was held in some degree of esteem; so that they did not willingly hurt it, and deemed that person or creature fortunate on which it settled, though without paying it any sort of adoration.

As water-turtle are found here, I caught one for the sake of the blood, with a view of trying its virtues against the poison of serpents, as likewise to keep by me for occasional use. A very small quantity of blood was procured from a turtle that was not larger than the palm of one's hand. After the head was cut off, and the blood had run out, the serum was separated, and the red part that swam at top, was dried upon paper, when it scaled off and turned black.

As the species of palm called the bread-tree (*zamia Caffra*) was found in these parts, we looked for the fruit, which is very scarce, and gathered the seeds. Certain trees produce only male flowers, in a large cone without seeds, and other trees again yield a similar cone, as large as a man's head, with genuine seeds. To the under part of the scales of the male cone are fixed an infinite number of antheræ, which burst, and contain a white toughish pollen. On the female cone, seeds, as large as jordan almonds with the shells on, are contained between the scales, surrounded with a reddish pulp, which is good to eat. The fruit sprang out of the very top of the palm, frequently before there was time for the stem to be formed above the surface of the earth. The seed was supposed to come up best after being planted out, if it was covered with straw, which was to be set on fire, and burnt down close to the ground; or if the seed was previously steeped in warm water.

In the whole of the extensive tract of country which we had traversed, from Roode Zand to Camtoüs Rivier, populous as it now is, not a church is to be found. The farmers indeed had requested to have one, and, although all the rest of the clergy, as well in the town as in the country, are paid by the Company, had offered to pay the clergyman themselves, provided the church were erected in the middle of the colony, a place most convenient for them all; proposals likewise had been given in for this purpose, and even permission asked for them to build one at their own expence near Kafferkuyls Rivier, by which place most of them must pass in their journey to the Cape: but this well-meant and pious undertaking had been now for several years without success, owing to the opposition of the landroft and a few of his neighbours, who wished to have the new church built near his residence of Zwellendam, although it lies at one end of an extensive colony.

Our landlord was an elderly man, and born in Europe: he was one of the keenest sportsmen in the country, and had made long journeys at various times into the interior part of the coast of Caffraria, in order to shoot elephants, by the sale of whose teeth he had acquired a tolerable fortune, and had finally fixed his abode here in a pleasant and advantageous spot. He related to me upon his honour several circumstances to which he had been an eye-witness, and which a traveller is so very seldom fortunate enough to have an opportunity of seeing himself. Once, for instance, when he was out a hunting, having observed a sea-cow (*hippopotamus amphibius*) that had gone a little way up from a neighbouring river, in order to calve; he, with his suite, lay still and concealed in the bushes, till the calf made its appearance, when one of them fired, and shot the mother dead on the spot; the Hottentots, who imagined that after this they could catch the calf alive, immediately ran out of their hiding-place to lay hold of it, but, though there were several of them, the new-born calf, which was still wet and slippery, got away from them, and made the best of its way to the river, without having previously received any instructions from its mother, either relative to the way it should take, or to this most natural means of saving itself. He also told me that the female elephant always kneels in the act of copulation, and that therefore the male can never line her, excepting when she is hot. Concerning lions, the mode of hunting them, their nature and manners, he knew much from his experience; and I took the more pains

pains to procure information relative to these matters, as I now had designed to wander for a long time through a country where the sky would be my only canopy, and an open plain, inhabited by wild beasts, my lodging; and as at the same time I was very sensible that it was of no little service to a traveller to be acquainted with the nature and disposition of the wild beasts, which he is carefully to avoid.

A lion may lie in a bush without moving when a man is passing by, so that the man seems only to take no notice of it. It may likewise perhaps start up, without doing any harm, if the man do but stand still, and not take to his legs. A hungry lion, however, is much more dangerous, and less merciful; yet it is not fond of attacking a man, at least it is very nice in the choice of its prey, so that it prefers a dog to an ox, and had much rather eat a Hottentot than a christian, perhaps because the Hottentot, being besmeared, always stinks, and because, as he never uses salt or spices, the juices of his body are not so acrid. It likewise rather attacks a Hottentot or slave than buffalo-beef that is hanging up; thus it happened to our landlord one night, that the lion passed through the bushes where beef of this kind was hung up in order to seize a sleeping Hottentot. In a wood, to climb up into a tree is a sure way of avoiding the lion, but not the tiger, which frequently, when warmly pursued by the hounds, runs up into a tree, and finds a safe asylum there. On meeting a lion, one ought never to run away, but stand still, pluck up courage, and look it stern in the face. If a lion lies still without wagging its tail, there is no danger, but if it makes any motion with its tail, then it is hungry, and you are in great danger. If you are so situated that there is a pit between the lion and yourself, you may then fire on it, as it will not venture across the pit, neither will it pursue any one up an height.

In proportion as the farmers have cleared the land, and laid out farms in the interior parts of the country, the lion and other fierce animals have necessarily been put to flight and destroyed. This our host knew not long since by woeful experience, but now lived in some degree of security with respect to his flocks and herds. The lion is possessed of such immense strength, that he will not only attack an ox of the largest size, but will very nimbly throw it over its shoulders, and leap over a fence four feet high with it, although at the same time the ox's legs hang dangling on the ground. No animal is easier to extirpate than the lion, notwithstanding its great strength, agility, and sagacity. After having discovered by the track, how many lions there are in the troop, the same number of musquets are placed on the spot whither it is supposed that the lion will come; after this a piece of carrion is tied to a strong cord, which is fastened to the trigger of one of these guns; the instant that the lion touches the carrion, the gun goes off, which is so placed as to shoot the beast through the head. The other lions that are present are so far from being scared away by the report, that it may happen that one of them shall go towards the smoke, and fix its claws into the discharged gun, and all the rest, one after the other, fall before the other guns, insomuch that sometimes the whole troop is destroyed in one night. But should a lion chance to be only wounded, and not killed on one of these occasions, he will never more approach a spring-gun, and the lion thus wounded will attack a man without being impelled to it by hunger.

The hoof-distemper began now, as the heat of the summer increased, to appear amongst the horned cattle, and some of my English fellow-travellers' team were affected with it, insomuch that he was obliged to exchange them for others that appeared to be healthier.

My oxen had no other complaint than hunger, and they were so emaciated and worn out, that it would seem as if no distemper could lay hold on their lean ribs and small shanks. In the mean-time, after our cattle were rested, we set out to continue

our route as far as the mountains called the Snow Mountains. And as the country through which we were to pass afterwards was either inhabited by Hottentots only, or quite uninhabited, we resolved to take with us some Hottentots as interpreters, guides, and guards, and at the same time to lay in a small stock of provision.

Our worthy hosts, therefore, put up for us a parcel of wheat-biscuits, a few loaves of wheaten bread, and a small tub of butter, and likewise killed a large sheep, which was salted, and sewed up in its own skin.

The Hottentot language is not every where the same, but has very different dialects; all of them, however, are commonly pronounced with a kind of smack, or clacking of the organs of speech. This clacking I observed to be made in three different ways, which renders it almost impossible for the Europeans to speak it properly, although their children, who have been brought up among those of the Hottentots, learn to speak it fluently. The first of these modes of clacking is the *dental*, in which the tip of the tongue is struck against the teeth. The second is the *palatal*, when the noise is made by the tongue striking against the palate. The third, or *guttural*, is the most difficult of all, and performed quite low down in the throat, with the very root of the tongue. These clackings are the more difficult to perform, as they must be made at the very instant of uttering the word, and not before nor after. They occur not only in the beginning, but likewise in the middle of a word; and sometimes two clackings occur in a word of two or three syllables. When several Hottentots sit conversing together, the sound is very like the clacking of so many geese. That the pronunciation of the language is troublesome to them, was very evident to me, from the gesticulations they made, and from the circumstance that they wearied their lips. They could talk, however, with a tobacco-pipe in their mouths, but in very short sentences only. The language of the Caffres I observed was much easier, and was spoken with much less clacking, which was heard in some few words only.

So that the inhabitants of this southernmost promontory of Africa have a regular language; but, in other respects, are so rude and uncultivated as to have no letters, nor any method of writing or delineating them, either on paper, in wood, or on stone. It is in vain, therefore, to seek for any kind of learning, or any antique records, among them; and few nations in the world, perhaps, are less enlightened than they. Thus too the Hottentots could not name in their language several things in use among the colonists, such as bason, the bow of a yoke for draught oxen, a kettle, tobacco, &c.

As I was sometimes, for several weeks together, among the Hottentots, out of the bounds of the colony, I was obliged to learn something of their language; and, the better to recollect what I had learned, I formed a small vocabulary, and, with three different marks, distinguished the three usual clackings; of which the dental is marked with the letter *a*, the palatal with *À*, and the guttural with *á*.

Kolbe has a long list of words in the Hottentot language; and Professor Sparrman has even given us several dialects of it: and, as some part of what I have taken down differs from theirs, I have here annexed it, for the use of those that are curious on the subject of languages.

1	—	—	Ko ISE	6	—	—	KRUBI
2	—	—	Ka MSE	7	—	—	GNa TIGNA
3	—	—	ARUSE	8	—	—	GNINKA
4	—	—	GNa To I	9	—	—	TUMINKMA
5	—	—	METUKa	10	—	—	GOMATSE

Dog	ARiKÆ, TUTU, TUP	Sister	KANS, TIKANDI
Bitch	TUS	Brother	KARUP, TICA KWA
Flea	a TTI	Fine weather	T a M
Milk	BI, BIP	Pot, drum	SU
Bread	BRÈ	Caffre corn	SEMI
Give bread	BRÈ MARÈ	Warm	SANG
Butter	BINGØI	To eat	SINNo
Good day	DABÈ, DABETÈ	Knife	NÓRAP
Hemp	DÁKHAN	Chair	NE Na M Ho P
Fire	el, elP, NeIP	To sleep	OM
Make fire	el KOA KØI	To sow with a nee- } dle, to darn }	OM
Which is the way } to the next village? }	DANNA IIAA SE	House	OMMA
Where is? }	a KROI aDU	Eye	MU
Cow	DEMMA	Give	MARÉ
Cow's milk	GÓ S, GÓ OSA	Money	MARI
Good evening	GÓ SBIP	Eyes	MUM
Dwelling-place	GEHIEP	Hat, cap	KABA, TABA
Bad weather	HO MA	Wolf	KoKA
Come hither	HÆVA HA, KÓNG	Egg	KABIKA
Come hither, my } friend }	HAGATSCHI	Cock	KÓUKEKURR
Ox	HÓ GÓ, KUMAP	Cold	KOROSA
Bring hither	HANKA	Waggon	KROI, KROJIM, KULE
Horse	HAKVA, HAAP	Red glafs beads }	KRAKWA (by the Caf- res KITI KITI)
Where is the horse? }	HAKVA DEMMA IIA ?	Elk antelope	Ken
Bring the horse hither }	HAKVA SEO	Female elk	Kens
Table	HEID	Elks, a troop of	KANNA
Wife	HO NNES, KUS	Meat, flesh	Kop
Water	KAMMA	People	KEUNA
Lyon	KÁMA	Tooth	KoM
Mouth	KAM	Nose	KoYP
Nicè, delicious	K a NJI	Iron, copper	KoRUP
Good morning	KoA MOSTSCHI	Breast of a woman	SAMMA
Tobacco-pipe	KOP	Where is the wag- } gon? }	HAVA KROJIM ?
Man	KuPP	Here is the waggon	HÆVA KROJIM
Drink	Ka	Mare	HASS
Foot-path	KUDU	Fox	GIEP
House, farm	KOMMA	Run away	SU SE KÓN
It is good	KaL IEM	Tiger	G VASSUP
Buffalo	K a w	Ichneumon	eP
Sea-cow	KoU	Sheep	GONA
Hole	KÓU, TW A P	Chest	GEIP
To beat	KOA	Hart beast	KAMMAP
Gun	KABÚ	A rock	Oip
Penis	HOP	Have you seen? }	MUSKO
Glans Penis	KoUTERE	Drove of oxen	MANQUA
Father	AMBUP, TIKKOP	If you please	KUMSEA, HUNKOP
Mother	ANDES, TISSOS		Turn

Turn about, drive }
back }

KARRA

A Hottentot drefs NAMKVA
Euphorbia viminalis KUIJOP

The children, which among the Hottentots are numerous, at first wear rings about their legs made of rushes, instead of those that are formed of hides, till they become accustomed to them. In like manner I observed, that the Caffre boys at first exercised themselves in throwing a pointed stick, till in process of time they were able to manage the javelin.

The Hottentots are much inclined to believe in witchcraft, and when any one falls sick, or dies, they consider him as bewitched.

The Hottentots universally wore a bag just before the parts of shame, which was made of the grey part of the back of the Cape fox, and was fastened round the body with a thong. The Caffres wore a bag similar indeed to this, but made of another kind of skin, and at the same time so small that it sometimes did not cover more than the foreskin.

At the entertainments which the Hottentots made, and particularly those made to divert us, I had an opportunity of seeing their card-playing, and a kind of an instrument called Korà. It resembles at first sight a fiddle-stick, and was made of a wooden stick, over which was extended a string. At the end of this was fastened the tip of a quill, and upon this they played with their lips, blowing as if it were a wind instrument, so as to make it produce a jarring sound. What they call card-playing, was a particular sport, in playing at which they talked, snapped their fingers, and laughed.

Having laid in a stock of provisions for our journey, and put our fire-arms in good order, on the 9th of December, we took the road to Cabeljaus Rivier, where the last farm now laid out was looked after by a servant, and belonged to Van Rhenen, a rich burgher at the Cape.

On the 10th we crossed Camtous Rivier, which at this time formed the boundaries of the colony, and which was not suffered to extend farther. This was strictly prohibited in order that the colonists might not be induced to wage war with the courageous and intrepid Caffres, or the Company suffer any damage by that means. The country hereabouts was fine, and abounded in grass.

Proceeding farther we came to Loois Rivier, where the country began to be hilly and mountainous, like that of Houtniquas, with fine woods both in the clefts of the mountains, and near the rivulets; here and there we saw large pits that had been dug, for the purpose of capturing elephants and buffaloes. In the middle of the pit stood a pole, which was very sharp at the top, and on which the animal is impaled alive, if it should chance to fall into the pit.

The Hottentot captain that resided in this neighbourhood, immediately on our arrival, paid us a visit in the evening, and encamped with part of his people not far from us. He was distinguished from the rest by a cloak, made of a tiger's skin, and a staff that he carried in his hand.

On the 11th we passed Galgebosch in our way to Van Stade's Rivier, where we lighted our fires, and took up our night's lodging. The Gonaquas Hottentots that lived here, and were intermixed with Caffres, visited us in large bodies, and met with a hearty reception, and what pleased them most, some good Dutch tobacco. Several of them wore the skins of tigers, which they had themselves killed, and by this gallant action were entitled to wear them as trophies. Many carried in their hands a fox's tail, tied to a stick, with which they wiped off the sweat from their brows. As these people had a tolerable stock of cattle, we got milk from them in plenty, milked into baskets
which

which were perfectly water-tight, but for the most part so dirty that we were obliged to strain the milk through a linen cloth.

On the 12th in the morning, we passed Van Stade's Rivier, and arrived at two large villages consisting of a great many round huts, disposed in a circular form. The people crowded forward in shoals to our waggon, and our tobacco seemed to have the same effect on them as the magnet has on iron. The number of grown persons appeared to me to amount to at least two or three hundred. When the greatest part of them had received a little tobacco, they retired well pleased, to a distance in the plain, or else returned home. The major part of them were dressed in calf-skins, and not in sheep-skins, like the Hottentots.

We had brought with us several things from town, with which we endeavoured either to gain their friendship, or reward their services, such as small knives, tinder-boxes, and small looking-glasses. To the chief of them we presented some looking-glasses, and were highly diverted at seeing the many pranks these simple people played with them: one or more looking at themselves in the glass at the same time, and then staring at each other, and laughing ready to burst their sides; but the most ridiculous part of the farce was, that they even looked at the back of the glass, to see whether the same figure presented itself as they saw in the glass.

These people, who were well made, and of a sprightly and undaunted appearance, adorned themselves with brushes made of the tails of animals, which they wore in their hair, on their legs, and round their waist. Some had thongs cut out of hides, and others strings of glass-beads, bound several times round their bodies. But upon no part of their dress did they set a greater value than upon small and bright metal plates of copper or brass, either round, oblong or square. These they scoured with great care, and hung them with a string, either in their hair, on their foreheads, on their breasts, at the back of their neck, or before their posteriors; and sometimes, if they had many of them, all round their heads. My English fellow-traveller had brought with him one of those medallions struck in copper, and gilt, that had been sent by the two English ships, which were at this time sailing towards the south pole, to be distributed amongst the different nations in that quarter of the globe. This medal was given to one of the Caffres who was very familiar with us, and who was so well pleased with it, that he accompanied us on the whole of our journey and back again, with his medal hanging down glittering just before the middle of his forehead.

Some of these people had hanging before their breasts a conic purse made of the undressed skin of an animal, which was fastened about the neck by four leathern thongs, and served them for a tobacco pouch. Some of them wore about their necks a necklace made of small shells, called serpent's skulls (*cypræa moneta*), strung upon a string, and to this hung a tortoise-shell, for keeping the Bukku ointment in. Most of them were armed with as many javelins as they could well hold in one hand.

The huts were covered over with mats made of rushes, which, with their milk-baskets, were so close that no water could penetrate them.

The range of mountains which during our whole journey we had hitherto had to the left, now came to a termination; and, to the right of us, was seen the sea. A larger range of mountains, however, proceeded farther into the country to the left.

The country hereabouts was full of wild beasts of every kind, and therefore very dangerous to travel through. We were more particularly anxious concerning our cattle, which might easily be scared away by the lions, and lost to us for ever.

We were likewise too few in number, and not sufficiently armed, to protect ourselves against the inhabitants, whose language our Hottentots now no longer perfectly understood.

stood. We therefore came to a resolution to entice from this village another troop of Hottentots to go along with us, which we accordingly did, by promising them a reward of tobacco and other trifles that they were fond of, as also to kill for them a quantity of buffaloes sufficient for their support. This promise procured us a great many more than we wanted, and our troop consisted now of above an hundred men.

The 13th. The country in which we now were, was called Krakakamma, and abounded with grafs and wood, as well as wild beasts of every kind, which were here still secure in some measure from the attacks of the colonists; these were chiefly buffaloes, elephants, two-horned rhinoceroses, striped horses and asses, (Zebra, Quagga) and several kinds of goats, particularly large herds of Hartebeests (*capra dorcas*).

We travelled first to Krakakamma Valley, and afterwards from hence farther downwards to the sea-shore, where there was a great quantity of underwood, as well as wood of a larger growth, filled with numerous herds of buffaloes, that grazed in the adjacent plains.

In the afternoon, when the heat of the day abated, we went out with a few of our Hottentots a hunting, in hopes of killing something wherewith to satisfy the craving stomachs of our numerous retinue. After we had got a little way into the wood, we spied an extremely large herd of wild buffaloes (*bos caffer*), which being in the act of grazing, held down their heads, and did not observe us till we came within three hundred paces of them. At this instant the whole herd, which appeared to consist of about five or six hundred large beasts, lifted up their heads, and viewed us with attention. So large an assemblage of animals, each of which taken singly is an extremely terrible object, would have made any one shudder at the sight, even one who had not, like me, the year before, had occasion to see their astonishing strength, and experience the rough manner in which they treat their opponents. Nevertheless as we were now apprized of the nature of the animals, and their not readily attacking any one in the open plains, we did not dread either their strength or number, but, not to frighten them, stood still a little while, till they again stooped down to feed; when with quick steps, we approached within forty paces of them. We were three Europeans, and as many Hottentots trained to shooting, who carried muskets, and the rest of the Hottentots were armed with their javelins. The whole herd now began to look up again, and faced us with a brisk and undaunted air; we then judged it was time to fire, and all at once let fly among them. No sooner had we fired, than the whole troop, intrepid as it otherwise was, surprised by the flash and report, turned about and made for the woods, and left us a spectacle not to be equalled in its kind. The wounded buffaloes separated from the rest of the herd, and either could not keep up with it, or else took another road.

Among these was an old bull buffalo, which came close to the side where we stood, and obliged us to take to our heels, and fly before him. It is true, it is impossible for a man, how fast soever he may run, to outrun these animals; nevertheless we were so far instructed for our preservation, as to know that a man may escape tolerably well from them, as long as he is in an open and level plain; as the buffalo, which has very small eyes in proportion to the size of its head, does not see much sideways, but only straight forward. When therefore it is come pretty near, a man has nothing more to do than to throw himself down on one side. The buffalo, which always gallops straight forward, does not observe the man that lies on the ground, neither does it miss its enemy, till he has had time enough to run out of the way. Our wounded bull came pretty near us, but passed on one side, making the best of his way to a copse, which, however, he did not quite reach before he fell. In the mean time, the rest of our

Hottentots had followed a cow that was mortally wounded, and with their javelins killed a calf. We, for our parts, immediately went up to the fallen bull, and found that the ball had entered his chest, and penetrated through the greatest part of his body, notwithstanding which he had run at full speed several hundred paces before he fell. He was far from being young, of a dark grey colour, and almost without any hairs, which, on the younger sort, are black. The body of this animal was extremely thick, but his legs, on the other hand, short. When he lay on the ground, his body was so thick, that I could not get on him without taking a running jump. When our drivers had flayed him, at least in part, we chose out the most fleshy pieces, and pickled some, and at the same time made an excellent repast on the spot. Although I had taken it into my head that the flesh of an old bull like this would have been both coarse and tough, yet, to my great astonishment, I found that it was tender, and tasted like all other game. The remainder of the bull, together with the cow and the calf, was given to the Hottentots for their share, who were not at all behind hand, but immediately made a large fire on the spot, and boiled the pieces they had cut off without delay. What they preferred, and first of all laid on the fire, were the marrow-bones, of which, when broiled, they eat the marrow with great eagerness. The guts, meat, and offals, they hung up on the branches of trees; so that, in a short time, the place looked like a slaughter-house, about which the Hottentots encamped, in order to broil their victuals, eat, and sleep.

On the approach of night, my fellow-travellers and I thought it best to repair to our waggons, and give orders for making our cattle fast, before it grew quite dark. In our way we passed within a few hundred paces of five lions, which, on seeing us, walked off into the woods.

Having tied our beasts to the wheels of our waggons, fired our pieces off two or three times in the air, and kindled several fires round about our encampment, all very necessary precautions for our security, as well with respect to the elephants as more particularly to the lions, we lay down to rest, each of us with a loaded musket by his side, committing ourselves to the care of God's gracious providence. The like precautions we always observed in future, when obliged to encamp in such places where man indeed seemed to rule by day, but wild beasts bore the sway at night. These free denizens of the earth, for the most part, lie quiet and still, in the shade of woods and copses, during the day, their time for feeding being in the cool of the evening and at night, at which time lions and other beasts of prey come out to seek their food, and devour the more innocent and defenceless animals. A lion cannot by dint of strength, indeed, seize a buffalo, but always has recourse to art, and lies in wait under some bush, and principally near rivulets, where the buffalo comes to drink. He then springs upon his back with the greatest agility, with his tremendous teeth biting the buffalo in the nape of his neck, and wounding him in the sides with his claws, till, quite wearied out, he sinks to the ground and dies.

On the 15th, in the morning, I went out to see whether the trees of the woods, of which this part of the country consisted, had yet any blossoms upon them; but found that the summer was not far enough advanced, and that the trees were so close to each other, and so full of prickles, that without cutting my way through them, I could not advance far into the wood, which, besides, was extremely dangerous, on account of the wild beasts. Here, and in other places, where it was woody, we observed near the watering-places, the fresh tracts of buffaloes, as also the tracts and dung of elephants, two-horned rhinoceroses, and other animals.

In the plains there were striped horses and asses (*equus zebra* and *quagga*), II arte-beefits (*capra dorcas*), Koedoes (*capra strepsiceros*), &c.

We therefore got ready and set out for Zwartkop's Rivier, and the Salt Pan, not far distant from it, where we baited during the heat of the day. Near this Salt Pan, as it is called, we had the finest view in the world, which delighted us the more as it was very uncommon. This Salt Pan was now, to use the expression, in its best attire, and made a most beautiful appearance. It formed a valley of about three-quarters of a mile in diameter, and sloping off by degrees, so that the water in the middle was scarcely four feet deep. A few yards from the water's edge this valley was encircled by a mound, several fathoms high, which was overgrown with brush-wood. It was rather of an oval form, and took me up a good half hour to walk round it. The soil nearest the valley was sandy; but, higher up, it appeared to consist, in many places, of a pale slate. The whole Salt Pan, the water of which was not deep, at the same time that the bottom was covered with a smooth and level bed of salt, at this juncture, being the middle of summer and in a hot climate, exactly resembled a frozen lake covered with ice, as clear and transparent as crystal. The water had a pure saline taste without any thing bitter in it. In the heat of the day, as salt as the water evaporated, a fine salt crystallizing on the surface first appeared there in the form of glittering scales, and afterwards settled at the bottom. It was frequently driven on one side by the wind; and, if collected at that time, proved to be a very fine and pure salt. The Salt Pan had begun to grow dry towards the north-east end, but to the south-westward, to which it inclined, it was fuller; to the westward, it ran out into a long neck.

It appeared to us somewhat strange, to find, so far from the sea, and at a considerable height above it, such a large and saturated pool of salt-water. But the water which deposits this salt, does not come at all from the sea, but solely from the rains which fall in spring, and totally evaporate in summer. The whole of the soil of this country is entirely salt. The rain-water which dissolves this, runs down from the adjacent heights, and is collected in this basin, where it remains and gradually evaporates; and the longer it is evaporating the saltier it is.

The colonists who live in Lange Kloof, and in the whole country extending from thence towards this side, as also in Kamdebo, Kankou, and other places, are obliged to fetch their salt from this spot.

It was said, that not far from this were two more salt-pans, which however yielded no salt till they were quite dry.

Several insects we found drowned in the salt water, some of which were such as I could not meet with on the bushes alive, during the few hours that I staid here and walked about the copfes, which my curiosity induced me to do, although it was a very dangerous spot, on account of the lions.

Our Hottentots, of whom we had now but a few in our suite, and whom we had left to take care of our oxen that were turned out to graze, we found fast asleep, overcome by the heat of the day. Towards evening, we drove a little farther on, and arrived at Kuka, where the brook was already a mere stagnant puddle, and had only a brackish water in it; nevertheless we took up our night's lodging here.

We were surprised to find here a poor farmer, who had encamped in this place, with his wife and children, by stealth, in order to feed and augment his small herd. And indeed these poor people were no less astonished, not to say terrified, at our arrival, in the idea that we either had or might inform the government against them for residing out of the appointed boundaries. The farmer had only a small hut made of branches of trees for his family, and another adjacent to it, by way of kitchen. We visited them

in their little mansion, and, at our request, were entertained by them with milk. But we had not been long seated before the whole basin of milk was covered with a swarm of flies, so as to be quite black with them; and the hut was so infested with flies, that we could not open our mouths to speak. Within so small a space I never beheld, before nor since, such an amazing number of these insects.

We therefore hastened to our carts; and having kindled our fires, and pitched our camp at a little distance from the hut, listened the whole night to the howling of wolves, and the dreadful roaring of lions.

On the morning following, being the 16th of December, we proceeded to Great Sunday River, the banks of which were very steep, and the adjacent fields arid and meagre.

The major part of our ample retinue of Hottentots had now left us, after having got, in the course of the journey, venison enough to feast on, and as we were approaching nearer and nearer to a country which would soon be changed to a perfect desert, where no game nor venison was to be hoped for; and where it was expected that want of water would be in the highest degree experienced. And, indeed, we now not only found ourselves almost alone, but the oxen belonging to my English fellow-traveller were so afflicted with the hoof-distemper, that several of them were lame, and some of them were hardly fit to be put any longer to the waggon.

In consequence of this we held a council with the drivers; and, after mature deliberation, resolved, though sore against our wills, to turn back, not finding it practicable to proceed, with emaciated and sick cattle like ours, through a barren and desert country, to the Dutch settlements near the Snow Mountains and in Camdeboo.

We did not, however, neglect previously to enquire of the Gonoquas Hottentots concerning the nature of the country, the watering-places for cattle, the wild beasts there, &c. and found that the plain was already very much dried up, and that long and forced marches (to use the expression) must have been made between the few brackish watering-places that were to be met with in the way.

It is however not always easy to get the truth out of the Hottentots. One must never attack them with questions to the point, when one wishes to know the truth of any thing; but it must be fished out of them by degrees, and, as it were, discoursing upon other subjects. The Hottentots are also extremely reserved, and wish before-hand to know whether their visitors are good or bad people. Besides, as the Hottentots had now left us, we were deprived of the interpreters we should want, should we chance in our road to fall in with the Caffres or other nations. The Caffres, it is true, are not bad in themselves; but, as they are in great want of iron, they are sometimes so greedy after it, as to make no conscience of murdering a Christian for the sake of getting the iron from off the wheels of his waggon, which they forge and grind to make heads for their javelins. These Caffres a few years before had murdered Heupnaer and some of his company, who, in order to barter for elephants' teeth, had travelled into the country of the Caffres and Tambukki.

The Snow Mountains (Snecuwberg), whither we had intended to direct our course, is a tract of land which lies very high, and, as it were, on a mountain, with other elevated tracts lying near it. It has acquired its name from the cold which prevails there, and the snow that falls upon it. Sometimes the snow lies there from one year to the other; and then the colonists are obliged to remove from thence to the Lower-lands, as it is called. To the eastward of the Snow Mountains, and farther to the northward, above the country of the Caffres, lies that of the Tambukki; and to this joins a people that are whiter than the Hottentots, with curling hair, and are called Little Chinese.

The Caffres, whose country properly begins near the Great Fish River (Groote Visch Rivier), raise a kind of pease and beans, and a species of *holcus*, and at the same time, are in possession of large herds of cattle.

As soon as the afternoon began to feel cool, and we had in some degree investigated the plants which were to be found here, near Kukakamma, we set out on our journey homeward, not by the same way by which we had come, but by the upper road to Van Stade's Rivier, and from thence to Zeeko Rivier, where we arrived safe on the 20th of December.

In the environs of Van Stade's River were the finest woods I had seen in the whole country. Few of the trees, however, were as yet in bloom. The Aslagay-tree (*curtisia saginea*), of which the Hottentots and Caffres make the shafts of their javelins, grew here in abundance, and began now to develope its diminutive blossoms. A great number of butterflies (*papiliones*), that are otherwise so very scarce in this part of Africa, flew round about the tops of the trees, without our being able to reach them.

On one side of our road I observed a heap of boughs of trees, on which most of the Hottentots threw a few twigs as they passed, and, on enquiring the reason, was told that it was the grave of a dead Hottentot.

On our return, we passed a few days before Christmas with our old friend Jacob Kok, where we found sufficient employment in drying and getting in order the thick-leaved and succulent plants which we had gathered in our last expedition up the country, and where our oxen in some measure recruited their strength and flesh. The Calvinists do not keep Christmas, but every one goes about his business as usual: but New-year's day is thus far kept as a holiday, that on this day neighbours visit each other.

A small vineyard was planted here, as likewise at a few more farms near Kromme Rivier; but the grapes did not ripen very well, on which account the wine was rather sour, and sometimes so sour that it could not be drank, but was only used for distilling brandy, from a process which, by some farmers, was carried on with profit.

In the Christmas holidays, we proceeded on our journey up towards Kromme Rivier, and Lange Kloof, where, opposite to Thomas Frere's farm, is a waggon-road across the mountains to Sitsikamma.

Instead of wheel-barrows, for which timber was wanting, the husbandman used calf and sheep-skins made into bags, in which they carried their manure to their gardens.

On the 28th, we arrived at Hannes Olofson's farm, and from thence, turning to the right, rode over the mountains to Anders Olofson's, near Riet-valley, in Camenassie Land, a tract of country that lay before the mountains, was narrow, and exhibited several scattered mountains and eminences. It seemed to be as high as Lange Kloof, and the soil was dry and poor.

The Hottentots called by the name of Nenta, a plant (*zygophyllum herbaceum repens*), which was said to be poisonous to sheep, as also another, a shrub of the same genus (*zygophyllum sessilifolium*).

On the 29th, we rode from this spot to Peter Jordan's estate, situated near Olyfant's warm bath, and the river called (the Eastern) Elephant's River.

The broad tract over which we travelled, was Carrow-field all over, exhibiting a few bushes, no grass, and very little water.

Kon was a name given by the Hottentots to a shrub that grew here (*mesembryanthemum emarcidum*), and was famous all over the country. The Hottentots come far and near to fetch this shrub with the root, leaves, and all, which they beat together, and afterwards twist them up like pig-tail tobacco; after which they let the mass ferment, and keep it by them for chewing, especially when they are thirsty. If it be chewed
immediately

immediately after the fermentation, it intoxicates. The word Kon is said to signify a quid; the colonists call it Canna-root. It is found in the driest fields only, and is gathered chiefly by the Hottentots, who live near this spot. These afterwards hawk it about, frequently to a great distance, and exchange it for cattle and other commodities. No Hottentot or Caffre in the whole country has either money or any thing of a similar nature to trade with; but all their commerce consists in bartering either with cattle or other commodities.

On the 30th, we visited the warm bath, which rises at the foot of the large ridge of mountains, and at a few fathoms distance from it. The stones at the foot of the mountain formed a very black iron ore, somewhat like the slag of iron, and the earth near it was brownish. The top of the mountain contains a great deal of white quartz. The water is very warm, but not boiling hot; so that one may sit in it at its source. It has indeed three sources; the largest bubbles up to the eastward out of a great number of springs of different sizes, the cavity of it being above two yards across, and it is this that is most used. The second lies a few fathoms to the left, and boils up out of one single cavity. The third, and least, lies a few fathoms from the second. On the surface of the water, was seen a thin and fine blue pellicle, and on the twigs of trees and stones that were near it, was precipitated a saffron-coloured ochre. It had an inky taste, but hardly any smell; from an infusion of tea, the water became bluish, and the powder of bark made it blackish, which shewed that it contained iron. It was not fit for dressing victuals; but, as it was said, might be used for washing, without staining the linen. The earth that lay near, and round about the veins of the spring, was of a very loose texture, and a brownish colour, and at the same time contained a portion of salt, and minute shining particles of iron. The crystals of the salt were extremely minute and fine, and were found not only in the loose earth, but also on pieces of wood that lay in the earth. On several pieces of wood that lay in the water were found, besides the ochre above mentioned, thin and brittle scales, which glittered a little, and, by the farmers, were thought to be silver, but seemed to be nothing more than scales of iron. When one sits in the bath, the circulation of the blood is greatly increased, and one is in danger of swooning. The water, it is true, is chiefly used for bathing in; some people however drink it likewise. The water never receives any increase either from rain or drought, though, as the farmers testified, it does from thunder. The time for using the water, is a little before or at sun-rise, and late in the cool of the evening, as the water is too hot during the heat of the day. The invalids sit directly over the veins of the spring, and more or less deep in them.

In order to have a view of the country on the other side of the mountains, I climbed up to their highest summits, and saw, at no great distance, a ridge of mountains, which was lower than this that I stood on, and, between these, the country was as broad as Lange Kloof, and consisted of hills and valleys. The tract of country that lay behind the lower ridge was flat and poor Carrow-land, and so long and broad, without any mountains, that the eye could not reach its boundaries. There were no farms nor houses on this extensive plain, over which the farmers travel from Camdeboo across Hex Rivier, to the Cape. It was said, however, that farther on, there were mountains, which probably extend from Rogge-veld to the Sneeuwberg.

Here, therefore, were the last ridges of that tremendous mass of mountains, which extend from Houtniquas Land and Hartequas Kloof, and again to the northward from Roode Zands and Kartous Clefs, directly across the Carrow that lies on the other side of the Bokke-veld. And, indeed, it is not only along the foot of this range of mountains that the colonists have laid out their best and principal farms, but they have also
got

got between the ridges of the mountains, and set themselves down in all the intermediate valleys.

That immensely dry Carrow-plain, which commences behind the last-mentioned mals of mountains, and extends in length from the north-west to the south-east end of the southernmost point of Africa, and in breadth to Rogge-veld and the Snow Mountains, for want of water, cannot be inhabited; and scarcely any animals reside there, except for a short time, in or immediately after the rainy season, when a little salt-water is found here and there in some of the hollow places. Those colonists, therefore, that have farms on the other side of this tract, either in Rogge-veld or the Snow Mountains, are obliged to wait for that time for crossing to desert a country, when they are under the necessity of pitching their camp near such a place where little water is to be had, between which spots, sometimes a journey of ten or twelve hours long, must be performed with all possible speed in the night. It is therefore necessary to know these watering-places well; because, if one should meet with any Hottentots, they would not readily inform one, even if they knew of any watering-place, but keep it secret to themselves, in order to be able to hide themselves, in case they should at any time wish to run away. Grass is hardly to be met with in this tract, so that it is with difficulty that a horse can find fodder there, but the oxen put up both with brackish water and the salt leaves of the shrubs and bushes. In the day-time, when the sun shines out hot, if one casts one's eye over a smooth and arid plain like this, the eye is affected by a tremulous motion in the air, just as though one were looking at a flame.

The Hottentots who traverse these dry Carrow-fields, use several means, not only to assuage their hunger, but more particularly to quench their thirst. Besides the above-mentioned plant, called Kón or Gunna, they use two others, viz. one called Kanekà or Barup, which is said to be a large and watery root; and another called Ku, which is likewise, according to report, a large and succulent root.

The plants, as well herbs as bushes, stand very thin in the Carrow-veld; and, in such a burning hot climate, where not a drop of rain falls for the space of eight months at least, it is almost inconceivable how they can thrive at all. Their stems and branches, likewise, have the appearance of being brittle and quite dried up; but the leaves, on the other hand, are very thick, and filled with a briny fluid, and remain green all the year through. These fresh and ever-verdant tops and leaves, however, may perhaps receive from the air, which at night is cool, some moisture for their preservation and nourishment. The ground appears quite burned up, is of a yellowish red colour, and consists of clay with ochres of iron and common salt.

1774.—On the 1st of January, directing our course homewards, we arrived at Jan van Stade's farm, and afterwards passing an estate belonging to one Gert van Royen, and another belonging to a Van Fors, came to the villa which Gert van Royen occupied himself.

We let our drivers and Hottentots go on with the carts through Hartequas Kloof, with orders to wait for us at the Company's post at Riet Valley; and I, with my English fellow-traveller, determined to go on horseback over the dry Carrow, which lay to the right, and afterwards proceed through Platte Kloof. But this expedition did not end very fortunately; for, as in this level plain, which is seldom visited by travellers, there were no tracks to follow, we missed our road, and the longer we travelled, the farther we went astray, so that at last we could not even find our way back again. We rode on however, as fast as our horses could go, and the sun began to go down without our having perceived the least trace of a house or farm. At length the sun being set, and no hopes left, we retired a little way back to a valley, where there

was

was a small brook, with a few trees on its borders; and, in this brook, there was still some water.

Here we thought it advisable to take up our lodging for the night. Accordingly we unfaddled our horses, and tied them up, with the halter round one of their legs, that they should not run away; and then, by means of our guns, we made a large fire of Canna-bushes (*Jalsola aphylla*). After this we lay down near the fire, with the saddles under our heads; but could not get a wink of sleep, on account of an intolerable sensation of cold, which, though not so very intense in itself, yet, by reason of the burning heat we had endured in the day-time, was severely felt by us, and forced us to rise several times in the course of an hour, in order to mend the fire, and warm ourselves all over. We had derived this advantage from our guns, that we could always make a fire; but we had no hopes of finding any thing in this plain to shoot, by which we might satisfy the cravings of our stomachs. I had therefore taken the precaution to put into my shooting-bag a few biscuits and pieces of sugar-candy, which were extremely welcome to us at this juncture.

As soon as it was morning, we looked about us for our horses, but found that they were vanished, which did not a little add to our concern, situated as we were in a desert, where our fate was uncertain. After having searched the valley all around, we went up upon the heights, and behind these we at last found our horses, which without doubt were upon the point of going farther, to look out for better fodder. Having saddled them, we directed our course obliquely towards the mountains, where we arrived towards evening, at the house of a farmer, who was so poor as scarcely to be master of any thing more than the roof over his head.

Here we took up our night's lodging, and afterwards made our way to Hartequas Kloof, where we met with our people and our carts.

Near Hartequas Kloof, a new range or ridge of mountains commences, which joins the former, the cleft serving as a band of connexion between them. So that the Carrow-veld can be seen behind the first ridge, when one rides into the cleft through the next range of mountains near Groote Paarde Kraal.

It is not long since that this whole tract of land, from Hartequas Kloof down to Camtous Rivier, which is now filled with settlements, was first peopled; and twenty-three years ago there was not a single farm, when, in the year 1750, Governor Tulbagh sent a caravan out to this coast, with a view to gain certain intelligence with respect to the country and its inhabitants. Tulbagh, who still lives in the grateful hearts of the inhabitants of the Cape, was a governor, who considered that he was raised to the elevated station he enjoyed under government, and appointed to be ruler over an extensive country, not merely to live in luxury, pamper his pride, and accumulate riches, but to unite with the Company's lawful interests the happiness of the colonists, and the advancement and welfare of the colony. This gentleman was also anxious to have the country by degrees farther explored; for which purpose, in the year 1750, he fitted out a caravan, consisting of one hundred and fifty soldiers from the castle, and two burghers, of which an officer of the name of Beutelaar was appointed the commander. With these were sent, at the Company's expence, eleven waggons, a great number of draught-oxen, and of others for killing, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and provision. The expedition was to be made into the country of the Caffres, and afterwards up towards that of the Tambukkis, and then back again, through the Snow Mountains and Camdebo; but, on account of the haughtiness and stupidity of the commander, little was done in the business, for which reason, on his return home, he was sent away out of the country; a punishment he richly deserved.

deserved. He was a strict and rigorous commander, and punished with severity. He likewise beat the drum all the way, inasmuch that all the game that was to have been shot scared away, particularly by the two farmers who went in suite; and his people at length grew extremely mutinous. When he encamped any were at night, the waggons were all placed in a ring, within which the cattle and other animals were put, and the tents also pitched. At last, when he arrived at the country of the Caffres, he gave the Caffre captain, Paloo, a grenadier's cap, and another to his brother, which is said to have excited a war amongst the Caffres. The only thing he did for the benefit of the Company was, that in the harbour near Zwartkops river he set up the Company's arms, cut in stone. This journey lasted eight months. At that time there was not a single farm on the other side of Hartequas Kloof; but the roads were so unknown and unbeaten, that the waggons were often obliged to be dragged, by the people to whom they belonged, across the most difficult places.

Being come from Hartequas Kloof to Gouds Rivier, we staid a day there in order to rest our cattle, which besides were so grievously afflicted with the hoof distemper, that my companion was obliged to leave one of his oxen behind here, which could get no farther. Here too the weather was amazingly warm, warmer indeed than I have ever felt, either before or since, inasmuch that the farmers shut both the doors and window-shutters, in order to keep the sun out, and their houses cool. The birds could scarcely fly, and the air was almost too hot to be breathed. The heat was without doubt several degrees above 100 by Fahrenheit's thermometer.

The following days, continuing our route, we arrived at Riet Valley, one of the Company's posts, where we remained a few days to rest ourselves, and particularly for the sake of paying another visit to Groote Vader's Bosch (or Grandfather's Wood), and seeing if the different kinds of trees there were come into blossom, as we had already got pretty far into January, and consequently the summer was farther advanced than it had been at any time before, when we had visited this wood.

On the 14th of January accordingly, we went thither, but were not more successful now than we had been before with respect to finding the trees in blossom, much less with fruit on them; some of them, however, were on the point of budding.

Here were, at this time, for the Company's account, two wood-men, who, after felling the trees, dragged them to such spots from whence they might be taken up and put into waggons. The trees were chiefly got out of the wood by oxen, by means of a cord fastened round the body of the tree; as no vehicle of any kind could possibly be used there.

As I had no hopes of ever visiting this place again, I made a point now of collecting and laying up to dry, branches with leaves of every species of tree, and at the same time of becoming perfectly acquainted with the use they made in this country of each species.

The uses of the different sorts of trees that grew in and round about the wood, were as follows:

Black iron-wood (*Zwarte Yzerhout*, *gardenia Rothmannia*), is hard and strong: it is used for axle-trees and the poles of waggons.

Yellow-wood (*Geelhout*, *ilex crocea*), is of a yellow colour, almost like box, of a close texture, and handsome. It is used for planks and beams in the construction of houses, for tables, doors, cupboards, window-frames, and butter-churns.

Camassie-wood (*Camassie-hout*) is merely a shrub, and consequently produces small pieces only, which serve for veneering, and to form borders on furniture, as likewise
for

for making planes and other fine and delicate tools. This is one of the finest and heaviest kinds of wood.

The wood of the Red pear-tree (Roode Peer) is used for making the bodies, under and upper axle-trees, and the lower parts of waggons.

The Bucku-tree (Bucku-hout, *olea capensis*) is the best wood for making wheels and waggons.

The Red alder (Roode Elfe, *cunonia capensis*) is likewise very proper for making waggon-wheels, the naves of wheels and chairs.

The Ash (Essenbott, Essenboom, Houtniquas Essen, *Ekebergia capensis*) is a large tree, hard, and of a close texture, and is used for making tools and implements of various kinds.

Of the Stink-hout there are two sorts, the white and the brown. The brown is very beautiful, being of a dark colour with bright streaks and dashes, much like walnut-tree. Of this are made clothes-presses, desks, chairs, tables, and other costly kinds of furniture. When it is first cut down it stinks, a circumstance from which it has obtained its present name; but, in process of time, when it has been exposed to the open air, the disagreeable odour vanishes.

The wood of the Olive tree (Olyve-hout, *olea Europæa*) is very heavy, and of a brown colour. I have often seen, at the farmers' houses, chairs made of this wood, which felt very heavy in the hand. This strong wood is also used in the construction of mills.

Wild Catjeping (*gardenia Thunbergia*) is a hard and strong kind of wood, and on this account used for clubs.

Witte Essen (or white ash) is used for planks, for waggon-racks, and for the boards in waggons, for boards for shoe-makers to cut leather on, and sometimes for cup-boards.

Zwart-bast (*royena villosa*) is used for the bodies of waggons, and to make yokes for draught-oxen.

Keur-hout (*sophora capensis*) is used for wheels and the bodies of waggons.

The Almond tree (Amandel-hout) is used for heels of shoes, and for shoe-maker's lasts.

The Aflagay tree (Aflagayboom, *curtisia faginea*) is used for the poles of waggons, and as shafts for the Hottentots' javelins.

Dorn-hout (*mimosa nilotica*) is used for lock-shoes, to put under waggon-wheels, as likewise for the bows of yoke for draught-oxen, and for making charcoal.

The Waageboom (*protea grandiflora*) for fuel and making charcoal.

The Kreupelboom (*protea speciosa*). The bark is used by tanners, for dressing and tanning leather.

The Leepelboom is made into spoons and wooden bowls.

The largest trees in the African woods, as well in this as in others, were the following: the Geelhout (*ilex crocea*), the Bucku (*olea capensis*), the *tarchonanthus camphoratus*, and *arboreus*, the Roode-elfe (*cunonia capensis*), and the Wite-elfe, the Stink-hout, the Aflagay-hout (*curtisia*), the wild Chestnut (Wilde Castanien, *brabejum stellatum*), the wild Fig-tree (Wilde Vygeboom, *figus capensis*), the Keureboom (*sophora capensis*), the *mimosa nilotica*, and the Essenboom (*Ekebergia capensis*).

On the hills grew the *ornithogalum altissimum*, which was now in full blossom, and decorated the plain with its long and crowded spikes of flowers. It was said to be very common every fourth year, and, in the intervening years, hardly to be seen.

On the 18th, we passed through Zwellendam to Steins farm.

On the 19th, we crossed over at the ferry, where Breede Rivier and Zonder End unite, and then went over Hessaquas Kloof, and past Gyllenhuyfen's estate to Vollenhovens. At Breede Rivier, where the river Zonder End unites with it, ends that mountain which stretches out from Roode Zand, and directly opposite this place the Zwellendam Mountains form an angle.

On the 20th, proceeding on our route, we went past Melk's farm to the Company's post at Tigerhoek, where not only a great number of cows are kept for making butter on the Company's account, but likewise in the adjacent woods a quantity of timber is felled for making all kinds of implements for the Company's own use.

The workmen are at liberty to cut down and fell some wood and timber, by way of assisting to support them, but no husbandman is suffered to fell any here. In Hout-niquas and other woods indeed, the husbandman is at liberty to cut timber, but in some places, not without the special permission of government, and paying a contribution of five rix-dollars.

In this tract resided the Blue Goat, as it is called, (*blauwe bok*, *tséiran*, *capra leucophaea*,) which is one of the scarcest in the whole country; it is white, intermixed with black hairs. The blue goat is said to be very neglectful of her young, inasmuch that they are often devoured by wild beasts; and this is the reason that is given for its being so scarce. Its flesh had a better taste than that of the other species of goats.

Here were also a great many zebras or striped horses (*equus zebra*). There is a penalty of fifty rix-dollars on shooting one of these animals; and if any one can be caught alive, it is to be sent to the governor. The old ones are hardly ever to be caught, and are never tamed. The young ones seldom live, and although seemingly tame, are by no means to be trusted.

After this, passing by Jurjin Linde's farm, we arrived at a post of the Company's, near Zoete-melks Valley, where twenty-four men and a serjeant are kept for the sole purpose of selling timber in the adjacent woods. From this place the Company receives the greatest part of its ship and common timber, of which three large waggon-loads are sent every month up to the Cape. The labourers here also are permitted to cut a reasonable quantity, and fell it on their own account. The large pieces of timber, such as beams, &c. are dragged out of the wood by oxen, and it must be confessed, not without the greatest difficulty.

To the smaller pieces, such as wedges, handles for axes, gun-stocks, wheel-timber, axle-trees, &c. the form is given before they are carried out of the wood. When a very large tree is felled, it is left for some time to split of itself; then it is cloven and cut up.

Here I had an opportunity of seeing how they prepared the wheat-straw used for thatching. The sheaves with the ears on were struck against a block, till the grain ran out and the ears dropped off. The business goes on much slower in this method of thrashing than when the corn is trodden out by horses; but the straw is preserved whole by it and even.

On the 24th, we passed by the Ziekenhuys (or hospital), a small post of the Company's, which is subject to the former post near Zoete-melks Valley, and in which there are only two men, and went forward to Groenewal's farm, and afterwards to Gyllenhuyfen's, near Zwart Rivier (the Black River). The Black Mountains, which commenced near Groenewal's farm, came to a termination here. They were not very high.

On the 25th, we travelled on to Badenhorst's and Beyer's estates, near Booter Rivier.

Here I shot a cat, spotted with black (*viverra*); the skin smelled so strong of musk, that when it was hung up in the cart to dry, I could not endure the stench of it. It is in consequence of this strong smell that the animal is not easily caught by the dogs.

The ridge of mountains which we had seen terminate near Hessaquas Kloof, began at the side of Kleine Hout-hoek, behind Franche-hoek. Within the mountains of Groote Hout-hoek, a ridge was also seen to shoot out along the sea-shore, which went almost as far as Muscle Bay. Within this last, another ridge projects, which comes to a termination between Gyllenhuyfen's and Groenewal's farms, and, directly opposite to Badenhorst's farm, has a high peak, called the Tower of Babel. These two ridges are not united with the other mountains, but leave an open space near Booter Rivier.

On the 26th, passing over Grootehout-hoek, Palmit's and Steenbrafemey Rivers, we arrived at the Hottentot's Holland Mountain, on which there are several farms.

Baboons, a sort of large and ill-conditioned monkeys, with tails no longer than their thighs, are found in these mountains. This animal is long a growing, and, when full grown, is almost as large as a blood-hound; at this period, it should not be kept tied up with a string only; for, without an iron chain, it bites every thing asunder. Several dogs together, indeed, may catch a baboon, but one or two seldom can; because if the baboon, which is surprisngly quick and nimble, gets hold of the dog by the hind feet, he swings it round, till the dog is quite giddy, and as it were drunk. With his large teeth he bites violently, and defends himself obstinately.

Finally, we went down the mountain, over its steep hills, and then over the level plain to the Cape.

The Cape, 1774.

BEING arrived in town so late in the year, after a journey of five months, I was obliged to use dispatch, in order that I might be able to embrace the opportunity of sending, in the beginning of this year 1774, to the Botanic Gardens of Amsterdam, Leyden, and Leeuwarden, by the homeward-bound ships sailing for Europe, a considerable quantity of bulbous roots, herbs, seeds, and growing plants; and also to my other patrons a great number of bulbous roots, seeds, insects, stuffed birds, and other scarce animals.

The first four months in the year are the most busy at the Cape, when the Dutch ships, as well as those that belong to foreign nations, return from the East Indies, and others arrive from Europe; so that there are at this time about twenty or thirty ships in the road. The first Dutch homeward-bound fleet too now lay ready, and I had an opportunity of sending part of my collections by it, and the remainder afterwards, as fast as they were ready, by the ships that sailed later.

A ship from Holland, the *Bekvliet*, arrived here, after a long and unfortunate voyage. Through the captain's neglect and ignorance, the ship had got so much under the African coast as to lose its proper winds, and to be obliged to make Angola, after first making Waalvisch Bay, with only nine men in health on board. During this long voyage the scurvy had raged among the crew, which was said to have been very generally as well as plentifully bled, so that the greatest part of it had died. Complaint was made both against the surgeon and the captain for not having understood their business. The

former died on the passage, and the latter received the punishment he richly deserved. The sick had not only been supplied with improper medicines, but also, in other respects, had been treated with great negligence. One morning four men were reported as dead; one of whom, just as they were going to sew him up in his hammock, was found alive by the sail-maker, although he soon after breathed his last. Another morning five men had been reported dead; all of them had been sewed up in their hammocks, and two had already been thrown over-board; when the third, the instant he was put on the plank, called out, "Master Boatwain, I am alive still!" to which the boatwain, with unseasonable jocularly, replied, "You alive, indeed! what, do you pretend to know better than the surgeon?"

For every sick man sent to the hospital the captain pays two skellings, and he keeps back in return the man's allowance on board.

The building of the new hospital was not very far advanced this summer, neither, indeed, could the work go on very fast. Of ninety men who were allotted for this purpose, few were at work, and a great part of them were on furlough, or were set upon other work on the hospital's account.

Besides a handsome house, built in the Company's garden in town, the governor has also one at Rondebosch, and another at Nieuwland, both out of town, to which he may retire at pleasure, and unbend his mind when oppressed with the cares of state. Another such house was now to be built likewise for his accommodation at Baay-fals.

The Company has very fine gardens both at Rondebosch and Nieuwland, from whence the ships and the hospital are supplied with vegetables.

Since the governor, Van der Stell, in the beginning of this century, had appropriated to himself a considerable portion, and that the best, of the land, (and the same had been done by several of the Company's servants, to the great prejudice of the burghers and colonists,) they lie under a strict prohibition against holding any farms. In lieu thereof, after being obliged to dispose of their farms, several perquisites have been allowed them; such as the dispencier, or purveyor, five per cent. upon imported, and the same on exported, wares; as likewise upon grain, butter, &c. The collector has two and a half per cent. on the monies, the store-keeper four, the commissary of the hospital five, the inspector of the auctions five per cent. on all goods and merchandize sold by auction; and all this, besides their usual monthly salary. So that it is only some few of the higher people in office that have a small villa for their pleasure near the Cape, but from whence no commodities must be carried out and disposed of.

The ships that arrived here brought the news that Baron Van Plettenberg had been nominated governor of the Cape and the colony, and had been ~~shortly~~ after installed in his office.

The governor, together with seven counsellors of police, ^{of wheat-straw} and command, as well with respect to the Company's traffic here, ^{black} as also to the whole economy of the colony, without being subject to the government of Batavia, which have otherwise the supreme command over all the factories in India.

All criminal causes come under the cognizance and jurisdiction of the grand court of justice. In this the commandant of the garrison presides, and the governor has nothing to do with it, excepting merely to sign his name to death-warrants.

Finally, there are two other courts of judicature in the colony. One of these is at Stell enbosch, to which four parishes are subject, with their churches, viz. Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Zwartland, and Roode Zand; the other is at Zwellendam, and comprehends one very large and extensive parish, which, however, has not yet been provided either with a church or minister.

The Cape of Good Hope, although it was first discovered by the Portuguese above three hundred years ago, was frequented by them for the space of one hundred years and upwards, and afterwards by the Dutch East India Company's ships for more than half a century, before possession was taken of any part of the country, or any cultivation was bestowed upon it, so that the colony is not above a hundred and twenty years old; for, in the year 1650, when the Dutch ships, on their return from the Indies, touched here and took in refreshments, for which they bartered with the Hottentots, the country was, for the first time, surveyed with any degree of attention, by a surgeon of the name of Jan van Riebeeck, who belonged to the fleet, and had some knowledge of botany; and as he found both the climate and the soil adapted to the cultivation of culinary vegetables and fruit-trees, on his return home he proposed to the directors to establish a colony here.

On mature deliberation the proposal was agreed to, and Jan van Riebeeck was sent out as admiral and commander-in-chief, with four ships, which were stored with materials for building, carpenters, and seeds of all kinds. On his arrival at the Cape, he treated with the Hottentots for the purchase of a piece of ground, on which was erected a fortress, storehouse, and hospital; and, at the same time, the first foundations were laid of this great and flourishing colony, which does more honour to mankind than all the victories of Alexander the Great, and much more than all the important conquests the Dutch arms have been able to make in every other part of the world.

The sum for which the first piece of land was purchased, is very differently reported, as well as the quantity of the land itself. The first purchase sum is said to have amounted to fifty thousand guilders in wares, and by another purchase to have been augmented with thirty thousand guilders more; which, although it may actually be so great in the Company's books, yet it seems to be absolutely incredible, that the Hottentots should ever have received the major part of it. The last purchase is said to have extended as far as Mosselbaay, but this is the less true, or even probable, as during the time that Van Riebeeck was governor of the Cape, as he afterwards was, his farthest discoveries reached only to that mountain, which is called after him, Riebeeck's Castle, and stands at a good distance within the long range of mountains. In my opinion, the land purchased at first was no more than that tract of country which lies between Table Mountain and Zout Rivier, from whence the colony has since been continually more and more extended in the same manner as it is now daily enlarged and augmented. The citadel was at first built of wood and earth; and it was not till the year 1664, that, together with its fortifications, it was built of stone. Near Zout Rivier (Salt Rivier) a small fort, called (Keer de Koe) Turn the Cow, was also erected for the purpose of protecting the Company's cattle that grazed in the field, which it commanded, and to hinder them either from going across the river to the Hottentot's lands, or from being stolen by the natives of the place. With this view, therefore, near the fort a stable was built for fifty horses, with which the Hottentots, who were very swift of foot, and disappeared in an instant, might be pursued with all possible speed. This, together with a farm near Constantia, laid out by Van Riebeeck, was without doubt the first and inconsiderable commencement of this settlement. This infant establishment was probably not meant to extend so far as it has done since, but was intended only for the cultivation of such articles as were necessary for supplying the shipping that arrived there with refreshments. But, on a closer examination of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the weakness of the natives, it was resolved to extend the settlement, and several Europeans were persuaded to emigrate and settle here,

here, and to cultivate a considerable tract of land, which was granted to them and their heirs for ever. Shortly after this, marriageable girls were sent out from the orphan-houses, for the purpose of still more increasing the colony; the inhabitants of which got at first, on trust, implements that were necessary for the cultivation of the land, and spread themselves out to Stellenbosch and Drakenstein (where the French Protestant refugees in particular strengthened the settlement), and afterwards on the other side of the mountains to Roode Zand. The whole of Zwartland was afterwards peopled, though a sandy and more meagre soil. In fine, within these last thirty years the colony has increased to such a degree, and with such rapidity, that not only the country from Roode Zand and Hottentot's Holland Mountains has been occupied and inhabited as far as Zwellendam, but also as far as Mosselbaay, Houtniquas, Lange Kloof, Kromme Rivier, and all the way to Camtous Rivier, the Bokke and Roggevelds, Camdeboo, and the Snow Mountains.

The colony of the Cape takes in the town with its parish and church, Paarl with its parish and church, the Tyger Mountains, &c. and extends as far as Mosselbanks Rivier and Baay-falls.

The colony of Stellenbosch was founded by the governor Simon vander Steel, in 1670, like a cottage, and provided with a court-house and church, at the distance of eight miles from the Cape. It extends from the Tyger Mountains to Hottentot's Holland, and nearly to Baay-falls, and, at the northern end, to Paarl and Mosselbank.

Drakenstein was founded in 1670, with a very small church, and stands so close to Stellenbosch, that it might with great propriety be subject to it. And indeed this was considered as a separate colony, more out of compliment than necessity.

The Company paid only four skellings for a live sheep, and the burghers in the town paid one skelling (rather more than six-pence English) for twelve pounds of mutton.

A great many officers belonging to the ships lodged in the same house with me. A mate paid less per diem than a captain, as his pay was less, although he was equally well-lodged, and equally free from restraint, and had the same table and attendance; and this regulation appeared to me in many respects as equitable as it was handsome and delicate.

Charcoal is a very dear article at the Cape, and is generally carried thither from Europe. For a chaldron of charcoal, which ought to contain thirty-six schepels (or bushels), of which, however, only thirty-two are delivered out to the purchaser, the blacksmiths pay eighteen rix-dollars, and eight rix-dollars for one hundred weight of iron.

Bulbous plants, in all probability, repose at times, or they are not seen every year in equal quantities. In some places one sees them in one year in great abundance, and another year scarcely any.

When a slave plays any knavish trick, or does mischief to any of the neighbours, the farmer who owns him is generally obliged to make good the damage, and frequently to pay one half of the value of the slave, though at the same time the slave likewise may chance to undergo corporal punishment for it.

When an inferior servant of the Company trespasses, he usually undergoes corporal punishment; but a burgher is fined. The former contributes to the reformation of manners, and the latter to lining the fiscal's pockets.

The laws respecting marriage at the Cape differ in many respects from those that are in force at other places; and divorces frequently happen here, attended with singular circumstances.

circumstances. The wife of one Sardyn, who had been a soldier seventeen years, and at this time kept a public-house and a dancing-house for the reception of the common people, was proved in court, by the evidence of two witnesses, to have had a criminal connexion with a drummer. The prosecutor was allowed, it is true, to part with his wife, but then she was exempted from all farther punishment; while he, on the contrary, was flogged and sent to Batavia, without being suffered to receive the least benefit from his property.

A certain hatter in the town, who was a bachelor, had got two of his slaves with child. For the child he had by one of them, he, in quality of its father, demanded baptism, and accordingly this was baptized, and consequently free; while the other girl's child remained unbaptized and a slave.

The winter of this year, in the months of June, July, and August, was very cold, with a great deal of rain; and on the 6th of July particularly, both the Devil's Mountain and Table Mountain were covered with snow and hail. In several places, the vines, as well as many vegetables in the kitchen-gardens, had been killed or greatly damaged by the frost.

In the Company's garden there was a very beautiful covered walk, formed of chestnut-trees, which were now very thick and large. It was this year cut down root and branch by order of the governor, for the purpose of making different kinds of furniture of its elegant wood; and in its stead were planted oaks, which, however, are as little likely to restore the beauty of the garden, as those curious animals are to return thither; which the highly respectable Governor Tulbagh had taken pains to collect together there, from the interior parts of Africa; but which, after his death, were turned out by his successor to become a prey to ravenous beasts.

The fruit of a species of *mesembryanthemum* was sometimes brought to the town as a rarity, and was called Rosa de Jericho. When it is put into water, it gradually opens all its seed-vessels, and exactly resembles a sun; and when it becomes dry again, it contracts itself and closes by degrees. This is no less a necessary than singular property, which points out the admirable institution of an all-wise Creator; inasmuch as this plant, which is found in the most arid plains, keeps its seeds fast locked up in time of drought; but when the rainy season comes, and the seeds can grow, it opens its receptacles, and lets fall the seed, in order that they may be dispersed abroad. The water in which this fruit has lain is sometimes given to women that are near their time, and is thought to procure them an easy delivery.

Ordinary public-houses are much more rarely to be met with here than they are in Europe, and taverns still more so, as every body has a quantity of wine in his own house, sufficient for himself and his friends. Some there are however for the lower class of people, though very different from those which abound so much in our more refined quarter of the globe; being designed not so much for drinking and tippling, of which drunkenness, noise, and riotous disorder are the frequent concomitants, as for mere diversion and recreation. The inferior kinds of public-houses therefore are at the same time dancing houses, where every evening musicians are to be found, and the guests, by paying for their wine only (but at a very dear rate), have an opportunity of dancing. No card-playing is suffered, and the dancing is over at a certain hour in the night, when every one goes quietly home, without making a noise or affrighting others, which would not be easily tolerated by the night-watch, nor go unpunished by the government.

At my leisure hours I never neglected to visit the hills, mountains, and fields, near the town. For the purpose of carrying a book and other things necessary for putting

up my seeds and plants, I usually took with me a hired slave. This year, through the kindness of the surgeon, I got a man out of the hospital to carry my apparatus, who had been brought by a singular destiny to this southernmost point of Africa. He was born in Germany, and, for the sake of trafficking, had travelled much, and had lived for some time in Holland, France, and England, where he resided last, and carried on a small trade in certain drugs, and some chemical preparations. In the course of this business, having embarked for France, the ship was driven by a storm towards the coast of Holland, where it was wrecked, and he lost all his little property. On getting ashore, he sold his knee-buckles, and, with the trifling viaticum produced by them, set out for Amsterdam, where he met with an old acquaintance, who offered him his assistance; and under the pretext of procuring him a lodging, took him to a kidnapper's. Here his friend called for brandy, victuals, and wine, of which they both partook. At length, when he and his friend parted, he observed that the landlord gave the latter two ducats. Immediately upon this he himself was prevented from going out; he then found, to his cost, that he was kidnapped; and, being no stranger to the Dutch language, threatened the kidnapper to lodge a complaint against him, if he did not instantly set him at liberty. The kidnapper then began to make some inquiries about his residence, means of support, &c. and, as he could not pay his reckoning, absolutely refused to let him go. When mustered on board of ship, whither he had been carried, without having been previously taken to the East-India house, and received there, he complained to the director; but, as the poor fellow could not possibly pay for what the kidnapper had received of the Company to fit him out, he was obliged, *volens volens*, to sail for the Cape, where he arrived sick, and was taken to the hospital. This poor man accompanied me twice in my excursions; but soon regained his liberty by running away, and getting on board one of the English ships that lay in the road.

Pomegranates grew in several of the gardens, but were not exposed to sale, nor much eaten in the town. But chestnuts (*castulus pavia*) were sold here in plenty, and eaten by way of desert, roasted, with a little butter.

By the ships that arrived from Europe, I had not only the pleasure to receive letters from my patrons in Amsterdam, intimating their satisfaction at what I had sent them, but also received a considerable sum in ducats, for the purpose of paying off part of the debt I had contracted during the two last years.

There had arrived from England, in order to proceed to Bengal, Lady Ann Motson, who had undertaken this long and tedious voyage, not only for the purpose of accompanying her husband, who went out as colonel of the regiment in the East Indies; but also with a view to indulge her passion for natural history. This learned lady, during the time she staid here, made several very fine collections, and particularly in the animal kingdom. And, as I had frequently had the pleasure, together with Mr. Mason, of accompanying her to the adjacent farms, and, at the same time, of contributing greatly to the enlargement of her collections, she had the goodness, before her departure, to make me a present of a valuable ring, in remembrance of her, and of the friendship with which she had honoured me. She was a lady about sixty years of age, who, amongst other languages, had also some knowledge of the Latin, and had, at her own expence, brought with her a draughtsman, in order to assist her in collecting and delineating scarce specimens of natural history.

The government at the Cape had resolved to send this year a vessel called a Hoeker, to Madagascar, to barter for slaves; and the Governor Baron Van Plettenberg had the kindness to offer to send me out as surgeon to the ship. But although I had much wished to visit so large and remarkable an island, still my inclination to see the northern

part of Africa was much more prevalent. I therefore begged to be excused from making this voyage; and recommended a friend and countryman of mine, Mr. Oldenburg, who had been practising botany for the space of two years that he had accompanied me in my excursions, to go as surgeon's mate. My recommendation was taken; and Mr. Oldenburg even made several collection of plants; but did not live to return from so unwholesome and scorching a climate.

This winter Alderman Berg shewed me a very curious Fungus (*hydнора*) which had been sent to him, as a great rarity, by a farmer, from the interior part of the country. This fungus, which was called Jackhal's Kost (or Jackall's food) being, on examination, found to be, with respect to the parts of fructification, the most extraordinary plant of any hitherto known, confirmed my resolution of visiting the northern parts of the Cape, and excited in me a wish to examine this fungus, with several other plants, in their native soil, however arid and barren.

I fitted myself out as in the preceding year, in the month of September, and again had Mr. Mafon, the English gardener, for my fellow-traveller, although he was not much inclined to make any long excursion this year.

Journey to Roggeveld.

ON the 29th of September, 1774, I set out with my fellow-traveller, on my third journey to the interior part of Africa. After crossing Zout Rivier and Mosselbank's Rivier, we arrived at Vicherhoek, a corn-farm of the Company's, occupied by the governor. This year eighty barrels of seed had been sown.

The stranguary raged amongst the cattle here, and was occasioned by the *euphorbia genitiodes*. As a sovereign remedy for this distemper, the farmers gave the cattle a teacup full of powdered ostrich egg-shells mixed with vinegar. The resinous clot of *Euphorbia*, which stuck fast in the urethra, was sometimes extracted, when it appeared quite white, and about half a finger in length.

On the 30th, we rode past Engelaar's farm to Matth. Greef's, near Mosselbank's River. In these low sandy plains, and in the dwarf-bushes upon them, there were hares in abundance, insomuch that one might shoot as many as one chose; but nobody set any value upon this kind of game, the flesh of which had so dry a taste.

Here I heard much talk of a Hottentot water-melon, which is said to be a large and succulent root, called Kou by the Hottentots, who grind it down to meal, and bake it like bread.

On the 2d of October, we crossed Mosselbank's River to Jurgen Kuse's, and from thence proceeded to Abraham Bosman's, near Paarl's-berg.

Paarl Mountain is neither very high nor of great extent in length; but it abounds in water, so as amply to supply the farms that lie on each side, and a large mill situated at the foot of it.

The church stands on the east side of the mountain.

The farmers here chiefly cultivated vines, the stocks of which are often of fifty years' growth, and produce a delicious and full-bodied wine. Wheat was not much cultivated here, and the quantity of culinary vegetables was but small, as was also the number of the cattle.

Here we staid a couple of days in order to investigate the mountains with due care and accuracy. Having arrived at the top from the eastern side, we observed a place called the Company's Cellar (Kelder). This consisted of a somewhat concave and large rock, which had fallen over another rock inclining towards it. These two rocks together formed an arched cellar, as it were, open at both ends, and possessing an agreeable coolness.

The Paarl Diamonds were two very large, bare, steep, and almost conic mountains, the foot of which was so wide at bottom, that it required an hour to walk round it.

On the 5th, we proceeded to Hannes van Aarde's, near Paardeberg, which is a little higher than Paarl Mountain; this stands separate, and has taken its name from the wild Cape horses (or Zebras), which formerly were to be seen here in great numbers. At this time there was only a dozen of these beautiful animals, and these were protected by government, and were far from being shy.

On the 7th, we passed on to Lofper's estate; and,

On the 8th, passing by Peter Lofper's and Johannes Walther's farm, we came to Dreyer's estate, near Riebeeck Castle, a large mountain, so named after Van Riebeeck, the founder and first governor of this colony. The mountain was very high, and its sides were steep.

My fellow-traveller and I, one day, climbed up to the high tops of this mountain, whilst our oxen, which we had ordered to be taken off from the waggons, kept grazing at the side of it. We were obliged to make almost the whole circle of the mountain before we could get to the peak we wished to ascend. When arrived upon this summit, we perceived our waggons standing at the foot of the mountain; but saw, at the same time, that we were separated from them by such steep precipices on this side, that it appeared to us impossible to reach them, without returning by the same way that we had come, which was nearly three miles about. However, whilst we were searching here after some curious plants, and laying them up in our books, I stumbled upon a very near, but, at the same time, dangerous way, to get to the other side of the mountain's perpendicular flanks. This was a chink of a few fathoms' length, and so narrow, as to be capable of admitting a middle-sized man only. Through this I ventured to crawl on my hands and feet, and was fortunate enough to get safe over to the other side, from whence it was only the distance of a musket-shot to our waggons. My fellow-traveller, together with his dog, stood astonished at my adventurous exploit, the one howling, and the other almost crying; and, at the same time, vexed to think that he should be obliged to go alone a long way round about, without once daring to take the direct path. My courage was rewarded with a small plant which I got in the chink, and which I afterwards sought in vain in other places.

On the 11th, we came to Vliermuys Drift and Farry, after having passed Lombart's and Owerholffen's estates, and Honingberg, which is a low mountain, and of a small extent.

On the 12th, we arrived at Wilhelm Burger's grazing farm, near Matje's Drift and Rivier, where our waggon and cart were conveyed over by boats, and the oxen swam across.

On the 13th, I observed a rainbow, which was extremely pale, with the dullest colours imaginable, being formed merely out of a rising fog.

On the 14th, we arrived at Hanekamp's farm, near Picquet-berg, which here stretched north and south, but on the eastern side, to the northward, had several bendings, the ridges of which ran south-east and north-west. Towards the northern end, the
mountain

mountain goes up almost to the long chain of mountains, from whence a point projects, forming a new range of mountains, the ridges of which run on to the sea-shore. From this it should seem, as if Picquet Mountain had a different direction from all other mountains; but it is only on the eastern side that such a ridge runs, and, at the northern end, the mountain is continued farther, and runs a great way out to the south-east and north-west. This mountain is higher than Riebeeck Castle, and, in the east and north, has a great many steep and inaccessible rocks, with flat and level surfaces at top.

Here grew a shrub called Zand-olvye (*dodonæa angustifolia*), the wood of which was of a hard nature. This was dried, and a decoction of it was drank in fevers, by way of a purgative.

Tigers infested the bushes in these sandy plains; and I saw several persons that had been bitten by them, though nobody had been killed. I was assured by many people, that a tiger preferred a wild-goat to a sheep. The tiger is supposed to be more treacherous, and less magnanimous, than the lion. He seldom fails to rush upon a man who passes the thicket where he lies concealed; and it is impossible for him to hear the cry of "fa, fa," without attacking the person that utters the sound. I was told of a slave in Madagascar, who having stepped behind a thicket to ease nature, was attacked by a tiger, and wounded so severely, that he fainted away through loss of blood; but, seizing the tiger at the same time by the throat, quite stifled him, so that the tiger was found dead, and the slave near him in a swoon. The Cape tiger is small, and about the size of a dog.

Elephants were formerly very numerous in these parts; but, at present, they are quite extirpated. The best method to escape from these large beasts, whose height sometimes reaches to eighteen feet, is either to fly to the water, or to get into some fissure of a rock.

Near Picquet Mountain we, for the first time, discovered and shot a dove (Roode 'Turtelduyv, *columba Senegalenfis*). This bird is generally found farther up the country, and is said not to have been so high up towards the Cape till within the last seven years.

The *flapelia incarnata*, a very branchy plant without leaves, was found in the vicinity of the mountains, though it was rather scarce; the Hottentots ate it, after peeling off the edges and prickles.

Vogel Valley was a kind of swamp, which lay at the foot of the mountain opposite Paarl, and was frequented by sea-fowls and snipes.

All the roads here were sandy and heavy, like those about Saldahna-bay.

Near Picquet-berg to the northward, stood Captain Kloofs Mountain, and within this, farther to the northward, Drie Fontein's-berg, and then Babian's-berg, or the Baboons Mountain, which, with its several different heads, stretched on to the sea-shore.

Travelling farther on we came to Carrellspeck's farm, situated under Picquet Mountain; from thence to Gert Smidt's, and afterwards to Dirk Kuffe's, where Verlooren Valley has its origin, and springs from a mountain belonging to the long chain of mountains; and, finally, to And. Greef's.

The estates in this tract are embellished with vineyards, corn-fields, and beautiful gardens.

Here I met with a lemon, which contained another within it, furnished with a red rind. Neither of these two lemons had any seed, and the rind of the inner lemon was said to have even a four taste.

Here I also saw a goose's egg, which contained another egg enclosed within it. The external egg had a yolk, but the inner none.

Ostriches abound in all these parts. They frequently do great damage to the farmers, by coming in flocks into their fields, and destroying the ears of wheat, so that nothing but the bare straw itself is left behind. The body of this bird is not higher than the corn, and when it devours the ears, it bends down its long neck, so that it cannot be seen at a distance; but on the least noise it rears up its head and long neck, and can thus foresee its danger in time, and make its escape, before the farmer gets within gunshot of it.

When this bird runs it has a proud and haughty look, and seems not to make much haste, although it be in great distress, especially if the wind is with it; and when the wind blows a little, it flaps its wings, which greatly assists it in its flight. It is then impossible to overtake it with the swiftest horse, except when the weather is exceedingly warm and at the same time calm, or when its wings have been shot off.

One morning, as I rode past a place where a hen-ostrich sat on her nest, the bird sprang up and pursued me, with a view to prevent my noticing her young ones, or her eggs. Every time I turned my horse towards her, she retreated ten or twelve paces; but as soon as I rode on she pursued me again.

The farmers here likewise informed me, that a stone or two is sometimes found in the ostrich's eggs, which is hard, white, rather flat and smooth, and about the size of a bean. These stones are cut and made into buttons, but I never had the good fortune to see any of them.

Partridges (*Tetrao*) abound here and in many other parts of the country. They did not immediately take wing when we rode full trot after them, but they ran so swift along the road that we could hardly keep pace with them; at length they took flight side-ways with loud and violent screams.

Verlooren Valley is the name given to a rivulet that derives its source from the above-mentioned range of mountains, and empties itself into the sea. Its banks are in many places overgrown with reeds and rushes (*carex*, *arundo*), which sometimes shoot up to the height of several yards, inasmuch that the rivulet, in such places, cannot be seen. In these impenetrable recesses an innumerable multitude of birds have their haunts and places of refuge, such as different sorts of herons (*ardea major* and *caerulea*), ducks (*anates*), and coots (*fulica*). In some places it was narrow, and in others broad; but in particular it grew wider and wider the nearer it approached to the sea. In some places there were large holes and deep reservoirs. It runs into the ocean to the northward, and, when it is low, the mouth appears dry, and the current there entirely choked up with the sand, and stagnating. The nearer it approaches the sea, the deeper it grows in the middle, and the freer it is from reeds. It has many windings, and in its course, runs between two tolerably high mountains. The water is sweet and good; but near the sea, from the intermixture of the salt-water, and especially in the dry season, it grows saltish. We encamped several days along its banks in the open air, till we came to its mouth, in a sandy and barren field, where no colonists dwelt, and where there were only a few places for grazing cattle, which were mostly committed to the care of the Hottentots.

At the beginning of Verlooren Valley, opposite the end of Picquet Mountain, projects a ridge of mountains, which runs all the way down to the strand, where Verlooren Valley ends, and forms the heights on one side of this rivulet.

From Picquet-berg some ridges of mountains also project, which terminate on the other side of Verlooren Valley.

The large and long range of mountains which extends from Cape Falfo, near Hottentot's Holland, across the whole country, terminates here in scattered and broken hills and eminences, so that it was not necessary to cross the above-mentioned range at the northern end, as at Roode Zand and Pickenie's Kloofs.

Near a farm where Hottentots only tended the cattle, we experienced the inconvenience of being infested with vermin. We encamped, it is true, at a considerable distance from their habitations; but before our arrival, they had spread their skin-coverings, which swarmed with vermin, upon the adjacent fields, and our pillows, on which we used to sit in the shade of our waggons, were presently filled with them, so that after several days painful labour we could hardly get rid of our hungry and troublesome guests.

Serpents abounded greatly in these sandy and bushy plains. Not a day passed that we did not catch several, and put them into the brandy-kegs. Whilst we were sitting on the ground to eat our homely meals, they ran across my legs and thighs as well as those of my fellow-travellers, without once biting any of us. A serpent once twisted round my left leg, and without biting me suffered itself to be gently shaken off. Another came creeping out from under my body, whilst I lay on the ground, and afterwards crawled, as cold as ice, over the bare leg of one of the company that sat near me, without doing the least hurt to any one of us. From this it may plainly be inferred, that serpents do not attempt to bite, unless in self defence, when trampled upon, or otherwise hurt. Many times did serpents run across the road, and not unfrequently between the horses' feet, without doing the horses any injury.

The sand-moles, of which here were vast numbers, had made so many holes in the ground that it was with great difficulty and danger the traveller could get on, as his horse sometimes fell deep into them, and very frequently stumbled.

From Verlooren Valley we travelled on to Lange Valley, which is a river similar to the former, but much less; and from hence we had a very long and dry Carrow-field to traverse before we got near the mountains again, and to a place called the Gentlemen's Hotel (Heeren Logement).

The heights were very sandy, the country dry, and the grazing farms scarce, at which the farmers themselves likewise did not live, but only kept some hired Hottentots to tend their cattle, which is here the only thing attended to; as the drought and the barrenness of the soil prevent them from growing corn, or planting orchards.

On the 25th, before we reached the Gentlemen's Hotel, we passed several small vales in our way of a very trifling depth, which, from the heat of the weather, were already quite dried up. These had a strange and singular appearance, as the clay which during the rainy season had been dissolved and agitated in water, was now deposited in various strata, or laminæ of different degrees of thickness, which had split in consequence of the heat, and were seen very distinctly. The lowermost layer was the coarsest, and contained a great quantity of extraneous particles, which, in consequence of their weight, had settled there first. The uppermost layer was both purer and finer, and so dry as to stick to the lips and tongue like a new tobacco-pipe. This, as well as other African minerals, I collected, and have presented them to the royal academy at Upsal for their collection of minerals.

In my way to the Gentlemen's Hotel, I found a scarce and long-sought-for plant, viz. the *Codon Royeni*, but did not see more than one shrub of it, which however I think I never shall forget. It was one of the hottest days in summer, and the heat was so intolerable, that we were afraid that our beasts would grow faint and drop down quite exhausted. By this insufferable and tormenting heat our bodies were swelled up, as it were, and the pores opened in the highest degree. The bushes we met with, were

covered

covered all over with white, brittle, and transparent prickles, which, when my fellow-traveller and I suddenly fell upon them, and strove which should pluck the most flowers with our naked hands, scratched them in such a terrible manner, that for several days we experienced great pain and inconvenience.

At length we arrived quite exhausted to the Gentlemen's Hotel, which was a vale between the mountains, with a pretty high hill. Up this hill we had to drive before we could get into another tract of country, which however was not very fertile.

This place, which is pleasant, being ornamented with a small wood and a rivulet of fresh-water, is called the Gentlemen's Hotel, because on one side of the mountain there is a large cavern to the westward, like a hall, formed by two rocks, which were hollowed out by the hand of time. I climbed up to it, and found the names of several travellers written on the sides. Near this was another hollow vault, but somewhat less.

In the former of these caves there was a small fissure, in which a tree, probably the *Sideroxylon*, had taken root, and stood in a very flourishing condition, being above eight feet in height; although it had no more water for its nourishment and support than the trifling quantity that was retained by the fissure in the rainy season.

Upon the whole, the mountains thereabouts were dry, barren, and of a brittle texture, appearing as if they had been burned, and containing a great number of large, bare, and loose stones.

Whilst we refreshed ourselves here and our wearied cattle, a farmer arrived on horseback from Olyfant's Rivier, who informed us that a lion inhabited the spot by which we were to pass, and that it had lately been seen upon the road, and had pursued a Hottentot there.

However, as we had no other way than this dangerous one to choose, we set out on the following day, viz. the 26th, and, the better to be on our guard, we rode the whole day with our guns, laid across our arms, cocked and loaded with ball; and late in the evening, when it was quite dark, arrived at Peter van Seele's, near Olyfant's Rivier, where we staid a few days, as the situation was comfortable and the people obliging and hospitable.

The road was almost every-where sandy, and the heights we rode over presented nothing but bare rocks, with a red sand-stone, interspersed with pebbles, that appeared to have been enclosed in the sand-stone before it had hardened into a rock, in like manner as their surface seemed to have been polished, before their enclosure, to the degree of smoothness they now exhibited, by the violent motion of the waves.

Here were several mountains flat at top, like the Table Mountain, which terminated behind Olyfant's Rivier, before they reached the sea-shore, between which and the mountains it is said to be a day's journey over a broad and level plain.

The Bokke-veld Mountains also ended near the sea-shore, on the other side of Olyfant's Rivier; they are of a considerable height, and do not go off with a gradual slope.

Kamerup was the name given here to the Hottentot's water-melon, a large succulent root.

Karup again signified the root of a species of *Lobelia*, which was eaten by the Hottentots.

Moor-wortel is an umbelliferous plant, from the root of which and honey the Hottentots make, by fermentation, an intoxicating liquor.

A wild goose (*anas Egyptiaca*) took up its residence in great Olyfant's Rivier immediately below the farm, and did great damage to the farmer's wheat-fields. It had been fired on before, and wounded with small shot, but escaped alive. This made it so
thy

shy and cautious, that on the slightest view of the people of the house it would fly to the other side of the river, so that nobody could come within gunshot of it. I being a stranger, it seemed to be less fearful of me, a circumstance which, one day, as it came on the side of the river next the house, gave me an opportunity of shooting it, to the great satisfaction of my host.

As we now had to travel through a dry and barren desert, we took care to lay in proper provision here for the journey, viz. biscuits, bread, butter, and fresh meat, with which our worthy hosts very obligingly furnished us. We sent all our baggage over Olyfant's Rivier, which was pretty broad, in a small boat, and afterwards made the oxen swim across with the waggons. The river was deep in several places, and a beautiful wood, consisting of trees of various kinds, especially the *mimosa nilotica*, adorned its banks.

After this, on the 30th, we rode down by the foot of the mountains, the first and largest projecting point of which was called Windhoek, and the other Maskamma. We arrived at a grazing farm, which belonged to one Ras, and was called Trutru. Here, on some of the lesser hills, I found the Hottentots water-melon, which I had been long in search of, and desirous of knowing. The root was almost as round as a ball, above six inches in diameter, of a yellowish colour, and about as hard as an ordinary turnip. The taste of it was agreeable and refreshing. It is much eaten by the Hottentots. Its blossom was not quite full blown; but it seemed to me to belong to the order of the *contorta*, and I thought it might be referred more especially to the *crotopia*, or the *periploca* genus.

The field was always dry; in the clefts indeed, and sometimes at the foot of the mountains, there was water; but the land was so poor, that no farms could be laid out there.

We saw the Bokke-veld Mountains lying before us, which extended far towards the sea-side, and that with several projecting points, just like so many ranges of mountains.

On the 31st, we proceeded through the desert; in which the farther we advanced, the drier it grew. Our journey through the desert lasted three days at least: and in the whole of this tract we found only three places which at this time afforded a little salt-water. But these were the more difficult to find, as they did not lie near the road, but at a great distance from it. A stranger easily passes by them, and thus endangers his own life and that of his cattle. Very happily for us, we fell in with a farmer from the Cape that was travelling the same road; but with our weak cattle we could not keep pace with him. We therefore requested, that he would set up a stick with a linen rag on it at the places where we ought to bait, and in the neighbourhood of which we might look for so extraordinary a phenomenon as salt-water is in these thirsty plains. The first night we luckily hit upon the watering-place called Single Dornboom's Rivier, but not the second, so that our cattle were nearly exhausted by heat and thirst, before we reached, which we did not do till the third evening, the Bokkeland Mountains, where we baited all night near a small rivulet of fresh-water, called Dorn River, after having passed a place called (Leeuwedans, or Leeuwejagt) Lion's Dance.

In the winter, when it is set in for rain, the farmers remove for some time with their cattle to this part, which is at this time the most proper for breeding of sheep, but not always for other cattle. And indeed the sheep in these barren fields grow sometimes so fat, that their flesh cannot be eaten. The leanest are therefore always selected for slaughter. When a butcher has purchased a flock of sheep, and driven them

them one hundred and thirty or one hundred and fifty miles to the Cape, they are generally reckoned fat enough to be killed.

All the mountains here stretched north-north-east towards the sea, and south-south-west into the country, where they grew very flat; towards the summits they were quite level, as if their heads had been lopped off.

To the left, a ridge of mountains was seen to commence, which ran along the sea-shore, and was not very high.

In this Carrow-land grew the most singular *Mesembryanthemums*, and those in the greatest quantity; on the other hand, but very few *Craffulas*, *Euphorbias*, and *Cotyledons*.

On the 2d of November, we rode up the Bokke-land Mountains with two pair of oxen, with which the farmer, who had passed us, kindly assisted us, ours being quite fatigued and disabled, and the mountains so steep that several Hottentots were obliged to hold the waggons fast with cords, to prevent them oversetting. This mountain was not only very steep, but likewise very hilly, and abounded with slate; above there was a steep ridge, and the sides of the crown itself were almost perpendicular. At the top of all the mountain was level, the air colder, and the plain abounded in grass.

Bokke-veld lies between the thirtieth and thirty-first degree south of the equator.

In ascending this mountain, we discovered a species of *Aloe* (*aloe dichotoma*), the stem of which, when of a proper thickness, is hollowed out, and used by the Hottentots as a quiver for their arrows.

Weary, but not a little pleased, we afterwards arrived at Clas Losper's farm, whither we intended indeed to have gone the preceding year, but were prevented by an accident. In this honest farmer, during the few days stay we made with him, we found as generous a host as we had before found in him a faithful guide and kind assistant. He was the richest grazier in the whole country; and was at this time in possession of at least twelve thousand sheep, and above six hundred full-grown horned cattle, besides about two hundred calves.

We now left a tract of land to the left, nearer to the sea, which is occupied and inhabited by two rich and powerful nations, the Little and Great Namaquas. These are occupied in grazing; and their cattle appeared to me to be of quite a different kind from those of the Caffres and colonists, being for the most part long-legged, large, and without a bunch on the back.

Bokke-land or Goat-land, which we had now reached, is nothing else than a tolerably high mountain, which is level at the top, and towards the edges of its summit forms a variety of projecting angles, pointing to the sea-side. It consists of different strata; the uppermost of which is sand-stone, in many places interlarded with polished round pebbles. The sand-stone is for the most part laminate like slate, and moulders away into pieces by rain.

This country being all over exceedingly barren, and consequently not much frequented by the colonists, there were several small societies of Hottentots, scattered up and down in it, who were in possession of some very inconsiderable herds of cattle; and a great many of them were employed as servants by the few farmers that lived here, who repaid their services with cattle and other trifling gratuities.

With these as well as other Hottentots who live farther up the country, near Roggeveld, and who were once more numerous and rich than they are at present, the Dutch Company formerly carried on a bartering trade; but, on account of the injustice and violence which the factors that were sent to them were guilty of, and which the governors frequently connived at, not deeming it their duty to contend for the rights

rights of nature and humanity, when neither the Company's nor their own private interest was concerned, it has now almost entirely ceased. When a corporal was sent out by the governor, with a few men to barter with the Hottentots for their oxen, against arrack, glass beads, iron, and tobacco, he not only got their oxen for slaughter, but their calves, cows, and sheep. And this exchange was not always with the Hottentots' good will and consent, but by compulsion, and frequently by force. Besides this, they were base enough to dilute the arrack with water, and thus to adulterate it. This mode of bartering occasioned by degrees such a disgust, that some of the Hottentots neglected to augment their stock, and others entirely left the places of their residence, and ran away; after which they sometimes stole cattle from the farmers, who by degrees seized upon their land. Not long ago, Corporal Feldman procured by barter five hundred oxen, with the greatest part of which he enriched himself, returning only fifty into the Company's slaughter-house. This bartering traffic, which was not very advantageous to the Company, but unjust and cruel towards the Hottentots, has now quite ceased as well in this north-western, as in the south-eastern part of Africa, especially since the land is well peopled, and the farmers, who abound in cattle, are now capable of delivering as many soever as may be wanted. Should such traffic ever take place again, it ought to be with the Caffres and Namaquas, who are possessed of a great quantity of cattle, and whose lands have not hitherto suffered in the least by the encroachments from the colonists.

From Bokke-land we saw the Roggeveld Mountains to the eastward, and, nearer hand, the Nantums Mountains to the northward, and still farther to the northward, a range of mountains, behind which lay, according to report, an immense long plain without mountains, but furnished with several salt-pans, and inhabited by Boshiesman Hottentots. All the above-mentioned mountains lay high, and at the top as it were of the Bokke-land Mountains.

The Boshiesman Hottentots inhabit the most indifferent, poor, bare, and cold part of this southernmost point of Africa, towards the north and east from Namaquas-land, across Roggeveld, and as far as the Snow Mountains. And indeed this nation is the poorest and most destitute of all. They have seldom or ever any cattle, and frequently no fixed abode, but wander about the country, and support themselves by plunder and theft. They often live without either clothes or huts; and I was informed by some farmers worthy of credit, that these people sometimes creep down at night into caverns and holes in the earth, many together till the cave is full, when the uppermost covers himself with the skin of a Dassie (*carvia capensis*), to keep out the cold and bad weather. They are of a yellowish brown colour, and something less than the Hottentots, with very small and delicate limbs. The belly, which projects extremely, constitutes almost the whole of the man.

These Boshiesmen had, for the space of several years, molested the colonists here, as likewise in Roggeveld and near the Snow Mountains, stolen their cattle, murdered many of the colonists themselves, and set fire to their farms. At different times parties had been sent out to disperse them, and last year in particular, three large parties had been sent into three different quarters.

A party, consisting of a hundred men, of which thirty-two were Christians, and the rest Hottentots in their service, had been sent out against some Namaquas Boshiesmen, and now met us on their return. In this expedition they had killed about a hundred, and made prisoners of twenty, chiefly small children, some of whom they at this present juncture had with them. It was said, that in a similar expedition in

1765, one hundred and eighty-six had been killed. None of the Christians that were on this expedition were either killed or wounded.

The Hottentots are considered as allies, and not suffered to be made slaves of; but such Hottentots as are taken prisoners in war, especially if young, are for some time the property of the captor, and obliged to serve without wages, but are not to be disposed of to others. If any of the colonists take an Hottentot orphan to bring up, it must serve him, it is true, without wages, till it is twenty-five years old; but, on arriving at that age, it is at liberty to go where it pleases, or to continue in service at a stated salary.

Although this Bokke-land, which also has the name of the Lower Bokkeveld, lies very high, yet it is said that snow very seldom falls here.

For the protection of the property of the colonists against the ravages of the Hottentots, the Company had, to the eastward, established several posts one after another; but to the westward, on the other side of the mountain, not one was established, although it is there that such posts are most necessary and important. The farmers towards this coast must therefore themselves be armed in order to defend themselves against these plundering Boshiesmen; and on this occasion the more wealthy farmers generally supply the other with powder, ball, and men. One of the farmers is commonly chosen for their leader, who is then exempted from all other borough service. When a large party is sent out, the government supplies them, on the Company's account, with brandy, hand-cuffs, powder and shot.

The Boshiesmen exercise their violence and depredations not only on the Christian colonists, but have, previous to this, by their thefts, ruined the major part of the Hottentot natives, many of whom have since gone into the service of the colonists.

When any strangers arrive at a farm, the Hottentots belonging to it always give each of them a name suited to his appearance, profession, or other external circumstances; this happened in several different places to me and my companions.

When we were encamped in the open air, which was frequently the case, and had forgot to procure fire by means of our guns, the Hottentots made use of another method, which was no less curious than infallible. They took two pieces of hard wood, one of which was cylindrical, and the other flat, with a hole in it; the flat piece was laid down on the ground, and the foot placed on one end of it to keep it fast; after which some dry grass was laid round the hole, and the cylindrical stick being put into the hole, it was twirled round between the hands with such velocity, that the friction arising from it set the grass on fire.

When we stewed our meat in the open field, the Hottentots would sometimes come, after it was taken out of the pot, and first besmear themselves all over with the grease, and afterwards rub the foot of the pot all over their bodies.

The Boshiesmen sometimes make use of javelins, but the shafts are shorter and thicker than those of the Caffres' Affagays; which they use not only to throw, but likewise, and indeed chiefly, for the purpose of killing the cattle they have stolen; but their principal arms, which they use in war and for their own defence in general, are bows and poisoned arrows, and these they are taught to handle with great dexterity. The arrow is armed with a thin triangular piece of iron, fastened with a string to a bone of a finger's length, to the end of which again is fastened a reed. This iron as well as the bone is afterwards rubbed with poison extracted from serpents. The Boshiesmen are the most expert marksmen of all the Hottentots, and are said to be able to shoot their arrows to the distance of two hundred and eighty paces. They also know how to avoid the arrows of others with the greatest nimbleness and dexterity, just as baboons

do when stones are thrown at them; and if they could but see the musquet-balls of the Europeans, they would think themselves able to escape them likewise. To running the Boshiefinen Hottentots are so inured, as not to be excelled in it by any others; but can almost hold out longer than a horse. On the level plains they are easily overtaken by a man on horseback; but very seldom if the road be stony, and never in mountainous places.

They can endure hunger a longer time; but when they have a plentiful supply, will eat so immoderately as to distend their bellies to an amazing size. When oppressed by hunger, they tie a belt round their bodies, which they gradually draw tighter, till the navel is brought close to the back-bone.

When a Boshiefinan has caught a serpent, and killed it, he does not, according to report, cut off its head, but bites it off, and then cutting out the vesicle containing the poison, dries it in the sun till it becomes viscid and tough, and then mixes it with the juice of a poisonous tree (frequently the *cestrum venenatum*), which makes the poison adhere the faster to the arrow.

The Hottentots and Boshiefmen are said to fortify themselves against poisoned darts and the bite of venomous animals, by suffering themselves to be gradually bitten by serpents, scorpions, and other venomous creatures, till they become accustomed to it; but these trials sometimes cost them their lives. The urine of an Hottentot thus prepared is esteemed an excellent antidote or counterpoison, and is therefore drunk by such as have been bitten by serpents.

When it thunders, the Boshiefmen are very angry and curse bitterly, thinking that the storm is occasioned by some evil being.

Poisonous bulbous plants (*Giftbolles*, *Amaryllis disticha*), grow in several places common, with their beautiful clusters of flowers. The root, which is poisonous, is almost as big as one's fist. The Hottentots use it chiefly for poisoning the arrows with which they shoot the smaller kind of game, such as Spring-bucks (*capra pygargus*) and the like. Those bulbs that grow in the shade are thought to possess a stronger poison than those which are exposed to the sun.

On the following days we rode along Bokke-land, to Hantum. The country inclined gently and gradually towards it. The Hantum country began with scattered ridges of mountains; farther up the country stood a high mountain, which was more particularly called Hantum Mountain, and had a cut, or open cleft, through which we rode. The mountain was smooth and level at the top, and in height appeared equal to Rogge-veld.

After we had got to the end of Bokke-land, the country grew, the farther we travelled, a drier Carrow, with considerable rivers, which had still brackish water in them, but in summer are quite dried up.

In Hantum we passed Van Rhen's grazing farm, near Riet-fontein, and afterwards rode by Hendrik Lau's grazing farm, to Abraham van Wyk's farm. This Van Wyk was a lusty, fat man; as soon as the dogs, by their barking, announced the arrival of strangers, he stood at the door to bid us welcome. My fellow-traveller and I were not a little surprised, in a country so extremely barren, and through which we had travelled several days without seeing a single living creature, now to find so lusty and corpulent a man, and one that did so much credit to his keeper.

In this tract we found the fungus we had so long sought and wished to see (*hydnum Africana*), which without doubt is one of the most extraordinary plants that have been discovered of late years. It always grows under the branches of the shrub *euphorbia tirucalli*

zirucalli, and upon its roots. The lower part of it, which is the fruit, is eaten by the Hottentots, Viverræ, foxes and other animals.

On the 13th we proceeded to Christian Bock's; and,

On the 14th, to Rhonnofter Rivier, where we were obliged to unyoke our cattle and stay all night; although a lion had two days before killed a zebra near this spot, which it had not yet had time to devour.

The lions have their haunts in every part of these mountains; and are, on account of the farmers' herds of cattle, as disagreeable neighbours as the Boshiessmen. And indeed there were several people here who had been in danger from these dreadful beasts of prey. Amongst others was mentioned a farmer of the name of Korf, who lived not far off.

A lion had stationed itself amongst the rushes of a rivulet that ran near the farm, so as to deter the servants from going to fetch water, or tend the cattle. The farmer himself therefore, accompanied by a few terrified Hottentots, resolved to attack it, and endeavour to drive it away. But as it lay concealed in the thick rushes, he could not see to take aim, but was obliged to fire several shot at random into the rushes. The lion, enraged at this, rushed out upon the farmer, who, having fired his piece, was now quite defenceless, and at the same time deserted by his fugitive Hottentots. As soon as the lion had laid hold of him, he plucked up courage, and thrust one of his hands down the lion's throat, which saved him from being torn to pieces, till at length he fainted away from loss of blood. After this the lion left him, and retreated into the rushes again for a few days. When the farmer at last recovered, he found that he was not only terribly wounded in his sides by the lion's talons, but one of his hands was so much torn and lacerated by the animal's teeth, that there were no hopes of its being healed. On entering the house and being a little revived, he took an axe in his hand, laid the wounded hand on a block, put the axe on it, and ordered one of his servants to strike the axe with a club. Having thus cut off his own hand, he dressed it with cowdung, and tied a bladder over it, and at length healed the wounds with the usual salve, made of a decoction of odoriferous herbs, lard, and a little wax.

I heard another anecdote of an old farmer, who, together with his son, had gone out in order to drive away a lion from his farm. The lion had suddenly leaped upon the old man's back, and in that situation, before it had had time to kill him, was shot dead by the son.

Another instance was related to me of the widow of one Wagenaar, near the Snow Mountains, who had gone out to scare a lion away from her cattle; when the beast seizing on her, first ate off one of her arms, and at length, when she fainted, devoured her head. After this it had likewise devoured a Hottentot maid-servant, who had ran to her mistress's assistance. The children who had seen this shocking fight through the crevices of the door, dug themselves out through the earth under the back wall of the house, and from thence ran away to the nearest farm.

From this dangerous place we went to Daunis, where the settlement had been destroyed by the Boshiessmen by fire, and the owner with his people forced to run away.

The country here was level, with several mountains running north-east and south-west. Directly before us lay the Rogge-veld mountains.

Moorwotel (an umbelliferous plant) was also spoken of here as a root, from which, with water and honey, the Hottentots prepare an intoxicating liquor. This root is said to be taken up principally in the months of November and December.

On the 15th we rode along Drooge Rivier, where we were informed by two farmers who overtook us, that a lion had followed our track the day before, but, on seeing some sheep, had turned about in pursuit of them.

On the 16th we travelled along the foot of the Rogge-veld mountains, and then, through a valley formed by them, called Port, and at last went up the mountain to Wilhelm Stenkamp's farm.

Here the country was called the Lowermost Rogge-veld, not because it lies lower than the other Rogge-velds (Rye-fields), but because it lies farthest from the Cape. These as well as the others have been so named from a kind of rye which grows wild here in abundance near the bushes.

The winter is very cold, with frost and snow, for which reason no cattle can be kept here, instead of which they are driven down to Carrow. The fettlers in the lowermost Roggeveld, who are in possession of good houses, sometimes pass the winter there; but those who live in the middle Rogge-veld always remove from thence.

The whole country is destitute of wood, and has only a few small shrubs and bushes of the *Mesembryanthemum*, *Pteronia*, *Stoebe* kinds, and a few others, such as *Othonnas*, &c. The country produces good fodder for sheep and horses only, of which there are great numbers, but very little horned-cattle, on most of the farms.

The uppermost stratum of this mountain is sand-stone, which is hard, and breaks in large pieces, and very fit for building of houses. The middle stratum is slate, which may be discerned in the clefts, and this bed is wider than the former. The lowermost stratum is red sand and clay, interpersed with round stones of different sizes.

Rogge-veld is a mountain which has been inhabited by the colonists for these thirty years past. It consists of eminences and valleys, and has no ridges of any remarkable height, so that it cannot be called level, but hilly.

The farms are not situated far up the country, but near the edges of the summit of the mountain and all along it, so that the part inhabited is yet very small.

The soil in the lowermost Rogge-veld is a dark brown mould, intermixed with a small quantity of loose and brittle clay. It does not rain either at Rogge-veld or at Camdeboo in winter, but only in spring and summer; and the rain is then always accompanied with thunder-storms.

On the 18th we proceeded to Jacob Laue's; and,

On the 20th, to Adrian Laue's farm. From the edge of the summit of the mountain here we saw the Carrow lying underneath us, as also Windhoek, Maskamma, the Table Mountains near Olyfant's Rivier, the cold Bokkevelds, and Roode Zands Winterhoek, all in a row.

The Roode Zand and Bokkeveld Mountains were lower than Roggeveld. Carrow lay between these, higher than that Carrow-field which we had passed through between Olyfant's Rivier and Bokke-land, and almost as high as Maskamma and the Bokke-land mountains.

On the 21st we came to Gert van Wyk's.

The above-mentioned farms were always situated in valleys between the heights.

Although the summer drew near, it was very cold, and froze at nights. The afternoon's breeze also was always cold.

On the 23d we arrived at Thomas Nel's farm; and afterwards to Adrian van Wyk's, near the edge of the top of the mountain, where a tremendously deep valley extends down to Carrow; from hence a road leads to Carrow and Mostert's Hoek.

Here I saw a Hottentot female servant that was born with the left arm imperfect, and ending near the elbow. The mother was for murdering this child at the birth, according

to the custom of the Hottentots (it being a cripple), but was prevented by a humane colonist.

I was surprised to find that the Hottentots, who were in the service of the farmers, and were mostly naked, could endure the cold here so well. They had no other covering than a sheep-skin about their backs; the woolly side being worn next to the skin in the winter, and the smooth side in the summer. It was but seldom that they had shoes to their feet. It sometimes happens, however, that they are frozen to death.

It is a custom with the Hottentots in these parts, to bury their dead in the clefts of the mountains; and such as fell into a swoon, had the hard fate to be buried immediately. Wild cucumbers is the name given to the *Coloquintida* (*cucumis colocynthis*). They were said to be eaten by the Hottentots, and even by the colonists, after being pickled with vinegar, although they taste very bitter. The sheep feed eagerly on them. The *stapelia articulata repens*, a thick plant without leaves, is eaten by the Hottentots, as also by the colonists, after being pickled in the same manner as cucumbers.

Karré-hout (*rhus*) is a kind of wood which the Hottentots in this part of the country used for making bows.

The road all over Roggeveld was rough, and full of round and sharp loose stones.

The Spring-bok comes hither sometimes from the interior parts, and goes as far as the Bokkevels, or somewhat farther. At the expiration of a certain number of years they emigrate in the same manner as the Lemmings in Swedish Lapland, arriving in troops of millions, and going in a long field one after the other, eating away all the herbage wherever they pass, and suffering nothing to obstruct them on their march. If any of them bring forth on the road, they leave their young behind. If any of the farmers fire amongst them, they continue their route nevertheless without interruption, and are not even intimidated by lions and other beasts of prey, who follow the herd, and make great havock amongst them. After they have passed through any farmer's grounds, hardly any thing is left for his cattle to eat, nor any water to drink. The corn-fields must be watched night and day, otherwise they would entirely destroy the corn, and the farmers would be reduced to want.

On the 24th, we came to a spring in the open field, where we encamped all night; and,

On the 25th, we crossed the mountain to Paul Kerste's, near Kreutsfontein. In the afternoon, when we were ready to set out from hence, and our horses were saddled, my horse had the misfortune to be bitten in the breast by a serpent, as they were watering him at the brook just below the farm. In consequence of this his whole foot grew stiff and swelled as I rode on, and the swelling increased to such a degree, that, before I had got a stone's-throw from the farm, he could proceed no farther, and I was obliged to leave him on the spot. A small serpent, not quite six inches long, which was said to be very venomous, and was found here in abundance, was supposed to be the perpetrator of this mischief.

Here began the middle Roggeveld, which was only divided from the former by means of a few mountainous ridges.

On the 26th, we arrived at Cornelius Kutfé's.

His son had a short time before been bitten in the hand by a venomous serpent. His hand had been scarified immediately, and a cupping-glass applied, in order to extract the poison from it. After this it was steeped in a solution of vitriol, which was said to have been rendered quite black by it. An onion was next applied, and afterwards turtle-blood. This latter, when laid on the wound in a dry state, was said to dissolve and

and turn to a fluid blood, that exhibited signs of effervescence, as the poison of serpents has a stronger attraction for turtle-blood than for human blood, so as to attract the poison to itself.

Every farmer travelling from Roggeveld to the Cape through Mostert's Hoek, pays annually a certain sum towards repairing the roads. The farmers who live far up the country, have generally the misfortune to be poorer, and to be subject to greater expence than others.

We fell in here with another party, that had been in pursuit of the Boshiefmen quite up into Roggeveld. This party consisted of about ninety odd persons, of whom forty-seven were Christians. They had killed and taken prisoners nearly two hundred and thirty Boshiefmen. One of the colonists had been shot in the knee with an arrow, which had cost him his life. The third detachment, which had been sent to the Snow Mountains, had killed four hundred Boshiefmen; of this party seven had been wounded by arrows, but none died.

It sometimes happens, that the Boshiefmen take away at once the farmer's whole herd whilst grazing, and frequently even kill the herdsman. They afterwards drive their booty higher up into the country, night and day, as fast as they can, till they arrive at a place where they think themselves perfectly secure. What they cannot take with them they kill with their javelins; and, in their flight, place spies on the heights of the mountains, to look out carefully, and see whether they are pursued by the colonists. These spies are relieved by others, and give intelligence if the party is pursued; in which case, they all hide themselves, if possible, in the mountains. In their flight they kill, roast, and eat by turns. When they have stolen a considerable number of cattle, and are arrived at some place where they think themselves tolerably secure, they encamp there with their cattle, and make huts (Kraals) of *mesembryanthemum* bushes or of mats, in which they live together as long as their food lasts. The detachment had seen one of these Kraals or encampments formed of huts in two rows, like a village, in which they had counted on one side upwards of fifty huts, from which all the Boshiefmen have removed.

In Roggeveld alone the Boshiefmen had, in the last two years, stolen more than ten thousand sheep, besides oxen, and murdered many of the colonists, their slaves; and Hottentots.

When the Boshiefmen are pursued by the colonists on horseback, they retreat to the mountains, where, like baboons, they post themselves on the edges of the summits and in the inaccessible places, and are always afraid of the plains. They sometimes creep into the clefts, and from these bulwarks let fly their arrows.

The weapons with which they defend themselves against their enemies, are bows and poisoned arrows. By way of defence against these, the colonists cause a skin to be held before them, in which the arrows stick fast, that frequently come like a shower of rain. The Boshiefmen, when they perceive that their arrows do not penetrate, do not fire a second volley. A Boshiefman who is mortally wounded by a ball, is never found either crying or lamenting in any shape whatever.

These people first chew Canna (*mesembryanthemum*), and afterwards smoke it. They besmear themselves with greasy substances, and over that with red chalk; in times of scarcity they feed on serpents, lizards, the flesh of zebras, lions, and baboons, upon bulbous roots, ants' eggs, &c.

On the 29th we rode along Visch Rivier past Olivier's farm, to Jacobus Theron's. A misfortune, which I least expected on a smooth and plain road, attended me however this day. Through the carelessness of my Hottentots, who drove against a stone that

that lay in the road, my cart overturned, the tilt over it was torn afunder, and many of my boxes and packets of herbs were lost.

I here saw necklaces and ornaments for the waist, which the Hottentots had made of the shells of ostriches' eggs, ground in the form of small round rings, and which made a very fine appearance.

The cold in this Roggeveld is very intense in winter, and snow falls with frost. The farmers, therefore, live here only a few months in the year, viz. from October to May; build here their houses and sow their wheat, which they are obliged to leave to the mercy of the Boshief-men, during the time that they remove down to the Carrow-field below, where it rains certain months in the year, so that they can remain there with their cattle till the approaching dry season obliges them to remove up the mountain to Roggeveld again.

On the 1st of December, we travelled farther on to Esterhuyzen's farm, where we were obliged to stay a couple of days, on account of the stormy inclement weather, which continued with frost, rain, hail, and snow, for the space of twenty-four hours, and not only confined us to our room, but obliged us to put on our great-coats, as a defence against such an unexpected and unusual degree of cold, which was partly occasioned by the height of the mountains, and partly by the violence of the north and north-west winds.

The mountain, compared to the Carrow-field below, was at least as high as Table Mountain is at the Cape, and a high road for carriages runs from hence to Carrow.

On the 3d, in the morning, we set out from this cold place to go down the mountain, and could not, as we had wished, continue our journey farther up Roggeveld, as our beasts were too poor and too tender-footed to continue longer on this sharp and rugged mountain.

In the morning when we set out, the ice still lay on the summit of the mountain, as far as to its very edges, of the thickness of a six-dollar.

The road down the mountain lay over several steep heights and abrupt declivities, like very high and broad steps, for which reason not only the two hind-wheels were obliged to be locked, but the waggon itself to be held fast by the Hottentots, by means of ropes, in order to prevent it from upsetting and falling down upon the oxen. The uppermost declivity was the steepest, and called (Uytikyk) Look-out, on account of the extensive view it commanded; the other was called Maurice's Heights.

While we were on the heights of the mountain, it was intensely cold; but the lower we descended the calmer and warmer the air became, till in about three hours time we got down to Carrow, when the heat began to grow intolerable.

We had now before us a very large and extensive field in the dry and barren Carrow to traverse, before we could reach an inhabited place. We had therefore supplied ourselves at the last farm with as much provision as was necessary for a few days, and with this set out on our journey through a scorching desert, so destitute of water that even a sparrow could not subsist in it, and so devoid of every living creature, that only a few rats were to be seen here and there in holes in the earth, which probably find, in the succulent leaves of the shrubs in these parts, somewhat that serves both to appease their hunger and quench their thirst.

Sun-rise called forth every morning these earth-rats, whose nests always ran slanting downwards, with their entrance facing the east. We tried to shoot some of them as they popped their heads out, but found them, to our great surprise as well as disappointment, inexpressibly quick in withdrawing into their holes as soon as they saw the flash of the pan. I tried several times with an excellent gun to hit one of them, but found

it impracticable, till I fell upon the method of putting a piece of paper before the pan, which prevented them from seeing the flash of the prime.

On the 4th, setting out from Meyburg's farm, which lay at the foot of the mountain, we came to Goudbloom's Kloof, and, on the 5th, through smaller valleys to the River of Misfortune (Ongeluck's Rivier), so called on account of a farmer having been quite eaten up here by a lion. Here we rested two days, waiting for the arrival of a farmer who was going to the Cape, and who had promised to assist us with his oxen across the dryest of all the Carrows which lay before us. But as he did not arrive according to his promise, and this baiting-place was such that both man and beast ran the risk not only of starving for want of food, but likewise of dying of thirst, we were obliged to use all our efforts, and on the 7th, from eleven o'clock at night to the next morning, make a long journey to a little rivulet that ran before a mountain called Paardeberg, which was small and solitary.

The tract of country which we had left behind us was full of small mountains and ridges of mountains, some detached, others connected together, and running west-north-west towards Roggeveld and the Bokkeveld Mountains. The small quantity of water which was here to be found in a very few places and in small cavities was not only salt, but likewise so thick and turbid with clay and other impurities, that we were obliged to lay a handkerchief over it, in order to suck a little of it into our mouths.

There is another road indeed farther down, which is less mountainous and smoother, but at the same time also affords less water.

On the 8th we passed the above-mentioned Paardeberg, in our way to Dorn Rivier. Hitherto the Carrow had, with a few exceptions, led down with a gradual descent all over its surface, inclining from the Roggeveld to the Bokkeveld mountains, and was almost every-where free from bushes.

On the 9th we left the Dorn Rivier, and taking the road through the valley formed by the mountains between Carrow and Bokkeveld, arrived at last at a settlement and farm belonging to Vander Mervel's widow.

This good housewife used a curious method of separating lentils from the wheat with which they were mixed. She threw it all to her fowls, who carefully picked up every grain of wheat, and left the lentils behind untouched.

The leaves of the *indigo feraarborca* were boiled, and the decoction was said to be a good remedy against the gravel and stone.

The strata in the mountains, as they were seen in the valleys, inclined very much here, and were even singularly crooked. The ridge of mountains also inclined here considerably to the eastward.

On the 11th we departed from hence, having first bought a large ram, which we salted in its own skin. Our route continued till we arrived at a place called Verkeerde Valley, which is one of the pleasantest spots I have seen in the whole country. It is situated between two rows of mountains, with great plenty of grass, and a fen abounding in water, almost like a small lake. As we wanted leisure to inspect and look after our collections, and our cattle stood in greater need of rest and refreshment, we agreed to remain in this pleasant though uninhabited spot for a few days, and eat our salted mutton in solitude.

On the 14th we passed through a valley in the mountains, called (Straat) Street, to De Vos's estate, near Hex Rivier.

We were now returned, as I may say, to Christendom, or to those tracts in which the settlements lay closer to each other; after having, for the space of several weeks, for

the most part wandered in defarts, often encamped in the open air, and in the most dangerous places, and several times been in want of the necessaries of life.

Near this farm a branch of Hex Rivier takes its rise in the mountains, which branch unites within the vale with the larger branch that runs here, and likewise springs out of the mountains.

On the 16th we rode past Jordan's farm to Van de Mervel's estate, and

On the 17th, through Hex Rivier's Kloof to Roode Zand.

Hex Rivier's Kloof has no heights, is quite level and smooth, and we were obliged to cross the stream several times. On the tops of the mountains which stood on each side, there still lay a great deal of snow or hail.

Roode Katt is the name here given to a kind of red lynx, with long locks of hair at the extremities of its ears, and the tip of its tail black. Pennant calls it a Persian Cat, and Buffon Caracal. Hist. Nat. de Quadr. tom. ix. tab. 24. The skin of it was said by the farmers to be very efficacious as a discutient, when applied to parts affected with cold or rheumatism.

In the mountains, between the clefts of the naked rock, resides a kind of jumping rat (*jerboa capensis*), which the farmers considered as a species of hare, and called it Berghaas or Springhaas. This animal is of a curious make; its fore-feet being extremely short, but the hind-feet nearly as long as the whole body, which enables the creature to leap to a surprising distance.

The strata of the mountains were sometimes wreathed, and sometimes very much inclined.

The ridge of mountains therefore which we had to pass through, was, all the way from Carrow-field hither to the outlet of Hex Rivier near Roode Zand, very broad, intersected with narrower valleys both length-ways and across.

From Roode Zand we took the usual way through its Kloof, which has a considerable eminence that must be crossed; but the rest of the road runs along the side of the mountain.

Roode Zand is, as it were, the key to the whole country behind the chain of mountains which run across the whole point. Most of the farmers therefore, who travel annually to the Cape, pass this way, except those who take the road across Hottentot's Holland. On this occasion a surgeon had established himself at Roode Zand, and set up a small apothecary's shop, which brought him in a handsome income. The medicines were all well paid for, inasmuch that a purging powder did not cost less than half a rix dollar. Sometimes they brought the sick hither, as well colonists as slaves, and left them under the surgeon's care till their return. Several in the abundance of their friendship endeavoured to persuade me to establish myself here. But the love I bore to botany and my native country, prevented me from accepting the offer.

Riebeck Casteel was now observed to extend with a long tail much lower than the mountain itself, towards the south-east.

We took our route afterwards past Paardeberg through Koopman's Rivier, a rivulet, which is a branch of Berg Rivier, and farther through Burger's drift across Berg Rivier, and past Ellis Kraal to the Cape, where I arrived safe and sound on the 29th of December, with a heart filled with the deepest adoration of that Divine Being, which, during my three years travels in this country, had not only preserved my life and health, but also permitted me to make several useful discoveries in it, to his glory, and the future benefit of mankind.

The Cape. 1775.

HOTTENTOTS is the common denomination of all those nations which inhabit the southern angle of Africa, and are extended on each side of the Cape of Good Hope. How far the country of these people extends is not yet accurately known: but though they are divided into a multitude of tribes, which differ from one another in many respects, yet it is clearly to be perceived that they all originate from one and the same stock; and that they differ widely from the negroes and Moors who inhabit the other coasts of Africa.

The Hottentots in general are short, especially the women, although some among them are found that are five or six foot high. Their colour is neither black nor white, but yellowish; and their exterior black appearance is owing to the filth which adheres to their bodies in consequence of their besmearing themselves.

The form and lineaments of the face characterize this as well as other nations. Their cheek-bones are very prominent, which makes them always appear meagre and lean; the nose is flattened towards the root, and thick and blunt at the tip, but not very short; their lips are rather thick, their hair jet-black like spun wool, and seldom thick, more frequently thin, resembling the nap upon cloth. They have very little hair upon their chin and privy parts. The spine in particular is very much bent, so that I never saw any one so hollow-backed as the Hottentots. I have seen some of them whose backs were bent in, and their buttocks project to such a degree, that two people might sit on them. And although the Hottentots are very lean, yet the constant practice of besmearing themselves distends their skin, and especially the women's breasts, to an inconceivable degree, so that in this particular, they can challenge all other nations. The Boshiesmen have more prominent bellies than the rest.

The patriarchal form of government has from time immemorial existed amongst them, and still obtains with many; and this has been the origin of the many larger and smaller tribes and families, into which they formerly were, and their survivors still are, divided. Such tribes formerly were the Gunjemans, Kokoquas, Suffaquas, Odiquas, Chirigriquas, Koopmans, Hessaquas, Sonquas, Dunquas, Damaquas, Gauris, Attaquas, Heykoms, Houteniquas, and Camtours Hottentots, of which few exist at present; and such at this time are the little and great Namaquas, Gonaquas, Caffres, Boshiesmen, &c. Of these probably some may in former times have been subdivided into still smaller tribes.

The Hottentots love filth in the highest degree; they besmear their bodies with fat and greasy substances, over which they rub cow-dung, fat, and similar substances. By this means the pores are stopped up and the skin covered with a surface, which defends them in summer against the scorching heat of the sun, and from the cold in winter. Amongst their ointments they mix the powder of a strong smelling herb, which they call Bucku, (a species of *diosma*, frequently the *pulehella*), and which gives them so disagreeable, so fetid, and at the same time so rank an odour, that I sometimes could not bear the smell of the Hottentots that drove my waggon.

Their dress is very simple, most of them wear a sheep's skin thrown across the shoulders, and another over their loins, the hairy side being worn next the body in winter, and the other side in summer. These sheep-skins prepared, cover the body behind, but leave it almost entirely naked before. The women, by way of covering, use a short, square, and sometimes a double piece of skin, that reaches half way down their thighs, and the men a case of fox's skin, like a purse, tied with a thong about their bodies.

The Gonaquas Hottentots and Caffres use such a dress of calf-skin, and their chiefs of tiger-skin.

Their legs are bare, and their feet for the most part without shoes; but round rings made of the hides of animals adorn their legs, especially those of the women, from the instep to the calf of the leg, and prevent them from being bitten by serpents. In time of need they likewise serve them for food, when they broil these rings and eat them.

Their heads are frequently without any covering at all; but sometimes they wear a conical skin-cap, and the women in some places make use of a broad wreath of buffalo's skin, ornamented with small shells.

Their necks and waists are ornamented with different coloured glass beads, which they procure by barter from the Europeans. To the necklace they sometimes fasten a turtle-shell, in which they keep Bucku. The Caffres put porcupine's quills into their ears (*hystrix*), and some of the women that live farthest to the eastward, use ear-rings of copper, to set off their brown beauty.

The Caffres wear ivory rings, and frequently several of them on the left arm; and some, in default of these, wear rings of brass or iron. All the Hottentots, but more especially the Caffres, set a great value upon shining plates of copper, brass, or iron, which they hang in their hair, or on other parts of the body.

They are all graziers, except the Boskiesmen, and are sometimes in possession of numerous herds of cattle, especially the Caffres and Namaquas people, upon whose domains the Europeans have not yet been able to make any encroachments. These subsist on their flocks and herds, and hunt different wild beasts, especially buffaloes and wild goats of various sorts (sometimes very large ones), with sea-cows and elephants. They live besides on the roots of several plants, such as *Iris*, *Ixias*, *Moreas*, *Gladialufes*, and others, the beans of the *guajacum afrum*, &c. The men use likewise cow's milk, which they milk themselves, and the women sheep's milk. To quench their thirst, they mostly drink water, milk and water, and when urged by necessity, chew *Mesembryanthemums*, *Albucas*, and other succulent herbs. The men's business is to go to war, hunt, milk, kill the cattle, and fabricate arms; the women's, to look after the children, fetch wood, dig up bulbous roots, and dress the victuals. The meat is eaten both roasted and boiled, but for the most part half raw, without salt, spices, or bread. They make a fire by rubbing two pieces of hard wood quickly against each other.

The Caffres are the only people in this part of Africa that apply themselves in the least to agriculture. They cultivate Caffre-corn (*Holcus*), beans, hemp, &c. The rest do not till the earth at all, except some few who now and then sow a handful of hemp.

Their huts are built with sprays of trees, which are fixed in the ground, and bent in arches, so as to make the hut round at top, and about four feet high. These are afterwards covered with mats made of rushes, and on one side an opening about two feet high is left at bottom, which serves the double purpose of a door and chimney, the fire-place being near the opening. Such huts as these, built in a circle of a greater or smaller extent according to circumstances, form a village, within which the cattle, at least the sheep, are kept in the night, and secured from beasts of prey. As long as the grass lasts on the spot, they live there without removing; but as soon as it fails or any one dies, the whole village removes to another place; so that the Hottentots, like the Laplanders and Arabians, are Nomades, or wandering shepherds. A few of them live together in one of these huts, and lie coiled up with their knees drawn up to their heads, dispersed around the internal walls of it.

The language, which frequently is almost the only thing that distinguishes the indolent Hottentots from the brute creation, is poor, unlike any other in the world, is pronounced with a clack of the tongue, and is never written.

With respect to household furniture, they have little or none. The same dress that covers a part of their body by day, serves them also for bedding at night. Their victuals are boiled in leathern sacks and water, with stones made red-hot, but sometimes in earthen pots. Milk is kept in leathern sacks, bladders of animals, and baskets made of platted rushes, perfectly water-tight. These, a tobacco-pouch of skin, a tobacco-pipe of stone or wood, and their weapons, constitute the whole catalogue of their effects. Their defensive weapons against their enemies and wild beasts consist of darting-sticks (Kiris), javelins (Assagay), and bows with poisoned arrows.

To the use of intoxicating substances they are much addicted. From a decoction of certain indigenous roots and honey, they prepare an inebriating kind of mead. They are very fond of arrack and brandy, and take delight in smoking tobacco, either pure, or mixed with hemp, and, when they cannot procure these, wild Dakka (Pholomis), or the dung of the two-horned rhinoceros, or of elephants. The inhabitants of the southern part of Africa contract marriage early, and with little ceremony. When the suitor has made his intentions known, and obtained the girl's and her parents' consent, a day is fixed for the wedding, which is solemnized by the priest belonging to the village, who besprinkles the bride and bridegroom with his urine. After that an ox or sheep is killed, according to the circumstances of the parties, and the company entertained; the men and women sitting in separate circles, according to their custom, and always squat on their heels, as they have neither chairs nor sofas. One circumstance, however, attending their weddings is highly laudable, which is, that though at other times they are much given to drunkenness, they never drink on this occasion; neither do they dance and play upon musical instruments.

To their new-born children they give a name, which is generally that of some wild or domestic animal.

A youth is not suffered to marry till he is made a man, which is at the age of eighteen; when the village-master of the ceremonies besprinkles him with urine, and separates him from that time forward from his mother and other women.

Formerly the Hottentots, according to Kolbe, used castration. This operation was generally performed, the left testicle being cut out, that they might not beget twins, and that they might be enabled to run with greater ease.

A Hottentot sometimes takes two wives, and it frequently happens that a woman marries two husbands, although adultery under certain circumstances is punished with death. A widow, who marries a second time, must have the top joint of a finger cut off, and loses another joint for the third, and so on for each time that she enters into wedlock.

Idleness is so predominant among the greatest part of the Hottentots, that few of the brutes surpass them in that vice. Some sleep out all their time, and are only awakened by the urgent calls of hunger, that forces them at length to rise and seek for food. When they have killed any wild animal, they lay themselves round a fire in common, to broil their meat, eat, and sleep by turns, as long as there is any thing left to eat, and till hunger drives them from it again.

In consequence of this extreme supineness they have little or no religion. It should seem indeed that they were not entirely ignorant of the existence of a powerful Supreme Being, and they appear also to acknowledge the immortality of the soul after its separation from the body; but they have no temples, pay no kind of worship to any divinity, and

and give themselves no thought about rewards or punishments after death. They have much clearer notions of an evil spirit, whom they fear, believing him to be the occasion of sickness, death, thunder, and every calamity that befalls them.

At the new and full moon they dance and make merry; but it does not appear very probable that their rejoicing thus is any kind of religious ceremony, or that they worship the moon.

A small insect, an inconsiderable grasshopper (*mantis fausta*), is by many considered as an animal of a fortunate omen; but I never found that any worship was paid to it, nor could I learn it with a certainty from others.

Circumcision is a ceremony used by many, and may probably be of high antiquity, although not commonly practised at present.

Several barbarous usages and customs are still to be found amongst those who live in their native state of wildness, and without intercourse with the Christians. Old and superannuated persons are buried alive, or else carried away to some cleft in the mountains, with provision for a few days, where they are either starved to death, or fall a prey to some wild beast.

In like manner, children are exposed and left to their fate on various occasions; as for instance, when a woman dies, either during her lying-in, or immediately after it, the child in such cases is buried along with the mother, as no one can bring up amongst people who have no notion of nurses. If a woman brings forth twins, and thinks herself not able to rear them both, one of them is exposed. If they are both boys, the strongest and most healthy is kept: if one of them is a girl, it is her lot to be exposed; as is likewise the fate of any one that comes a cripple into the world.

Such as live near the European colonists, bury their dead in the ground, while others lay them in the clefts of mountains or in caves. The corpse being taken out of the hut through a hole in the side, and not through the door, is wrapped up in the sheep-skin dress the defunct wore while living, and is carried away in hand by three or four bearers. A procession of men and women in two separate bodies follows with loud cries; after which, if the deceased was a person of any property, some animal is killed and eaten.

They are very superstitious, and put great faith in witch-craft. If any one falls sick, they think that he has been bewitched; and consequently shriek and pommel him with their fists, in order to keep life in him, or make him well. If he dies, their cries increase, the corpse is buried in a few hours, and the whole village removes to some other place.

The eldest son is sole heir to his father's property.

In arts and sciences they are as rude and uncultivated as they are in every other respect. The Caffres are the only tribe among them that till the ground at all. The major part of them have herds of cattle. Some have neither house nor home, nor indeed any fixed abode whatever. The Namaquas Hottentots, who, in their country, have mountains that produce copper and iron ore, know how to extract these metals in the most simple manner, which they afterwards forge for use. Their traffic is not extensive: indeed it consists only in bartering certain commodities against others. They have therefore no money nor coin of any sort, neither do they stand in need of any.

To guard their herds, they employ very ugly, but bold and spirited dogs.

Greasy substances constitute the greatest dainties of the Hottentots. They drink the blubber of sea-cows like water, and the tail of a sheep, which consists entirely of fat, they prefer to any other part.

They

They hunt both fingle and in parties. Every one hunts and shoots what he can for his own use; but general hunts are undertaken by whole villages, either against large troops of wild animals, or when they are annoyed by beasts of prey that commit ravages among their herds, on which occasion every man quits his hut, and goes out armed, as against a common enemy.

Their grand festivals are generally accompanied with singing, and different sorts of instrumental music, as also with dances, that are extremely singular, and indeed peculiar to themselves. They have likewise a droll uncommon ceremony of driving whole herds of sheep through the smoke, right across the fire, to secure them from the attacks of wild dogs.

In a people so deeply plunged in sloth, and so overwhelmed with filth, as the Hottentots actually are, one would not expect to find the least trace of pride. It is however to be found even among these, the most wretched of the human race; for they not only adorn their bodies with all manner of finery, as they conceive it to be; but when they are visited by strangers, paint their faces with various figures of brown and black paint.

Of the new year, a period which most nations and even the heathens themselves almost all over the face of the earth, observe and celebrate with more or less rejoicing and festivity, the Hottentots do not seem to have any knowledge, neither do they take the least account of the course of nature. The only thing they remark is, that every year they see the bulbous plants push out of the ground, blossom and decay, and, according to this almanac, they reckon their own ages, which nevertheless they seldom or never know with any certainty. It is therefore in vain to try to ascertain their age, or to search for antique relics and monuments, in order to discover the antiquity of the country, how long it has been peopled, whence its first inhabitants came, and what changes and revolutions it has undergone. The country has no ancient ruins, either of subverted palaces, demolished castles, or devastated cities. The people neither know the origin nor reason of the ceremonies and customs in use amongst them, and few of them can give an account of any thing that has happened before their father's time. Since the Europeans have begun to inhabit this angle of the southern part of Africa, the country has undergone many changes. The natives have by degrees in part become extinct, in consequence of the ravages made by various epidemic diseases, and in part retreated farther up the country, and a colony of the children and progeny of Japhet has propagated and multiplied to a great extent in their place. In a country where, one hundred and fifty years ago, among a vast number of other wild animals, the most savage beasts of prey reigned sovereign and triumphant, one may now for the most part travel safely without fear or dread; and where formerly herds only grazed, one now sees several Indian and most of our European seeds cultivated, vineyards and orchards laid out, and culinary vegetables planted. A multitude of tame animals has been imported hither from Europe, such as horses, cows, hogs, and several kinds of fowls; in like manner as many useful products of the vegetable kingdom have been naturalized under the industrious hand of the colonists and a kind climate. The pease and beans here are very good. Asparagus, peaches, apricots, have a tolerable flavour, as have also apples (and especially rennets) plums, pears, oranges, and strawberries. The grapes as well as the raisins, and the wine that is made of them, are of different degrees of goodness, and sometimes excellent. Melons, water-melons, Gojavus, pomegranates, are also tolerably good; but gooseberries, currants, cherries, and nuts do not thrive. Mulberries, almonds, figs, walnuts, chestnuts, and lemons do not yield in point of goodness to the European. Esculent roots and culinary vegetables thrive
in

in general well in this country, and often grow up superior to the European, from whence the seed of the greatest part of them is brought every year. Turnips, turnip-rooted cabbages, potatoes, alliaceous plants of every kind, fallads, cabbages, and especially cauliflowers, are cultivated therefore in great quantities, as also wheat, not only for the use of the inhabitants, but for the supply of the many ships that touch here in their way to and from India, since the Christians first made a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. Several shorter and longer journeys have been made, from time to time, into the interior parts, both by individuals and on the Company's account, with a view to gain authentic intelligence of the country and its inhabitants. These journeys have been undertaken by different parties, some larger and some smaller, some to the northern and others to the south-east side of this angle of Africa. Those that have come to my knowledge are the following: in 1699, a journey was made to Saldahna Bay, which was then for the first time taken possession of by the Dutch Company. In 1670, two serjeants, Kruidhof and Cruse, were sent out to Mossel Baay and Helena Baay, which were at the same time taken possession of. In 1683, Ensign Olof Berg made a journey to the country of the Namaquas, and in 1685 the governor Simon van der Steel, with fifty-six Europeans, two Macassars, three slaves, and six burghers, equipped with two pieces of artillery, eight carts, seven waggons, (besides those belonging to the burghers,) one boat and a great quantity of draught-oxen, horses, provision, powder, musquets, and commodities for bartering, made a long voyage into the country of the Namaquas, as far as the tropics. This expedition had chiefly the copper-mountains for its object, to examine whether the ore there was worth working, and whether there was sufficient wood and water for that purpose, or any harbour near at hand, from which the ore might have been brought in vessels. This journey lasted fifteen weeks.

During the time that the bartering traffic with the Hottentots was allowed the settlers, long journeys were frequently made into the interior parts of the country: as for instance, in the year 1702, by forty-five burghers with four waggons, into the country of the Caffres; in 1704, into that of Namaquas, and in 1705, by thirty or forty farmers, each accompanied by his Hottentot, farther up into the same tract of country.

In 1705, the landroft Starrenburg made a journey by order of government, into the country of the Namaquas, particularly for the purpose of bartering for a large quantity of cattle for the use of the Company. He was accompanied by a corporal, and Hartog a gardener, besides slaves and a great many Hottentots.

In the year 1761, Governor Tulbagh sent to the northern side of the country, which I was now exploring, a caravan, consisting of seventeen Christians, sixty-eight Hottentots, and fifteen waggons, which had been given in charge to a burgher of the name of Hop. On this same expedition were sent out, at the expence of the Company, Brink a land surveyor, Auge a gardener, and Rykvoels a surgeon, with three waggons, a large boat, powder, shot, iron, tobacco, &c. This caravan was sent out in consequence of a farmer who had travelled far into the country on this side, having given intelligence to the governor, that he had been told by a Hottentot of a people who had lived farther up the country, and who wore linen clothes, were of a yellow colour, and went in and out of the mountains there, near a large river. Hence it was concluded, that some Portuguese settlement was established on the coast, which government ought to find out. Part of the Company set out from the Cape on the 16th of July, and the rest joined them near Olyfant's Rivier in $31^{\circ} 40'$ latitude, and $38^{\circ} 18'$ longitude. They proceeded on their journey till the 6th of December, one hundred and twenty and a half miles due north from the Cape, to $26^{\circ} 18'$ latitude, and $37^{\circ} 37'$ longitude, from

from whence they returned and arrived at the Cape on the 27th of April, 1762, without having discovered the yellow nation they had been told of. This is the longest journey ever attempted by Europeans towards this side, where the country is very dry, deficient in water, and mountainous, and the roads sometimes very stony. On this journey the governor had not sent any of the military, who before, very little to his satisfaction, had made an expensive journey to the eastward; but only burghers and farmers. This journey, however, did not terminate so well as might have been expected, the private interest of individuals having laid many obstacles in the way. Want of water and stony roads, without doubt, made the voyage both difficult and troublesome; as the feet of the draught-oxen were greatly hurt, and many of them died in consequence of this circumstance; but the permission which the farmers had from government to barter with the Hottentots, during their journey, for fresh beasts, without any expence to them, and of which they made a very imprudent use, may have contributed to render this journey abortive.

In fact, the farmers, through motives of covetousness, and a wish to lighten the waggons of the heavy load of iron they had brought with them for the purpose of barter, began to traffic extensively at their first setting out, instead of reserving this advantageous trade for their return. In consequence of this procedure the caravan was overstocked with a drove of oxen, numbers of which were obliged to be left behind on account of the heaviness of the roads, while the rest served greatly to diminish the scanty supply of water for the oxen that were necessary for drawing the waggons along. It is true, the vice-governor Kloppeborg had also a few years ago, in company with a land-surveyor, a merchant, and a surgeon, made a journey to the northward of the Cape; but, as this expedition did not extend beyond the bounds of the colony, it was of no consequence, nor in any other way remarkable.

Beautiful as the country is to the eastward, fertile, abounding in grass, and well peopled, it is equally dry, barren, uncultivated, and uninhabited to the northward of the Cape; and the farther you proceed, the more barren and desert-like it grows.

After passing three or four ridges of mountains to the northward, you arrive at a country something higher than the Cape-shore, but lower than the valleys which lie between the ridges of mountains you have just left behind. This land is called Carrow, or Carrow-field. It seems to go like a broad belt over the whole of this angle of Africa, from the sea-side at the north-western end, to the ocean on the south-eastern side. I do not suppose the breadth to be alike all over; but in some places it requires six whole days (or rather long nights) journeys. The sun is quite scorching here in the day-time, and the nights are rather cold. The great want of water here for the space of eight months, during which time not a drop of rain falls, together with the aridity of the soil, is the cause that this desert produces nothing but a few herbs and bushes with thick fleshy leaves, such as *Craffulas*, *Mesembryanthemums*, *Cotelydons*, *Cacalias*, *Stapelias*; and that neither man nor beast can live there in summer, as also that no grass can grow, nor any useful grain be cultivated. The soil consists of clay impregnated with iron ochre and a great quantity of sea-salt.

During the time I spent in travelling through different parts of this desert, I did not see a single sparrow, much less any quadruped there, excepting rats in holes in the earth, which probably can subsist a long time without water, and quench their thirst with the succulent and saltish leaves produced by the bushes.

After crossing this extensive and dry desert, which to the eye appears very nearly level, or at most rising a little and slowly to the northward, you encounter a very high

mountain, the top of which it would take almost a whole day's journey to reach. This Roggeveld mountain has very little of earth on it, exhibiting in most places the smooth and naked rock; neither does it slope off like other mountains, but it is for the most part level, and extends in this manner so far to the northward, that the end of it is not known to the colonists. The climate at this height, although several degrees nearer than the Cape to the sun and the equator, is not only cold, but the cold is so intense, that the ground in winter is for a long time covered with snow, hail, and ice.

According to my usual practice the preceding years, as soon as I arrived in town, I made it my first care to send to Europe, by the returning ships, the collections I had made during my last tour.

The vessel, too, which had been sent the preceding year to Madagascar, in order to purchase slaves for the Company's service, was now arrived. Amongst other articles which some of the crew brought with them, were in particular a large quantity of the *cypræa tigris*, a handsome shell, which is used for making snuff-boxes, another of the *buccidum rufum*, and of the creatures known by the name of Madagascar cats, *lemur catta*. With respect to the latter, I was curious to see whether the eyes were such as the late Professor Linnæus has described them, viz. with one pupil oblong and the other round. In this both the pupils were round and very small in the day-time, like those of other animals. This species of Lemur somewhat resembles a cat, with its long tail, diversified with black and white ringlets; it is very nimble, and when tied to an upright pole, up and down on which it runs on all fours with the greatest celerity imaginable, affords a very amusing spectacle.

M. Melk, a rich and wealthy farmer, had, some years before, built a house of stone, below the town near the beach, lower down than the Lion's-Tail, under pretext of using it for a store-house; but when it was finished, he made a present of it to the Lutheran congregation here for a church, after having furnished it with suitable windows. Happy would it be if the congregation, which is numerous, could likewise have a Lutheran clergyman of its own, and hear the word of God preached in its original purity, and at the same time enjoy the benefit of the sacraments.

I never knew disorders in the throat more common or refractory than they are at the Cape, and especially in the town. They are occasioned by the sudden changes of weather from heat to cold. The glands of the throat swell with such violence, that the patient is in danger of being suffocated, and they almost always come to suppuration. Some are infected with this malady several times in a year, and neither sex is exempted from it.

The sides of the streets in the town were planted with great numbers of European oaks (*quercus robur*), which served both to adorn and shade the houses.

The smoking of tobacco in the streets was now severely prohibited, as in consequence of it fires had broke out here, as has been the case in other places.

The sky of the southern hemisphere wore an aspect in a great measure strange to me. Some of the known constellations had a different situation from what they have north of the equator, and some were absolutely missing. Charles's-Wain, which in winter so truly and faithfully points out to the farmer how far the night is advanced, was here sunk below the horizon, and the Cape clouds, as two dark spots in the firmament are called, seemed to be a similar token to the inhabitants here. I was extremely sorry, however, that I had not taken more pains to learn so noble a science, and would with pleasure have exchanged for one single constellation all those definitions with which I had formerly burthened my memory, together with a great number of words in the

dead languages, the learning of which had taken up the best part of my younger days, that might have been better employed in studying this divine science.

I now received from Amsterdam not only a sum of money, but also letters of recommendation to the Governor-general Vander Parra at Batavia, in consequence of which I had to prepare for a voyage to the East Indies, and as far as the empire of Japan. In the three years I had passed in the southern parts of Africa, I had travelled over as much both of the desert and inhabited part of the country as the nature of my equipment, which was below mediocrity, would admit. I had also, during the same time, received many favours from the governor and other gentlemen in the administration, as likewise much friendship both from my own countrymen and the other inhabitants of the place, and could, therefore, not without the greatest gratitude and heart-felt acknowledgment, recollect the many kindnesses they had shewn me, which, as long as I live, I shall never forget.

But, previous to my departure, I had the good fortune to get acquainted with M. Holmberg, a worthy countryman of mine, and one of the council, who was on his voyage homeward from Surat, where for several years he had been in the service of the Dutch East India Company, to the great satisfaction of his superiors, and had acquired such a knowledge of commerce as few possess, or know how to value. This gentleman honoured me with his particular friendship, and also furnished me with letters of recommendation to M. Radermacher, one of the council at Batavia, which proved of much greater utility to me than I had reason to expect.

A
CURIOUS AND EXACT ACCOUNT
OF
A VOYAGE TO CONGO,

IN THE YEARS 1666 AND 1667.

*By the R. R. F. MICHAEL ANGELO of Gattina, and DENIS DE CARLI of Piacenza, Capuchins,
and Apostolic Missioners into the said Kingdom of Congo.**

TO THE READER.

THE authors of this small work being two persons who travelled not out of any vain curiosity, or out of any design of gathering wealth, but only out of a pure zeal to propagate the Christian religion, it would appear somewhat unchristian to call in question the truth of their relation. No worldly interest could bias them, who proposed to themselves no gain, nor indeed were they capable of any, their profession not permitting them to possess any thing. It is needless to say much in vindication of them; for, in truth, whosoever reads, will scarce find any thing but what is credible enough, unless they be such persons as being altogether strangers to the world, will credit nothing but what they see is frequent in their own country. I do not pretend to apologize for the book; every man will give his judgment whatever I can say for it. Therefore, all I shall add is, that to some the account of Congo will not appear so diverting as they perhaps might have conceited it, because they always expect things very surprising from countries very remote. This is not a history of a country, or of its conquest, and therefore there are no warlike expeditions to please the reader. The people are rude and ignorant, and, therefore, there are no fine descriptions of cities and noble structures. The authors were religious men, and therefore added no romantic invention of their own to make their writings taking. The account is very particular; it speaks not only of Congo, but of Brazil and some parts of Europe, the first part being made out of the letters of F. Michael Angelo, who died in Congo, and the rest composed by F. Denis who returned home, and sets down particularly all that befel him there in his way back to Italy. The translation is faithful, without adding or diminishing in the least; and even the style of the authors, which is plain and easy, is followed: which is all that I think requisite the reader should know before he enters upon the voyage.

* Churchill's Coll. i. 483.

VOYAGE TO CONGO, &c.

TO satisfy the curiosity of several persons, who press me in such an obliging manner as I cannot easily withstand, to give them an exact account of what I have seen and learned during the long voyage, from which I am lately returned, I will write a relation of the kingdom of Congo and of Africk, where the duty of my mission made me acquainted with several strange customs, and go through abundance of hardships, omitting at present to speak of Brazil, and some other parts of America, whither we were first carried, and of which I shall say but very little.

In the year 1666, Alexander the Seventh being pope, fifteen Capuchin missionaries, of which I was one, were dispatched by the cardinals *de propaganda fide*, and received the commissions or patents at Bononia, where I then resided, at the hands of F. Stephen de Cesa, of the noble family of Clermont, whose virtue has been since rewarded with the post of general of the said order. Our patents contained the following privileges: To dispense with any irregularity except incurred by bigamy, or wilful murder: to dispense and commute simple vows even to that of chastity, but not that of religion: to dispense with marriages within the second and third degrees, and for Pagans converted to keep one of their wives: to absolve in cases reserved to the pope: to bless church-stuff, churches, chalices: to give leave to eat flesh and white-meats, and to say two masses a day in case of necessity: to grant plenary indulgences: to deliver a soul out of purgatory, according to the intention of the priest, in a mass for the dead said on Monday and Tuesday: to wear secular clothes in case of necessity: to say the rosary for want of a breviary, or any other impediment: to read forbidden books, except Machiavel.

As soon as these letters patent were delivered to me, I set out for Piacenza my native country, arrived there at the beginning of Advent, and received orders to expect F. Michael Angelo of Rheggio, who was to be my companion in this voyage. He being come, we went together to Genoa, where all the missionaries were to embark: thence we sailed for Lisbon, and having resided there some months, took the opportunity of a Portuguese vessel bound for Brazil to load there, and sail over to Africk to the coast of Congo.

We spent three months in our passage from Lisbon to Brazil, the fair winds usually on these seas befriending us. By the way we had often the satisfaction to see the flying fishes about our ship: this is a very white fish about a foot long, with two wings or fins proportionable to the body; it is not unlike a herring, save that its back is of an azure colour, and its fins larger, and fitter to serve instead of wings. This fish flying from another called the Dorado or Dory, which pursues to devour it, springs out of the water, and flies as long as any moisture is in the fins, which once dried by the air it falls back into the sea, and is devoured by its enemy, who never loses sight of it, or else is taken and eaten by the seamen, if it happens to fall into the ship, or is sometimes caught in the air by some bird of prey. So that this wretched creature, as it were banished by nature, can scarce find any place of safety in the air, in the sea, or on the earth, the delicacy of its flesh being the cause of its unhappiness. There is another sort of fish in those seas called a shark, very greedy of man's flesh: they catch it with a rope and a chain at the end of it, to which is fastened a strong hook baited with a piece of flesh: the shark perceiving it swallows the flesh, hook, and most of the chain; then the sailors draw the head above water, and batter it with clubs; after which they bind the tail where its greatest strength lies, and bringing it aboard cut it in pieces.

Drawing

Drawing near the coast of Guinea, we began to feel much heat from the sun, which is there in the zenith; and as we went farther it grew so violent, that in a few days we were so weak that we could neither eat nor sleep; and to add to our sufferings, the provisions and drink were full of maggots. This lasted for fifteen days we sailed under the line, so that it is a sort of miracle we should live amidst so many hardships, though it was then the month of August, the most temperate time of the year in those parts.

The Portuguese use generally to make some rejoicing, and keep holiday, to beg of God a good issue of that dangerous voyage. They also observe this ancient custom: those who have never been under the line are obliged to give the sailors either a piece of money, or something to eat or drink, or at least money's worth, from which no man is excused, not even the Capuchins, of whom they take beads, Agnus-Dei's, or such like things; which being exposed to sale, what they yield is given to say masses for the souls in purgatory. If any man happen to be such a miser as to deny paying this duty, the sailors, clothed like officers, carry him bound to a tribunal, on which a seaman is seated in a long robe, who acting the part of a judge, examines him, hears what he has to say, and gives judgment against him to be thrice ducked in the sea after this manner: the person condemned is tied fast with a rope, and the other end of it run through a pulley at the yard-arm, by which he is hoisted up, and then let run again three times under water; and there seldom fails to be one or other that gives the rest this diversion. The same is practised in passing the Straits of Gibraltar, and Cape of Good Hope.

Having passed the line, the wind still continued right aft, but so very violent, that if it had not pleased God we had met with so rapid a current of water as stemmed our furious course, I know not how we could have escaped. Some time after, when we had made considerable way, the wind calmed, and, consequently, we lost that refreshment we had so much need of in the great heat, which had not yet ceased; this calm falling out no less unluckily for our provisions, which we were afraid would soon fall short. What increased our fear was, the impression remaining in us of the disaster lately happened to the ship called *Catarinetta*, which the reader will not be displeased to be acquainted with.

That vessel being laden with commodities of great value set sail from Goa, and, meeting with a prosperous wind, arrived safe in Brazil; whence putting to sea with as fair a wind as could be wished, it took its course for Lisbon, but in passing the line the master died, overcome with the violent heat of the climate, and soon after him all the best sailors; so that the ship being left, like a horse that has shook off the bridle, to the mercy of the waves, drove about in a piteous manner upon the sea for seven months, which forced such as were left alive, after consuming all their provisions, to eat their cats, dogs, and rats that were in the ship, and to dress their shoes and any other leather, which they endeavoured the best they could to make eatable. At last nothing being left, only five remained of four hundred men they were at first. One of these five was the captain, who being distracted with the dismal thoughts which a miserable death near at hand is wont to inspire, fancied that death would not be the greatest of his misfortunes, but that together with his life he should lose his reputation; and that fame, which commonly spreads abroad false news, would report, that he was fled into some far country to make his advantage of the great treasure he was intrusted with, and enjoy the fruits of his dishonesty out of danger. So that being ardently desirous that at least some one of them might survive to carry home the news of their misfortune, he proposed to his companions to cast lots which of them should be killed to serve for food to the other four. Not one of them contradicted that inhuman proposal, but only they would exempt their captain from

from being subject to the rigour of it. They used their utmost endeavours to make him consent; but after much contending, he solemnly swore he would not be exempt from falling a sacrifice to the rest, if it fell to his lot, since absolute necessity made that course just and reasonable. In short, having cast dice, the lot fell upon the unhappy captain, who was already offering up his soul to God; but the others bewailing their misfortune, began to conclude it was better they should all die like good catholics, than like barbarians to imbrue their hands in the blood of their companion. God inspiring them in return for this good resolution, one of them went up to the top-mast head, from whence looking about on all sides, he spied at a great distance something dark, which he told the captain; who going up with a perspective glass, discerned that it was the coast of the continent. They steered that way the best they could, and being come up with the shore, found it was a port then in peace with Portugal. Being landed, with God's assistance, they went immediately to the governor, whom they acquainted with their misfortune. The governor gave them good entertainment, and furnished them with all they stood in need of. During their stay there, they were advised by physicians to make use of some medicines, and proper restoratives to recover their health, and return to sea; yet two of them, more spent than the rest, gave up their ghosts; the other three, with the help of the good medicines applied, were perfectly recovered. They gave thanks to God for his mercy, and to the governor for his civility, refitted their vessel, and set sail again for Lisbon. As soon as they came thither, one of the three who relapsed by the way died. To conclude, the captain and sailor that remained, landed, and were immediately introduced to the King of Portugal, to whom they gave a dismal account of their adventures, which turned to their advantage; for the King, moved at their sufferings, comforted, and gave them gifts of value, making the captain admiral of the fleet, and the sailor captain of the best ship.

Now I return to our voyage.

Being in ten degrees of south latitude, we discovered about evening Cape St. Augustin at a great distance; and in the morning it pleased God we saw abundance of land-fowls flying near about us, and whales, which, spouting up great streams of water, at that distance looked to us like fine fountains gushing in the midst of the sea. There are such numbers of them in that sea, that I shall scarce be believed, if I say a merchant pays the King of Portugal fifty thousand crowns in gold for the patent to make oil, though nothing more be true.

Passing by our Lady of Nazareth, we all saluted her with three Ave-marias, and a triple discharge of our cannon. This church is but five miles from the town of Fernambuco; near to which place Francis de Brito, a Portuguese nobleman, travelling before the church was built, the good lord who had a special devotion for the Blessed Virgin, met a poor woman clad in white, with a child in her arms, who humbly begged an alms of him. He putting his hand into his pocket, gave her a ducat; and whilst he was giving, and she receiving, the woman's face seemed to be altogether changed. Brito following on his way at a small distance from the place, as if he were quite surpris'd at what he had seen, turned about several times to see the person that had won his heart; but though it was a plain field, where there was no place to be concealed, nor any thing to obstruct the sight, he could never see the beautiful beggar again. This breeding a dissatisfaction in his mind, he returned to the very place where he left his alms, and his thoughts, and only found the print of two feet upon the earth, which made him conclude that the poor woman was the Blessed Virgin, that had inflamed his heart with her heavenly eyes, and ravished his soul with her divine beauty; and

and therefore in that very place he erected a stately church in honour of the Most Holy Virgin, endowing it with a revenue, and chaplains proportionable to the worth and generosity of that noble gentleman.

When we were under the tower, which serves as a fort to the harbour of Fernambuco, we cast anchor there, saluting the town after the usual manner, the port being too little for ships to lie in.

The captain went away in the pinnace, to get leave for us to land. Whilst he was gone, we observed that a wall runs from the tower, which the people there call *Arrocife*, which credible people say is natural, running three hundred miles, one part of it inclosing the harbour, and securing it against any weather. This same wall in like manner parts the sea from a river that runs through the middle of the city; and when the sea grows boisterous, it sometimes raises its waves above the wall, mixing its salt with the fresh waters of the river, which is the cause that the people catch fresh and salt-water fish indifferently in the river, and in the sea, as if by a sort of metamorphosis the sea were become a river, and the river a sea.

As soon as we landed in the port of Fernambuco, we saw a great crowd of people, as well Blacks as Whites, about us, and among them a black woman, who kneeled, beat her breast, and clapt her hands upon the ground. I enquired what the good woman meant by all those motions with her hands; and a Portuguese answered me: "Father, the meaning of it is, that she is of the kingdom of Congo, and was baptized by a Capuchin; and being informed you are going thither to baptize, she rejoices, and expresses her joy by those outward tokens."

In going to the house appointed for our entertainment, we passed through the middle of the town, which we found to be indifferent for bigness, but very full of people, especially of black slaves they bring from Angola, Congo, Dongo, and Mattamba, every year, to the number of ten thousand, whom they employ about their tobacco, sugar-works, and to gather cotton, abundance of which grows there upon shrubs, about the height of a man; as also to cut wood for dying of silk, and other stuffs of value, and to work in cocoa and ivory.

As for the original natives of Brazil, or South America, the Portuguese have not been able to subdue them to this day, they being a people too fierce and barbarous. They call them *Tapuges*, or *Caboclos*, and the colour of their skin is a dark tawny: They go quite naked, and carry a bow an ell and a half long, with arrows made, part of cane, and part of a hard wood sharpened towards the point like a saw, that where it hits it may make the wound bigger, more troublesome, and be the harder to be drawn out; and it is most certain that when they shoot with a design, and their best, they strike a board or plank through and through at a musquet-shot distance. These *Tapuges*, when they can, eat man's flesh; and when they have none of their enemies about them, they feast upon such strangers as they can catch in their country.

They wear little bits of wood and stone of several colours set in their faces; I know not whether for ornament, or to appear more terrible. At their ears they have pendants not of lead as our lap-dogs have, but great pieces of the same sort of wood. They live upon such beasts as they hunt, and upon men; for when any one among them takes his bed, they assign him a certain time to recover, which if he does not within the time limited, they kill him without mercy and eat him, to put an end charitably to his sufferings. The same favour or inhumanity they use towards their parents, and old people, become unfit for hunting, whom the children kill and eat with their near relations, invited by them to that cruel feast; thus killing those to whom they owe their life, and burying those in their bowels, from whose bowels they

they came. In short, they are miserable pagans plunged in idolatry. The rest of the inhabitants of that new world, whether good or bad, are Christians, or at least bear the name.

At the place of our reception we found two of our companions sick of a fever, and we ourselves felt some indisposition, which obliged us to go into the doctor's hands, it being usual and almost inevitable for all who come into that country to fall sick, whether it proceed from the change of air or food.

One morning we heard an admirable consort of trumpets all aboard the fleet, as well within as without the port, sounding, to the number of eighty ships, including ours, which was loading with sugar, of which she carried no less than one thousand chests. Nothing could be pleasanter than that prospect, which seemed to represent a town where the houses were tost at the pleasure of the waves, or like a forest floating about as drove by the wind. There we received the news of the death of John Mary Mandelli, of Pavia, prefect to the two missions of Angola and Congo, who died among those people with the reputation of sanctity, after enduring a thousand hardships for their spiritual advantage during twenty-five years he lived there.

We took a time to go see the town of Olinda but three miles distant from Fernambuco. It was formerly a great town, but at this time almost ruined, since the Dutch made a descent there. In a marshy field we were shewn certain trees, which like others have their roots in the ground, but have others above, the leaves being all covered with them. There we saw abundance of great parrots, several sorts of Macacos, that is, monkeys or apes, of which the least, called Sagorini, are most valued. We went this way in a canoe, which is a large trunk of a tree hollowed; and our watermen were two Blacks, naked like the people of Brazil, having only a little rag before them for decency.

The temper of that climate, though very hot, is not bad, nor the great dampness of the moon dangerous, so that there is good travelling enough by night as well as by day. Silver and gold money in this town goes as it does in other parts of Brazil; they give two testons for a mafs, and thirty or forty for a sermon. The country produces neither wheat nor wine, but there is enough carried out of Europe, and sold dear enough. The ground being sandy, the natives and travellers are troubled with a kind of insects, which some call Pharoah's lice, alledging that was one of the ten plagues wherewith God formerly punished Egypt. They are less than lice, and work themselves insensibly in between the flesh and the skin, and in a day's time grow as big as a kidney-bean, or other small bean. Some experienced Black undertakes the cure, for were they left unregarded, they would corrupt all the foot in a very short time. Observing two days after I came, that something hindred my walking, I caused a Black to search me, who took out four of those insects pretty big grown, and there was not a day but they came and took out ten or twelve a-piece from us. It is no small misfortune, if any one escapes undiscovered by the Blacks, for they gnaw and torment the feet.

During our stay at Fernambuco there was a great feast of the rosary kept in the great church called Corpo Santo, or the holy body. The order of it was very magnificent. The church was hung with ten thousand ells of silk of a fire-colour, and other rich stuffs: the tabernacle which was lofty, covered with silk embroidered full of flames of gold, and a silver gagoon over it, which dazzled the eyes: the music of harps, violins, and cornets, making a consort to the holy hymns. The religious are not at this great expence, but chuse the richest merchant in the city, who looks upon it as a point of honour to open his purse freely upon such an occasion. He that bore the charge that year, protested to us the next day, that he had spent four thousand

ducats in bonfires, the night before; but he meant thus: we being impatient to go over into Africk as soon as possible to perform the duty of our mission, went to see that merchant, who had a great kindness for us, to beg of him that when a ship of his bound for Africk, was laden and ready to sail, he would be so charitable as to assign us the great cabin to go in, which he readily granted. The vessel being found unfit for the voyage, was unloaded, all the iron-work and rigging taken out, and the timber burnt, which he said cost him four thousand ducats, that being the cost of the ship.

To divert us, we went one day to see sugar-works, which is a great curiosity. The engine they use is a great wheel, turned violently about by a number of Blacks: it turns a press of massy iron, in which the sugar-canes cut in pieces are bruised, the moisture that runs from them falling into a great cauldron over the fire. It is wonderful to see the Blacks, who are naturally lazy, labour so hard, and clap the canes so dexterously under that mass of iron, without leaving their hands or arms behind them.

The fruit in that country, which generally lasts all the year upon the trees, is very delicious, and among the rest the Niceffes, which are like our lemons. They grow on a stalk like an Indian cane, and two of its leaves would clothe the biggest man. This stalk sometimes produces but one bunch, in which there are about fifty Niceffes. To ripen them, they must be cut off green and hung in the air, where they grow yellow in a little time. When they are cut through the middle, there appears on both sides the exact figure of a crucifix. When the bunch is cut off, the stalk withers, and another soon grows out of the same root. The banana is much of the same nature, only the Niceffe is three foot high, and the banana twice as much.

The Ananas are like a pine-apple, about a span long, and the plant produces but one. The rind being taken off, they look yellow, and the juice of them is like that of a muscadine grape, but it must be eaten with moderation, being hot in the third degree. There are other sorts of fruit, as that called *Fruta do Conde*, or the Count's Fruit, which grows on a plant as high as an orange-tree, of a very pleasant flavour. *Maniques*, like our small melons, and growing on very large trees. *Maracoupas*, like a great round apple, and yellow without, of which I sent the draughts, as I did of several other curious sorts of fruits, to the *Sieur Jacques Zanoni*, apothecary of *Bononia*, who will make them public in his book of plants now in the press.

As for European fruits, such as grapes, pomegranates, melons, figs, gourds, cucumbers, oranges, lemons, and citrons, they grow there to a wonder; and these last are like our gourds in Italy, by reason of the goodness of the radical moisture of the earth. So the Portuguese orange-trees do not only multiply there, but improve very much; and the young plants grow up to vast high trees. Little other meat is eaten there but beef and some pullets. Wine is dearer than saffron; for it is brought from the *Madeiras*, that is, above six hundred and fifty leagues, and pays above eight pistoles a pipe custom. All the Whites in that country are either Portuguese, or descended from them, and drink little wine. The commonalty drink all water, which is none of the best. Instead of bread they eat cakes made of the meal of a root called *Manioca*. In that country there are properly but two seasons; spring, which is temperate enough, but rainy, during which the trees do not lose their leaves; and summer, which is very hot and dry, inasmuch, that did not the dew make some amends, the country would be quite dried and parched up. The town of *St. Paul*, and country about it, which lies furthest up in *Brazil*, may be called the true lubber-land, or country of pleasure. Any stranger that comes thither, though never so poor, is welcome, and presently meets with a wife to his liking, provided he submit to the conditions, which are to think of nothing but eating, drinking, and walking, but particularly of being kind

kind to no woman but his own. If he give the least cause to suspect he will make his escape, she certainly poisons him; but if he agrees well with her, he is cherished and made much of, every one striving to out-do another in kindness.

Their wealth comes out of a river that waters the country, and which is so rich, that it can relieve the miserablest wretch who implores its assistance; for they need only take the sand of the river, and separate the gold from it, which abundantly requites their trouble, there being only the fifth part due to the King by way of acknowledgment. Much more curious and extraordinary is reported of that country; but not having been there myself, because it lies in the furthest part of Brazil, and near to the river of Plate, I dare not avouch all for truth, though in reality nothing ought to appear incredible to those who are well acquainted with the extravagant customs and absurd manners of those barbarous nations.

At length, on the 2d of November 1667, we set sail for the kingdom of Congo, and were forced, to avoid contrary winds, to run into twenty-nine degrees of south latitude, even with the Cape of Good Hope, which might better be called the Cape of Death, because of the continual fear of death they are in who come near it. For the space of eight days we were tossed in a terrible manner; sometimes lifted up to the clouds, and sometimes cast down to the deep, either way dreading to perish. At last the wind fell, the waves settled, and we saw some bones of cuttle-fish, which the goldsmiths make use of for casting, float upon the water, esteemed a token of fair weather, and of being within sixty leagues of the continent, that fish never going far from shore.

In short, next day we saw land, and began to hope well of the success of our voyage, because there are never any storms on that coast, and ships may run along within musquet-shot of it, without any danger of sands. Our boat being out for several days, sounding to discover some rocks that lie under-water along the shore; we fished as we went, and always brought aboard a great deal of fish. Among the rest we caught one that weighed about fifteen or sixteen pounds, which the captain said he would treat us with. The colour of it was red, the head large and round, the eyes sparkling like fire, the nostrils flat upon the forehead, the fins beating, the scales rustling together, the whole body tossing and puffing in a hideous manner. The captain knowing it to be one of the most delicious fishes in those seas, would dress it for us himself, making a sort of white sauce with sugar, spice, and juice of oranges and lemons; so that it being all like a dish of curds, we eat it with spoons, and could not distinguish whether the sauce made the fish good, or the fish mended the sauce.

I had a great mind to go ashore, but the master would not suffer it, assuring me there were Blacks along that coast that eat man's flesh. We discovered two of them, who, as soon as they saw us, ran away far enough, which made the master put off from shore, for fear those Blacks were gone to call some magician to sink our boat and seize us. Some days after, the master went out of the boat ashore to comply with some corporal necessity; but as soon as he got behind a little rock, he ran back to the water out of breath, calling out to us to come to his assistance, as we did with all possible speed. The cause of his fright was, that behind the rock he saw a fire lighted, near to which there was a string of fishes drying, a certain token that some Blacks lived near, which so terrified him, that, forgetting the need he was in, he had no occasion for three days after.

When we had passed that coast, which is hideous to look to by reason of a long ridge of barren mountains, about the latitude of fourteen degrees we discovered some green trees and a pleasanter shore, in which there were good ports made by nature, capable of containing two or three thousand ships. Upon Christmas-eve we touched at Benguela,

capital

capital of the kingdom of the same name, where there is a Portuguese governor and garriſon; and we found about two hundred white inhabitants, and abundance of Blacks. The houſes are built with mud and ſtraw, the church and fort being made of no better materials.

Abundance of ſmall boats came aboard us, each carrying two black fiſhermen, who came to exchange fiſh with the ſeamen for Brazil roll-tobacco.

The father ſuperior and I went aſhore, where I preached the firſt time in Portuguese. The temper of that climate is ſo bad that it gives the food the country produces ſo pernicious a quality, that thoſe who eat of it at their firſt coming certainly die, or at leaſt contract ſome dangerous diſtemper; which is the reaſon that paſſengers take care not to go aſhore, nor to drink the water, which looks like lye. This made us unwilling to accept of the dinner the governor invited us to, though he aſſured us there ſhould be none of the country-proviſions, and we ſhould drink wine brought by ſea; which he performed, giving us a treat altogether after the faſhion of Europe. After which he further expreſſed his kindneſs, ſending very good European fruit aboard after us, with a whole beef ſlayed, but little, and without horns, very well taſted, as is all the meat of the country, whereof there is great plenty and very cheap.

Any body that ſees the Whites who live in that country may eaſily diſcern how little that air agrees with them; they look as if they were dug out of their graves; their voices are broken, and they hold their breath in a manner between their teeth, which made me, in the moſt obliging manner I could, reſuſe the governor's requeſt, who, wanting prieſts, would have kept me there ſome time to adminiſter the holy myſteries. The courts at Liſbon, as a puniſhment for ſome heinous crime, often baniſh criminals to Angola and Benguela, looking upon thoſe countries as the moſt wretched and infectious of any the Portuguese poſſeſs; therefore the Whites there are the moſt deceitful and wickedſt of men.

Having taken leave of the governor, we went aboard again, and proceeded on our voyage, which we ended happily before the wind, arriving on Twelfth-day at the port of Loanda, which is the fineſt and largeſt I ever ſaw. My companion and I landed, and were received by an infinite number of Whites and Blacks, who ſtrove to outdo one another in expreſſing their joy for our arrival, kiſſing our habits, and embracing us. Attended by this croud, we proceeded to our *hospitium* or houſe for our reception, in the church whereof we found above three hundred perſons, with the chief men of the town, who came out to meet us. Having adored the bleſſed ſacrament, and returned thanks to God for our proſperous voyage, we went into the convent, where we found three Fathers, an old lay-man threſcore and ten years of age, an under-guardian of Congo recovering after a fit of ſickneſs, and one of Angola in a fever. We were informed, to our great regret, that two religious men of our company, who came away a little before us from Genoa, died both of them as ſoon as they arrived, one at Loanda, and the other at Meſſangrana not far off. Thoſe Fathers who were of a vigorous conſtitution, now enjoy the reward of their pious intention, which they had not the power to put in execution, being prevented by death. Soon after the ſub-guardian of Congo intended to ſet out and conduct me and my companion to the county of Songo, and thence to the county of Bamba, there to be expoſed to all thoſe fatigues for which we had prepared ourſelves. The county of Bamba is no leſs in extent than the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily together.

Loanda is an iſland and town of the ſame name, being the capital of all thoſe countries the Portuguese poſſeſs in thoſe vaſt regions of the Blacks. The Dutch once made themſelves maſters of it, but the Portuguese with much bravery beat them out. There

is a good number of Jesuits, who are allowed by the King of Portugal a pension of two thousand Crusadoes a year, that is 266l. 13s. 4d. They keep schools, preach, and perform other functions for the salvation of souls. To requite their labours, the people of that country have given them the property of several houses, and of twelve thousand slaves of sundry trades, as smiths, joiners, turners, and stone-cutters, who, when they have no employment at home, serve the public, and bring their masters in a Crusado a day. We also found Carmelites there, and some of the third order of St. Francis, all of them religious men, of a very exemplary life.

The city Loanda is large and beautiful enough. The houses of the Whites are of lime and stone, and covered with tiles; those of the Blacks are of mud and straw. One part of the city stretches to the brink of the sea, and the other rises up to the top of the hill. There are about three thousand Whites, and a prodigious multitude of Blacks, whose number is not known; they serve as slaves to the Whites, some of whom have fifty, some a hundred, two or three hundred, and even to three thousand. He who has most is richest, for they being all of some calling, when their masters have no use for them, they go work with any that wants them, and besides, saving their masters their diet, they bring home their earnings.

The Whites when they go about the town, are followed by two Blacks, with an hammock of net-work, which is the conveniency used for carrying of people even when they travel. Another Black walks by his master's side, holding a large umbrella over him to keep off the sun, which is violently hot. When any two that have business, meet, they join their umbrellas, and walk side by side in the shade. When the white women go abroad, which is very seldom, they are carried in a covered net, as is used in Brazil, with attendance of slaves. The slaves, both men and women, kneel when they speak to their master.

At Loanda they eat abundance of fish, cow-beef, which is the best sort of flesh, goat and mutton. Each of the last may be said to have five quarters, the tail being the biggest of them; but it is not wholesome because of its great fatness, nor indeed is any flesh in that country. Instead of bread they use the root of Manjoza, as they do at Brazil, and Indian wheat, of which they make little cakes, and other things of paste, which yet are not so good as bread. The water they drink is very bad; it is brought from a neighbouring island, where they dig a trench even with the sea, and the water freshes as it strains through the sand, but not thoroughly. Else they go for it to a river twelve or fourteen miles from Loanda, and load their canoes, which are boats made of one piece of timber. The canoes have a hole at the bottom, which they open when they are in the river, and stop it up when the canoe is full enough. When they come home, they strain it from the dirt, and let it stand some days to settle. Wine brought from Europe is sold for sixty Mil Reys the pipe, that is twenty pounds sterling; when there is a scarcity it rises to one hundred Mil Reys a pipe, and sometimes there is none at all to be had.

There is but little money passes in that country; but instead of it they buy and sell with Maccutes, Birames, and Indian pieces, or Muleches. The Maccutes are pieces of cloth made of straw a yard long, ten of which are worth one hundred Reys. The Birames are pieces of coarse cotton cloth made in the Indies, five ells long, and cost two hundred Reys the piece. The Indian pieces, or Muleches, are young Blacks about twenty years of age, worth twenty Mil Reys each. If they are younger, they are valued by people who have judgment in them. Young women are of the same value as men. Besides these there are shells they call Zimbi which come from Congo, for which all things are to be bought as if they were money; two thousand of them are

are worth a Maccute. The people of Congo value these shells, though they are of no use to them, but only to trade with other Africans who adore the sea, and call these shells which their country does not afford, God's children; for which reason they look upon them as a treasure, and take them in exchange for any sort of goods they have. Among them he is the richest and happiest who has most of them.

The inhabitants of Loanda courted us to stay with them for a year at least, to use ourselves to the air and provisions, before we ventured further into those deserts and unhealthy countries of Bamba, where our lives would be in danger. We answered, it would be a happy exchange to meet with death that would purchase us true life, and to lose our bodies to find so many souls, for whose salvation providence had brought us thither.

All that follows to the end is writ by F. DENIS CARLI :

WE set out both of us for our mission of Bamba, where a great duke subject to the King of Congo resided; for in that kingdom there are five provinces. The first is that of St. Salvador, or St. Saviour, where the King of Congo, whose name is D. Alvaro, resides. It takes name of the capital city called St. Salvador, which is best seated, and in the wholesomest air in the kingdom, built upon a hill. In it there are scarce any flies or gnats, fleas or bugs, as there are in the rest of the kingdom; but it is not free from ants, which are very troublesome. The King's palace is almost a league in compass. Formerly it was the only house that was boarded, but the Portuguese who have settled there have put the great men in the way of adorning and furnishing their houses. The cathedral is built with stone like those of our Lady, St. Peter and St. Anthony of Padua, in which are the tombs of the Kings of Congo. That of the Jesuits dedicated to St. Ignatius is not the meanest. Our Lady of Victory is made of mud, but whitened both within and without; it was given to the Capuchins by King Alphonso the Third. The second province is that of Bamba, where the great duke called D. Theodosio rules. The third that of Sondi, where there is another duke. The fourth that of Pemba, where a marquis resides; and the fifth that of Songo, in which there is a count who has not owned the King of Congo for some years; he resides in the town of Songo, a league from the river Zaire.

Having provided all things necessary, F. Michael Angelo and I went on board, and coasting along the continent, in two days came to Dante, on the frontiers of the kingdom of Angelo, where the Portuguese have a fort. We went to wait upon the governor, and shewed him the letters we brought from the lords of the council of Loanda, who then governed the kingdom, the viceroy that was expected not being yet come; they were letters of recommendation for him to help us to Blacks to carry us and our goods. During two days we stayed there, the governor sent out a fishing, and salted the fish for us; and among other sorts there were soles and pilchards above a span long. Our provision being ready, and thirty Blacks appointed to carry us and our equipage, hammocks were provided for us; the gentlemen of that city giving us to understand, that it was impossible for us to go afoot, being clad and equipped as we were; so that there being no other remedy, we complied with the custom of the country.

We

We fet out, and there being no great roads in thofe wild countries, but only paths, were forced to go in file. Some Blacks went before us with their burdens, next F. Michael in his hanmock followed by fome Blacks; then came I carried in my net, which to me feemed an eafy fort of carriage; and after me followed the reft of the Blacks, to relieve thofe that carry when they are weary. It is wonderful to fee how foft they go though loaded. They were armed with bows and arrows, and were to carry us to one of their towns, which in their language they call Libattes, as we fhall always call them in this relation. There we were to provide other carriers.

The lord or governor of the Libatte, whom in their language they call the Macolonte, came immediately to vifit us, and affigned us two of the beft cottages in the place; for throughout all the kingdom there is never a ftone houfe, but only of ftaw and stubble; and the fineft are of mud walls, and thatched, moft of them without windows, the door ferving for a window. We muft except the city of St. Salvador, as was faid before.

The Macolonte was clad after this manner: he only wore a clout of the bignefs of a handkerchief made of palm-tree leaves, for decency-fake, to cover that which modetty requires fhould be covered, and a cloak of European cloth reaching down to the ground; it was blue, a colour much efteemed among them; the reft of his body was naked. The Blacks that attended the Macolonte, and who were his officers, had only one of thofe handkerchiefs, which they fend to be dyed blue at Loanda: the reft of the people had only leaves of trees, and monkeys' fkins; and thofe who live in the open country, and lie under the trees, whether men or women, wear nothing at all, but go quite naked without any fenfe of fhame.

This firft Libatte was pretty large, confifting of about a hundred cottages, feparate from one another, and without any order: it may be faid they do not live in them in the day-time, for the men go abroad a walking, to take their diverfion, to converfe together, and to play upon certain inftruments, which are wretched and ridiculous enough, till night, being altogether ftangers to melancholy. The women, on the other fide, go out in the morning to till the ground, carry a basket at their backs, into which they put a black earthen-pot, which they call Quioufou, and one of their children, carrying the youngeft in their arms, who takes the breaft without the mother's help. They lead one by the hand, and very often carry another in their belly, for thefe people are fruitful and incontinent. The reft of the children, if there be more, follow the mother; but when they are grown fomewhat big, they let them go where they will, without taking any more care of them than if they were not their children.

We prefented the Macolonte with a ftring of beads of Venice glafs, which they call Miflanga, and hang about their neck, having no pocket or other place to keep it. The Macolonte having received and returned his compliments, fends a Black all about the Libatte, to order the inhabitants to bring their children to be baptized; the youth being almoft all baptized before, we having had that miffion thirty years. They acquaint them that a Capuchin is come, whom in their language they call Gramga, adding, by way of refpect, the word Fomet, which is as much as father or mafter. As foon as they hear of our coming, they all flock in, bringing their children, and by way of alms two of their handkerchiefs of palm-tree leaves, or elfe three thoufand five hundred little fhells, which, as has been faid, is the money of the country, called by them Zimbi; or elfe a Pullet, for a quantity of them was once carried thither, but the wars have almoft destroyed them. They alfo bring a little falt upon a leaf to blefs the water, and give one of the prefents above-mentioned for baptizing their children, and if they have nothing to give, they are chriftened for God's fake. In this place we baptized thirty, each of us fifteen, to our great fatisfaction, they being the firft we had made Chriftians.

I fpoke

I spoke to the Macolonte to prepare things to say mass next day; and immediately he sent our several Blacks to cut wood, and palm-tree leaves, wherewith they erected a little green chapel, as was the altar, I having given them the height and breadth; and then we furnished it, all the missionaries carrying a chest along with them, containing all things necessary for the holy sacrifice. Whilst my companion said mass, the Macolonte sent notice to other Blacks that were at a small distance from thence, who came time enough to hear the second mass: after which we baptized ten children of that neighbouring Libatte. There was a great number of people present, the chapel having been erected on a rising ground, to the end they might at least see, if they could not hear the mass. Next we catechised, dividing the people into two parts, and explaining what we said to them by the help of an interpreter.

That done, they fell a playing upon several instruments, a dancing, and shouting so loud, that they might be heard half a league off. I will describe but one of their instruments, which is the most ingenious and agreeable of them all, and the chief of those in use among them. They take a piece of a stake, which they tie and bend like a bow, and bind to it fifteen long, dry, and empty gourds, or calabashes of several sizes, to sound several notes, with a hole at top, and a lesser hole four fingers lower, and stop it up half-way, covering also that at the top with a little thin bit of board, somewhat lifted above the hole. Then they take a cord made of the bark of a tree, and fastening it to both ends of the instrument, hang it about their neck. To play upon it they use two sticks, the ends whereof are covered with a bit of rag, with which they strike upon those little boards, and so make the gourds gather wind, which in some manner resembles the sound of an organ, and makes a pretty agreeable harmony, especially when three or four of them play together.

They beat their drums with open hand, and they ^{make} made after this manner: they cut the trunk of a tree three quarters of an ell long or more; for when they hang them about their necks, they reach down almost to the ground: they hollow it within, and cover it top and bottom with the skin of a tyger, or some other beast, which makes a hideous noise when they beat it after this manner.

The gentlemen, or gentlemen's sons carry in their hands two iron bells, such as the cattle among us wear, and strike sometimes the one, sometimes the other, with a stick; which is seldom seen among them, this instrument being only carried by the sons of great men, who are not very numerous among them.

We preparing to be gone, our Macolonte made a sign for his Blacks to stand still, and be silent, which was done in a moment, and they had need enough of it, being all in a sweat. Having given them our blessing, we set out, and they began afresh to play, dance, and hollow, so that we could hear them two miles off, not without surprise and satisfaction, it being a consort of so many curious, and to us strange instruments.

By the way we saw several sorts of creatures, particularly little monkeys, and abundance of apes of divers colours, who all fled to the tops of the highest trees. We discovered two Pacassies, beasts somewhat like buffaloes, that roar like lions: the male and female go always together; they are white, with black and red spots; have ears half an ell long, and their horns straight: when they see any body, they neither run away, nor do any harm, but look upon such as pass by. We saw another beast with black and yellow hair upon a mountain; the interpreter told us it was a leopard, but it was far enough from us. There is also in those parts a beast shaped like, and as strong as a mule; but its hair is distinguished by white, black, and yellow streaks, which

which go round the body from the backbone under the belly, which is very beautiful, and looks as if it were done by art, it is called Zebra.

Going on our journey we came, before we were aware of it, upon a beast that lay asleep, and was waked by the shouting of the Blacks as they travel; it rose, took a great leap, and fled; the body was like that of a wolf, whereof there are abundance, but its head was like a bullock, which is disproportionable and frightful to behold: I asked what beast it was, and they assured me it must be some monster. There were abundance of beasts like our goats, which run away, and then stand for one another; and a multitude of wild hens, bigger than the tame, which taste like a hare.

Nothing extraordinary happened to us at the second Libatte, and we did there as we had done at the first. One night, when we were got into one of those Libattes, they shut the door, which was made of dried thorns; all the enclosure, like the walls of our towns, being hedges of thorn as high as a pike. Cottages were assigned us to pass the night; but the heat being excessive, I choose rather to lie in the open air in my hammock, fastening one end of it to the top of the cottage, and the other to two poles set up across one another; F. Michael Angelo did so too. About midnight came three lions, roaring that they made the earth shake, which waked me thoroughly; and had it not been for the thorny hedge, F. Denis had never seen Italy again. I lifted up my head to try whether by the moon-light I could discern one of them, but the hedge was so close and full of leaves, that I could perceive nothing, though I was sensible they were not far from it. I was almost resolved to go back into the cottage, but thinking it impossible they should leap such high hedges, I lay quiet till day, not without panting for fear now and then. Day being come, I went to ask F. Michael Angelo, who was in a cottage hard by, whether he had heard the lions in the night; to which he answered, he never slept better, because the night was fresh, and had heard nothing. "You are happy," said I, "for if they had broken in, you had gone to heaven without knowing which way." He replied, "That God's providence always watches over his elect, and that it was not his will that they should be exposed to the cruelty of those merciless beasts."

After baptizing several children, we set out, and having travelled till noon, the Blacks told us we must stay and rest, there being a river of good water hard by. Being set down, we got into the shade under some trees, there to make ready our dinner. Some of our men went to gather buck-wheat, others to bring wood to make fire. F. Michael Angelo would have made use of his steel to light; but a Black who was cook, said, "Father, we have no need of that;" and taking a piece of wood about two fingers thick, with many holes in it which did not go quite through, then taking another little stick about the thickness of one's finger, and putting it into one of those holes turned, rubbed the two sticks hastily one against another with both hands, and the little one took fire, which is their way of lighting it. The others who came loaded with buck-wheat, shook it out of the ear, and put it into four pots to make broth, and boiled Batataes, which are tolerably good roots.

Whilst every one was busy about the cookery, on a sudden we discovered an elephant, not much less than a cart laden with hay in Lombardy, his head hanging a little, one of his teeth being already dropt: all the Blacks got up hastily, and laying hold of their bows, began to let fly arrows at him with their usual cries; but one of them, more cunning than the rest, took a firebrand, and ran to set fire to a neighbouring thatched cottage: the elephant seeing that great flame, presently fled with three arrows in his body. The fire of the cottage being spread by the wind, laid hold of the next herbage, which being dried up with the excessive heat of the sun, and very

high, burnt so that the conflagration spread for above a league, consuming the grass, trees, and all that it met with ; so that all the beasts thereabouts being frightened, we could continue our journey to the next Libatte in all manner of safety, though now and then my fancy represented to me that terrible beast which frightened us.

Another day being upon our journey, we saw a great serpent draw near to us ; it was without any hyperbole twenty-five foot long, which I should not be so ready to assert, had I not seen and measured the skin of such another, nothing inferior to it, which was presented to F. Michael Angelo, and which he sent with some other curiosities to his father. This creature had a head as big as a calf, and what frightened us more was, that it came along the same path we were upon. The Blacks, according to custom, gave a great shout, and striking out of the way, made us go up a rising ground to give it time, either to go back or move forwards. I observed, that in going on it made as much herbage shake, as if there had been twenty people. We waited above an hour for it to pass, after which we came down and went on our way. F. Michael told me in Italian, that he might not be understood ; “ I thought being so many of us we were safe, but I perceive these Blacks are more fearful than we.” To which I answered, “ We were to expect no farther assistance from them but what their heels could afford us, carrying us the best they could, and rather flying from enemies than attacking them.” And to say the truth, we often wished we had brought a gun along with us, which would have been very useful, being often at such a nonplus and in so great danger, that without God’s special assistance we could never have come off, being forced throughout the journey, either to fly, or to fire the herbage to secure ourselves from wild beasts.

One day as we drew near a river, where we were told there was never a Libatte, but only two thatched houses to entertain and lodge the Blacks that go from Loanda to St. Salvador, the capital of the kingdom, being come within sight of the river, we discovered a number of cottages, and heard a great noise of people sounding trumpets, and playing on drums, fifes, and other instruments. The Blacks halting a little, said, “ Perhaps that might be the great duke, lord of the province ;” but coming up we perceived they were all new cottages, encompassed with a thick hedge of thorn, to secure them against the wild beasts that come to drink at the rivers. We asked a Black what there was in that place, and he told us, there was the brother of the captain-major of Dante, of whom mention has been made before. That gentleman hearing of our approach, sent four Mulattoes, with musquets, to meet us. Mulattoes are the children of a White and a Black : with them came many Blacks, with fifes and trumpets. We went to wait upon that gentleman, who received us with much courtesy, and told us, that every evening wheresoever night came upon him, he caused such a village to be built, enclosed with thorns.

That worthy gentleman shewed us abundance of respect, and treated us with pullets and fruit of the country. We would have staid there till he was gone, especially because there was no Libatte on the other side of the river ; but he said it was better we should cross whilst he was present, because there were several Blacks well acquainted with those parts, who would take care we should receive no harm. He bore us company to the river, with all the instruments, and there was such a multitude of people with him, that a man would have thought it had been the King of Æthiopia, there being above eighteen hundred men, besides women and children, which was the reason we had been forced to stay two days at Dante, where we found not men enough to bear us company. He had so much patience as to see us carried over and out of danger ; and having saluted him, he returned to his cottage, where he caused his
people

people to make ready to march, which we had the pleasure to see. Among the rest we had twenty-four Mulattoes, who are bold, daring, and undaunted fellows in all dangers; they were armed with musquets and scymitars; the Blacks had bows and arrows, and half-pikes: the instruments sounded, and the cries were redoubled at their departure, which made us admire to see with what state and attendance great men travel in those parts.

We went from the river, and the sun being very low, had scarce travelled half a mile when we stopped at the two cottages, but perceived we should not be very safe there from wild beasts, because there were no thorny hedges, only four trees where watch might be kept, and where we might rest that night, there being little huts on the tops of them. The Blacks told us we might go into one of the cottages, and that some of them would stand sentinel all night upon the trees, and the rest would go into the other hut. F. Michael Angelo said we should be safer if we got up the trees; but the Blacks assured us we could not sleep there, telling us we need not take care, for they would watch all night in their turns. We went into the best cottage, and caused some straw to be brought to lie on, as we did, after eating of what the black gentleman had charitably bestowed on us, and giving thanks to God for having brought us safe so far. After making the sign of the cross, we gave ourselves up to sleep.

About midnight we were disturbed by a lion and the tiger, that came sporting together towards our huts; and perceiving their roaring draw nearer and nearer, I asked my companion, whether he had heard the lion; "Too much of it," said he, "and it would not be amiss, whatsoever may happen, that we should hear one another's confessions." Having done so, we looked through the crevices of the cottage, whether we could perceive them by the light of the moon: it was easy to see them, they not being a stone's throw off; and any body may believe it was not without some heart-aching that we silently expected how God would be pleased to dispose of us. We heard the Blacks on the trees, and those in the other cottage talk together; and soon after they lighted fire, which made those beasts fly towards the river. Thus were we again delivered from that danger, through the mercy of God, to whom we had heartily recommended ourselves.

The next day, having travelled half our journey to the next Libatte, we heard a great noise of people, and drawing near them, found they were Blacks carrying a Portuguese to be canon of St. Saviour, where the cathedral of all the country is. Having viewed him, and remembering we had seen one another at Loanda, where he came every day to say mass in our church, we expressed the great satisfaction we received in meeting so fortunately, and travelled together the remaining part of the day. We asked him how he could leave so fine a city as Lisbon, his native country, to come into those wretched and desert countries. To which he answered, he had a good pension allowed him of fifty Mil Reys a year, which is about seventeen pounds sterling. "I would not undertake such a task," said I to him, "for a thousand millions of gold." "What do you come to do here, then?" quoth he. "It is for the love of God and our neighbour," replied we, "that we left Italy; and we shall think all our care and fatigues sufficiently rewarded, if but one soul purchases heaven through our means." Discouring in this manner, we came to the Libatte, where we found but few people, which troubled us, because there were not Blacks enough to convey us all; which made us desire the canon to go before, and we would stay till his carriers came back, but we could never prevail with him, though it had proved better for him, for he died a few days after at Bombi, whence we were gone before he came, and where

we might have comforted and done the last duties towards him, if he were past the others.

Bombi is a very great Libatte, where there resides a marquis, subject to the great duke of Bamba, as he is to the King of Congo. There we found a son of the marquis, who spoke Portuguese, and offered to go along and be our interpreter, not only on our journey, but during our stay at Bamba, which we accepted of, with the consent of his father, the marquis. When the sun was up, we set out better pleased than before, because we had that youth of twenty-five years of age with us, who expressed himself well in Portuguese; yet we suffered nevertheless for that, for when we least thought of it, we perceived at a distance a great fire the Blacks had lighted among the herbage, which running on before the wind, drove all the wild beasts towards us: our men said, "Fathers, we must shun the fury of these beasts, for perhaps there are lions and tigers among them, the best way is to climb the trees." Hearing this, and being sensible there was no other remedy, we opened one of our trunks, and took out a ladder of ropes, made in Brazil; then we made a Black get up a tree to fasten it, after which, my companion and I, and the marquis's son went up, drawing up the ladder after us, all the rest getting up other trees. And in truth we were in the right not to lose time, for that troop of wild beasts was with us immediately, and their number was so great, that as many as we were, we should all of us have scarce made one good meal for them. There were tigers, lions, wolves, polecats, and rhinoceroses, which have a horn over their nose, and several other sorts of creatures, who, as they passed by, lifted up their heads and looked at us. Our Blacks, who had arrows for the most part poisoned with juice of herbs, wounded some of them, but that did not make them run so much as the fire they felt drawing near. This danger being past, we came down, and went on our way, giving thanks to God for having delivered us from such danger of death.

The next day we came to a Libatte, where we found but very few people; they told us they were gone to the war with the duke of Bamba against the count of Songo, who had been long revolted against the King of Congo; that after some were destroyed on both sides, the rest concluded a truce, and some time after took up arms again.

There being but few men in that place, we resolved to part, that so one might expect the return of those that carried him who went first. F. Michael Angelo offered to go before, our residence at Bamba not being far off, and send me twenty men from thence to carry me and our burden which was to remain behind. I staid six days with the marquis's son, both of us living upon kidney-beans, which in their language they call Cazacaza, and the young man gathered them every day; but perceiving that food of kidney-beans did not nourish me, and that I could scarce stand upon my legs through weakness, I began to string beads, sitting upon a little straw at the door of my cottage, which the Blacks observing, who were most of them good old men, they flocked about me, admiring those beads with silk tassels, to which the medal was fastened, and earnestly entreated me to give them a pair of beads for the Macolonte. I told them I would, provided they gave me a pullet, having seen a great many about the Libatte, which they did. Necessity obliged me to do so, there being never a child to baptise there, and they being little acquainted with giving alms for God's sake. In short, with the help of the beads, I lived the best I could.

At last the Blacks my companions sent me came; and being on our way not far from the Libatte where we were to lie that night, we were surprised to meet a lion so wounded that he could scarce go, and left a tract of blood wherefoever he went. The Blacks in a fright set down their burdens and me so hastily, that I had much ado to get loose

out of my net ; they laid hold of their bows, and one of them taking the two sticks, as I described them before, lighted fire, and put it to the herbage, which immediately flamed, it being then almost dry, very tall and thick, because it was the month of March, contrary to what is usual in our European countries ; the flames rising, and the Blacks continuing their cries, the lion who was coming towards us in a fury, turned about and took another way. We came to the Libatte an hour before night, but it had no enclosure of thorns like the rest, and went to the great place in it, where we found all the people gathered about a wounded man ; I came down from my hammock, and asked what the matter was ; they told me it was the Macolonte who had fought a lion. They made way for me, and drawing near, I saluted him, telling him he was in the wrong in not making a thorn hedge about the Libatte as was about others. " Father," said he, " as long as I live there will be no need of a hedge, when I am dead they may do as they think fit." His wound was but slight, and I desired him to tell me how he had fenced with the lion. " Father," said he, " as I was standing here, talking with my people, a hungry lion led by the scent of man's flesh, came upon us so unexpectedly, without roaring as is usual, that my people, who were all disarmed, had scarce time to make their escape ; I, who am not used to run away, clapped one knee and one hand on the ground, and holding up my knife with the other, struck him with all my force in the belly ; he finding himself wounded, roared, and came upon me so furiously, that he wounded himself again in the throat, but at the same time with his talon he tore a piece of skin off my side ; however, my people returning with their weapons, the lion, wounded in two places, ran away swiftly, losing much blood." That was the lion which we met, certainly in a bad condition, being wounded with a knife made after the manner of a Genoese bayonet, guided by the hand of so brave a man as the Macolonte.

I was farther informed by him, that the great duke of Bamba, who had fought with the count of Songo, was made the King's generalissimo. At this time they brought me a handsome young black woman stark naked to be baptized. Being obliged to catechise her, I caused her to be covered with some leaves, and reproved her for deferring to be baptized so long, it being a long time since the kingdom had received the faith of Jesus Christ. She answered, that she lived in the open country, as many others do, who lie under trees ; and that she had but then heard of the coming of the Capuchins. Having instructed her in the principles of Christianity, and it being St. Joachim's day, I called her Anne. The ceremonies of baptism being performed, all the Blacks of the Libatte, men, women, and young lads, whom they call Muleches, made a ring, and took her in the midst of them, dancing, playing on their instruments, and crying, " Long live Anne, long live Anne," with such a noise and hubbub, that I was quite stunned and beside myself. F. Michael Angelo having gone before me, there were no children to baptize. I only baptized some of the country, who will not draw into the Libattes, that they may be more at liberty, though it be not without danger.

Next morning I continued my journey towards Bamba, and being forced to alight in a great valley, because the way was bad, I got out of the net, and walked about half a league in a stony way, a very rare thing in that country, where till then I had not seen one stone. The Blacks who were bare-footed suffered much, and I was not without fatigue, the heat being excessive, and the path narrow ; besides, the grass which was high and thick beat against my legs, which flayed them, and they were sore for two months after. My companion had fared no better, for I found his legs swathed.

Through the midst of the valley there ran a river, narrow, but very deep. The Blacks founded the ford to carry us over where there was least water, which was four foot

foot deep. We lay in our hammocks, and two of the lustiest carriers held the staff over their heads, not without danger of falling together into the water ; but they only laughed at it, and stopped to bathe themselves. We took notice of abundance of very beautiful birds of several colours, green, red, yellow, and some which I thought the finest with white feathers and black fillets, looking like the scales of fish ; their tail, eyes, beak, and feet of the colour of fire. These are Ethiopian parrots, which talk like those of America, and are rarely brought into Europe, but scarce ever into Italy.

Being very near Bamba, I heard a bell, which they told me belonged to our convent, seated on a hill. F. Michael Angelo had made it ring to mass, and having said it, came to meet us with several Blacks playing on instruments after their manner. After performing my devotions in the church for my good journey, I went into the convent, where I found four little cells of mud-walls, covered with straw, an entry and porch, and sacristy or vestry, and church, all built with the same materials. Whilst we were giving one another an account of what had happened to us, there came a Black from the great duchess to bid me welcome, and let me know she was desirous to see me. Finding myself very much weakened, and spent with continual sweating, I desired him to excuse me to her, and assure her that as soon as I was a little recovered I would not fail of going to pay my respects to her. I had great need of rest, but being in a strange country where every thing was new to me, curiosity made me go out to see our garden, where I could not sufficiently admire such variety of fruits of the earth, not only of Africa, but of America and Europe, observing all those sorts there which I had before seen in Brazil. Those of Europe were grapes, fennel, cardoons or thistles, all sorts of salleting, gourds, cucumbers, and many other sorts, but no pears, apples, nuts, or such like fruits as require a cold climate. At night the duchess sent me a bottle of wine made of the palm-tree, as white as milk. I tasted a little; but neither I nor F. Michael Angelo liked it, we gave it to our Blacks, who looked upon it as a great dainty, often repeating the word *Malaf*, which among them signifies wine.

It is to be observed that in the kingdom of Congo there are two harvests every year ; they begin to sow in January, and reap in April. After that they have their winter when our summer is, but that winter is like a sweet spring or autumn in Italy. The heat begins again in September, when they sow again, and have a harvest in December.

F. Michael Angelo had already taken several Blacks into our service, and settled the affairs of the house. The house and church being old, and threatening ruin, he had thoughts of building new ones. He had appointed two of our Blacks to be gardeners, one to be cook, one sacristan, two to go fetch water to drink and dress our meat, one to look after the little shells which serve instead of money in that country, and to buy honey, wax, fruit, meal, and buck-wheat ; and our interpreter, who continued with us. We found a great many Blacks who understood Portuguese, Bamba being in the road to go to St. Salvador ; these Blacks having often occasion to speak that language with those that carried such merchandize as the Portuguese merchants at Loanda transport to St. Salvador. Bamba is a great town, seventy leagues from the sea, the capital of the province of that name, and well peopled, because of the great duke's residing there.

I went to visit the great duchess, and we agreed together to send a Black to the great duke, to advise him to make a truce with the enemy, and return to his own estate. But being informed that the King of Congo was come to Pemba, distant ten days' journey from Bamba, F. Michael Angelo told me we ought to lay hold of that opportunity to go both of us to pay our respects to him, and the more because our labour would not be lost ; for whatsoever place we went through, we should find children and youth to baptize and instruct, and might preach our holy faith. We set out the

next

next day with several Blacks allowed us by the great ducheſs, rather for our guard than any thing elſe, we carrying nothing with us but what was neceſſary for ſaying maſs, and for our ſubſiſtence, leaving the reſt in our houſe. We being to paſs over ſome very deſert mountains, were told that abundance of lions were abroad, and that it was requiſite to give them time to get further off and loſe themſelves in the wood; which moved us, that we might force them away the ſooner, and not loſe our time to no purpoſe, to ſet fire to the fields, as we had done in the way to Bamba, and it ſucceeded with us; for the wind ſpreading the flame every way, made the lions go off very ſoon.

We found abundance of children to baptize by the way as we had foreſeen; and being come to Pemba, went to our *hoſpitiſm*, or little houſe of reception, where F. Anthony de Saraverre, a Capuchin of the province of Tufcany, reſided, who received us very courteouſly, and was aſtoniſhed to ſee us ſo young, for we could not make up ſixty years between us. Having told him our deſign, which was to pay our reſpects to His Maſteſty, and return immediately to our miſſion of Bamba; we preſently heard a great noiſe of trumpets, fifes, drums and cornets, which drew near us; and F. Anthony told us, it was certainly His Maſteſty, and we might go out and ſalute him. No ſooner were we out of the convent, but we met the King, who was a young Black about twenty years of age, all clad with a ſcarlet cloak and gold buttons. He commonly wears white buſkins upon carnation ſilk ſtockings, or of any other colour; but they ſay he has new clothes every day, which I could hardly believe in a country where fine ſtuffs and good tailors are ſcarce. Before him went twenty-four young Blacks, all ſons of dukes or marquiſſes, who wore about their middle a hankerchief of palm-tree died black, and a cloak of blue European cloth hanging down to the ground, but all of them bare-headed and footed. All his officers, being about an hundred, were much in the ſame dreſs. After them came a croud of other Blacks, with only thoſe black hankerchiefs.

Near to His Maſteſty was a Black, who carried his umbrella of ſilk, of a fire-colour, laced with gold; and another who carried a chair of carnation velvet, with gold nails, and the wood all gilt. Two others, clad in red coats, carried his red hammock, but I know not whether it was ſilk or died cotton; the ſtaff was covered with red velvet. We bowed and ſaluted His Maſteſty, whoſe name was D. Alvaro, the ſecond King of Congo. He told us we had obliged him in coming into his kingdom, for the good of his ſubjects, but that it would be more pleaſing to him, if we would go along with him to St. Salvador. We humbly thanked him, and answered, that there was more need of us at Bamba, there being never a prieſt in all that province, whereas there were many at St. Salvador. After this we talked with him of ſeveral matters concerning Italy and Portugal; after which he ordered his ſecretary, who was a Mulatto, to give us letters of recommendation to the great duke, that upon all occaſions whatſoever he might not fail to aſſiſt us in all things relating to our miſſion, or our private concern.

Being thus diſmiſſed by His Maſteſty, he made us ſeveral preſents, as we did of ſeveral jewels of devotion, which were very acceptable to him, he being a perſon very religious and affable. We took leave of F. Anthony, and thanked him, returning very well ſatiſfied that we had ſaluted the King, and ſeen in what ſtate he goes, carrying ſuch a number of people about with him. King Alphonſo the Third in 1646, when he gave audience to ſome miſſioners of our order, was more richly clad. He had on a veſt of cloth of gold ſet with precious ſtones, and on his hat a crown of diamonds, beſides other ſtones of great value. He ſat on a chair under a canopy of rich crimſon velvet with gilt nails, after the manner of Europe; and under his feet was a great carpet, with two ſtools of the ſame colour and ſilk, laced with gold.

We went through our journey easily enough, meeting with no particular obstacle, and every day saw all sorts of beasts, so that one would have thought they had rendezvoused there from all parts of the earth. One day as we were upon the road I heard the crying as it were of a little child; and making the Blacks, who went very fast, stop, bid them take notice of that voice, to go see what it was. "We hear it," said they laughing, "but it is a great bird that cries so." Which was true, for within a moment after we saw it rise off the ground and fly away. It was a bird bigger than an eagle, of a dark yellow. During this expedition both going and coming home, we had certainly starved had we not been paid for our ecclesiastical functions. It is true, the people of the country are very charitable among themselves; for if we gave one of them any thing to eat, he would give a little of it to the next he met, and so all of them eat together, which ought to put many Europeans to the blush, who let the poor starve rather than give them a bit of bread. This I say without any reflection upon those who have more compassion for their neighbour's wants.

Being come again to Bamba, they began to bring us children to baptize, from all the country about. Others came to be married, but these were few, and only some of the best sort and most civilized; for the main difficulty lies in bringing the multitude to keep but one wife, they being wholly averse to that law. Others sent us their children to school, which we were fain to keep in the church, because of the great number of them, insomuch that upon holidays not only the church, but all the place before it, was full. We often said two masses a day; true it is, we usually went to say the second in another Libatte, where the Macolonte treated us with kidney-beans, common beans, and other things the women sow in the country, scarce eating any thing else, whilst they are there, and at work. When harvest is over, which is twice a year, they put all the kidney-beans into one heap, the Indian wheat into another, and so of other grain: then giving the Macolonte enough for his maintenance, and laying aside what they design for sowing, the rest is divided at so much to every cottage, according to the number of people each contains. Then all the women together till and sow the land for a new harvest, the earth being fruitful and black like the people.

So they have something to eat, they do not trouble themselves about laying in great store of provisions, scarce minding in the morning whether they shall have any thing at night for supper. It has often happened, when I have been travelling with them, that having nothing to give them, because I had it not for myself, they without any concern would take a piece of wood which they cut and shaped so as to serve instead of a mattock, and sitting down on the ground would cut up the grass, and near the roots found certain little white balls which they fed on: which did not a little surprise me, for having tasted of them, I could not for my life swallow one of them; and yet after such a wretched meal, they would skip, dance and laugh, as if they had been at a feast. What greater happiness can there be, than not to be afflicted when a man has nothing, nor so much as to desire what he has not? So when they have any thing good to eat, they express no more satisfaction than when they have the worst.

Our employment continued as usual. There was never a day but we baptized eight or ten children, and sometimes fifteen or twenty, the poor people coming many leagues to us, which we considering resolved to divide, one to stay in the monastery, and the other to go into the country. F. Michael Angelo offered to go abroad first, promising not to stay above a fortnight, and to let me hear from him, I being to take my turn after the same manner, to the end that by this means both the town and country might receive some spiritual comfort. During his absence I continued administering baptism, and teaching school. The great duchess had two sons, D. Peter and D. Sebastian, who
never

never missed coming, especially to learn Portuguese. At the same time I instructed them in the mysteries of faith, and their genius appeared to be suitable to their birth, though Blacks; being of a sharp and ready wit, learning all I taught them, and behaving themselves as became such princes. Now and then some Black would come to me to complain that a wolf had devoured one of his children in the night; to which I answered, "What would you have me to do? If you who are the father or mother do not take care of them, must I look to them, who do not know where they go?" For to say the truth, they take no more care of them when they are big, than if they were none of their own.

I began then to be sensible what it was to live without eating bread, or drinking wine: for though I was well in health, I had very much to do to stand upon my legs, I was so spent with living upon that food which has so little nourishment, and with which I was forced to be satisfied in those parts. So I recommended myself to God, that it might please him to preserve my health, for the benefit of those poor Blacks; not so much, to say the truth, because I found myself incapable of undergoing very long the fatigue of our continual employment, as because of the little likelihood there was of seeing any other missionaries come into that country to succeed us, and to ease me of that employment, which I found to be above my strength.

One evening an hour after sun-set, I heard abundance of people singing, but in such a doleful tone as caused horror. I inquired of my domestics what that meant; they answered, it was the people of some Libatte, that came with their Macolonte to discipline themselves in the church, because it was a Friday in March. This surprized me, and I presently sent to open the church-doors, light two candles, and ring the bell. Before they came in, they continued a quarter of an hour on their knees before the church, singing the *salve regina* in their language, with a very doleful harmony; then being come into the church, I gave them all holy water. They were about two hundred men carrying great logs of wood of a vast weight, for the greater penance. I spoke a few words to them of the benefit of penance, which if we will not undergo in this world, we shall be forced to endure in the next. They were all on their knees, and beat their breasts. I caused the candles to be put out, and they disciplined themselves a whole hour with leather-thongs and cords made of the bark of trees. After that we said the litanies of our Lady of Loretto; and having dismissed them, they returned home, leaving the branches of trees they brought without the church, which served us in the garden. This action, so much to be admired in those poor people, comforted and encouraged me, considering how it pleased God those miserable Ethiopians, almost destitute of all spiritual assistance, should one day upbraid the Europeans for their negligence, since they are so far from doing any thing, though they have full liberty and conveniency, that they even despise those that do, and in contemptible manner call them, Hermits, Executioners of Christ, and Wry Necks. Be this said without offence to those who do not approve of such injurious words, and whose thoughts are more agreeable to their character of Catholics.

Another night after the Ave-Mary bell, our Blacks that were in the garden called me to see the heaven burn. I went out, imagining it might be some fire on a mountain, but found it was one of the greatest blazing stars I ever saw in my life. I told them how it was called, and that it foreboded some ill to the world; that therefore they should do penance for the sins they had committed against the majesty of so great a God, who is merciful to bear with sinners, but just with those that are impenitent. It was in March 1668 that this comet appeared.

* One day they brought me a quantity of round roots like our Truffles (in English, pig-nuts); but these grow on trees, and are as big as a lemon: opening them, there appear

four or five such nuts red within. To keep them fresh, they put earth about them; when they will eat them, they wash them, taste a little of each, and drink of their water. In eating of them they have a little bitterness, but the water drank after makes them very sweet. In their language they call them Colla; and I having observed that the Portuguese made great account of them at Loanda, had some sought out, and sent them to those gentlemen, my good patrons, who in return sent me some presents come from Europe.

F. Michael Angelo returned well pleased with his progress, having baptized abundance of infants and youths, who had never seen priests; for there are but six Capuchins in the whole kingdom, except at St. Salvador; and these have the hardest task in the world to preserve their health; and when any one of them dies, as it often happens, it is a matter of no small difficulty to get another into his place. My companion being come home, he applied himself to cultivate the garden, whence he had our chief nourishment; and finding there some vine-plants, he transplanted them to a rising ground. He sowed several sorts of European grain, which all came up in perfection. He had brought with him a great many iron tools; for having baptized very many in a Libatte, that was near an iron mine, he had caused spades, shovels, hooks, axes, and other utensils to be made of it for the garden and cutting of wood. He also caused to be made twelve sharp spears two foot in length, to be fixed upon staves, to serve the Blacks to defend themselves against the wild beasts when they go through the deserts; for being sometimes surprized when they least think of it, they can make no use of their bows.

The father told me what had happened to him during his absence; and particularly, that flying once from the paws of a tiger, he was forced to run a great way into a thicket of brambles, there being never a tree to get up, without which shift he must have lost his life, as one of the Blacks did; who, to avoid pricking his skin among the briars, trusted to the swiftness of his heels, which could not deliver him from death, that merciless beast soon overtaking him. The Capuchin habit did the Father a kindness to keep off the prickles of the thorns, which had made as many holes in his legs as in a cullender.

I set out in my turn, after saying mass, with twenty of those who had accompanied F. Michael Angelo, and came to several places where no Capuchin had been of many years; so that in some Libattes I baptized above a hundred children, taking something of those that would give, and bestowing my charity for God's sake on those that had nothing. I accepted of the presents of the Macolontes, which were beans and kidney-beans, to maintain those that went with me, who were satisfied to attend us, provided we maintained them. In some places they fled as soon as they saw me, having, in all probability, never seen any Capuchins. After fifteen days' travel, during which time I never returned to the same place, I came back to our house, where I found my companion busy in the garden, which he had made up after the manner of Italy, and planted vines, orange, and lemon-trees, so that one would have thought it was not the same garden we found there at our coming.

Since that nation has received the faith of Jesus Christ, there still remain among them abundance of forcerers and enchanters, (as there are heretics in Europe,) who are the ruin of those people, otherwise tractable enough. It is in a manner impossible for the King to root them out, inasmuch as that Prince, who is a very good Christian and zealous catholic, has given leave to several of his great men, who know their lurking-places, to fire their cottages; but they having spies abroad, though they meet at night, make their escape, and are very seldom taken.

The great duke was now come home, and frequented our convent every day. He was surprized to see the alteration of our garden; and the more, because in those parts
 II the

the country is always green; and when the ground is burnt any where, the grafs springs up again immediately. I enquired once of the great duke, where he had left his army, which confifted of one hundred and fifty thousand Blacks. He told me he had dropped them in the Libattes as he came along, to which they belonged; and when he came to Bamba he had but ten thousand left. It is not to be admired there fhould be fo many people; for there being no fort of religious perfon, and moft of them keeping as many wives as they please, the country cannot chufe but be well peopled. One of the kings of Congo led nine hundred thoufand Blacks to the war againft the Portuguefe, an army one would think fhould make all the world fhake; and yet the Portuguefe gave him battle with four hundred mufketeers, and two field-pieces. The terror of that cannon loaded with partridge-shot, and the death of the King, put them to flight. I fpoke with the very Portuguefe who cut off that King's head, and he affured me they found all the utenfils belonging to him of beaten gold. For that reafon they do not at prefent work in the gold-mines, which are near thofe of iron we have fpoken of, left the Portuguefe fhould make war upon them; for what mifchief will not gold ftir up men to?

There was fcarce a day but the duke, who lived near us, came to our church, in which there was a chapel of timber-work pretty big, where were the tombs of the dukes decaffed, over which there were figures made of clay like our mortars, coloured with red. He once told us he had refufed to be king, that he might be nearer the Portuguefe, to have the opportunity fometimes of drinking wine and brandy. We underftood him perfectly well, but would not feem to do fo, to prevent ufing him to fuch familiarity; for it is difficult to get wine to fay mafs, there being none but what is brought out of Europe. This duke went habited like the King, but with fewer attendants. He wore a coat down to his knees made of palm-tree leaves dyed black, and over it a cloak of blue cloth; a red cap with a gold galloon about it; about his neck he had a large pair of beads with above fifty medals, his legs and feet bare like the reft. The fon of fome lord carried his hat, another his fcymitar, and a third his arrows. Fifty Blacks went before him playing confufedly on feveral instruments; twenty-five men of note, and one hundred archers followed him. It is no difficult matter to find fuch abundance of foldiers, the men exercifing no trade, except fome few who work in iron, or make thofe clothes of palm-tree leaves.

The women of quality wear the fineft cloth of Europe, whereof they make petticoats down to their heels. They cover their back, breaft, and left arm, with a fhort mantle of the fame fort, leaving their right arm naked. The inferior fort wear ftuffs of lefs value, and the commonalty ftuffs made of palm-tree leaves, whereof they have only a petticoat.

F. Michael Angelo one day told me he found himfelf much fpend, and prefently after he fell into a fever; which troubled me very much, and the more, becaufe in that country there are neither phyficians nor medicines, but all muft be left to nature. Bleeding is the only remedy ufed, and to that purpofe I fent to the great duke's furgeon: he was a Black, who had learned that profeflion at Loanda; for being ufed to bleed the Blacks, it was eafier for him to praftife upon the Whites, whose veins are more vifible. During his ficknefs, F. Philip our fuperior came to Bamba, which was a great relief to me, becaufe he fpoke the language of the country, and knew the manner of curing fick perfons in thofe parts. I was fenfible I fhould have need of his affiftance, not being very well myfelf. Our fick man let me underftand that difeafe would be his laft, becaufe he found it prevailed upon him. I fpoke fome words of comfort to him, fignifying that his difeafe being but a double tertian, he might hope to recover; but however advifed him to leave all to God, and refign himfelf up to his holy will.

Soon after he complained of a pain in his left ear, which spread over his neck. I mistrusted it might be an ulceration in the almonds of his ears, and acquainted the superior with my thoughts, who was of the same opinion. We anointed him with oil of Angelico made at Rome, which seemed to work a wonderful effect, taking away the pain; but it removed to the other side, and the swelling in the throat increased, which made us forbear using our oil, for fear it might do more harm than good; and to say the truth, hearing him complain with so slight a fever, I concluded he was worse inwardly than appeared outwardly. In short, notwithstanding all the care we took of him, I had the mortification to see him die the fifteenth day, having received all the sacraments, and expressed a faint-like resignation; hoping that the Lord, who does not forget to reward his servants, lets him now enjoy the recompence of all his labours.

My heart was more sensible of my trouble for this loss than my pen can express; and, without doubt, had not our superior been there, sent by God's special direction in so sorrowful a conjuncture, and giving us all worldly and spiritual assistance, I had died too, having already lost half my life, in that of the dear companion of my travels, snatched away by death. He had been blooded fifteen times; and, being apprehensive it was too much, I gave an account at my return of his distemper to the physician at Angola. He told me it had been better to have bled him thirty times; but his hour was come, and it was the will of God.

The superior finding me in a fever, which increased, thought Providence had sent him to bury us both, and would not go away till he had seen the end of it: however, he resolved to try means to cure me, causing me to be blooded twice a day, which I suffered to be done without speaking one word: but, in truth, that usage in a few days brought me into a desperate condition, having been forty times blooded, and the fever never decreasing. I confessed, and received the holy *viaticum*, being nothing but skin and bones. The father, but for whose charity I believe I had died like a beast, perceiving the disease was like to be tedious, the fury of the fever abating, gave me to understand, that for the good of the mission he must of necessity be gone. I had scarce strength, bowing myself, to tell him, that since he could not stay longer, he should inform my Blacks how they ought to manage me; and that he would please to send F. Michael de Orvietto to me, with whom I had travelled, and who knew how to look to the sick. He promised to do so, but his orders miscarrying, he came not. I was left in my bed, not able to turn myself; and the worst was, that so much bleeding had almost blinded me. In that condition, half alive and half dead, I was left to the mercy of those Blacks, who stole what they could, and brought me, when they thought of it, a porringer of broth; I being able to swallow nothing of substance, and loathing all sustenance.

One day, when I was more cast down with melancholy and sadness than the distemper itself, I received a visit from a Portuguese jesuit, who came from St. Salvador, and was returning to the college at Loanda. When he saw me in that miserable condition, "How now, Father," said he, "are you so sick, and yet stay in this desert?" "I came," said I, "very well in health into this country, but after losing my companion, I fell sick, and have been now some months struggling with death; but I perceive it is not God's will it should have the upper hand, though it was one of my wishes." Two days he staid comforting me, and presented me with some pullets, which were more acceptable for coming from his hand, than for their own rarity. We confessed to one another, he declaring it was a satisfaction to him to be thus provided, being to pass through many places, where the firing of the dry herbage made the wild beasts run about

about the country. He assured me that, as he came, he was forced to get up a tree, though there were sixty Blacks with him, to avoid death threatened them by two tigers. Therefore we are not to believe what some authors have writ, that the tigers do not assault Whites, but only Blacks.

After his departure I remained with my continual distemper; but what comforted me was, that every day I baptized ten or twelve children; and not being able to sit up alone in my bed, was held up by two Blacks, another holding the book, and another the bason, receiving what alms they gave me; not for my own sake, for I could eat nothing, but for my family, who would all of them have forsaken me had they wanted meat. I married several of the chief people; one of them gave me a she-goat, whose milk I drank every day, which indeed was little in quantity, but counted a great dainty in that country. This happiness I had in my indisposition, that I slept all night, which is twelve hours long, never varying half an hour all the year round. I would willingly have eaten an egg, but sick people there are forbid eggs, they being looked upon as unwholesome for those that are ill, being too hot in those parts. Whilst I lay thus in bed, several cripples came to beg of me, and I gave them some of those shells that serve instead of money, of which three thousand five hundred make the value of a pistole; so many are given for a pullet, for at Lisbon a pullet is worth a crown, in Brazil a piece of eight, at Angola ten shillings, and at Congo a pistole, which seems to me cheaper than a crown at Lisbon.

My bed was against the wall, which was of fat clay ill put together, and might well be called a nest of rats; for there were so many of them, and so large, that they troubled me very much, running over me every night, and biting my toes, which broke my rest very much. To prevent this, I caused my bed to be laid in the middle of the room, but to no purpose, for those cursed creatures knew where to find me. I caused mats to be laid all about my bed for my Blacks to lie on, and defend me not only against the rats, but any other wild creatures that might come. This precaution stood me in no stead, for there was no night but the rats disturbed me. Another consideration moved me to keep those Blacks in my chamber, which was, that they might see how I lived, and be witnesses of my behaviour, that country being no more free from detraction than others.

I took the freedom to acquaint the great duke with the trouble I had from the rats, and the stink of my Blacks, who had always some wild and disagreeable smell. He said he would give me an infallible remedy against those two inconveniences, and that, had he known it sooner, he would not have failed of sending it: this was a little monkey that would expel the ill scent by that of his skin, which smelt of musk. I gave him a thousand thanks for his charity towards me, and said I should expect that favour from him. He sent me the tame monkey, whom I laid at the feet of my bed, and who performed his duty exactly; for when the rats came as they were wont, the monkey blew hard at them two or three times, and made them run away; and the scent of musk with which he perfumed the chamber, corrected the ill smell of the Blacks. These monkeys are not the same creatures as the civet cats, for I have seen several of those cats at Loanda, where they keep them shut up in a wooden cage, and fastened with an iron or silver-chain, and the owner of them once a week, with a spoon, takes off the civet, which they call *Angegilia*, and which is found in a purse between the hind legs. In short, the little monkey did me extraordinary service, not only for those uses already mentioned, but to keep my head and beard clean and combed, better than any of the Blacks would have done: and, to say the truth, it is easier to teach those monkeys than the Blacks; for these have enough to do to learn one thing well, but the others every thing they are put to dexterously.

I just began to mend, though the fever had not left me, when one night as I lay asleep, I felt the monkey had leaped upon my head; I thought the rats had frightened him, but at the same time the Blacks arose crying, "Out, out, Father." Being thoroughly awake, I asked them what was the matter; "The ants," said they, "are broke out, and there is no time to be lost." There being no possibility for me to stir, I bid them carry me into the garden, which they did, four of them lifting me upon my straw bed: their nimbleness stood me in good stead, for the ants already began to run upon my legs, and get to my body. After shaking them off, they took straw, and fired it on the floor of four rooms, where the ants were already above half a foot thick; and there must needs be a wonderful quantity, for besides the chambers, the porch and walking-place were full. They being destroyed by fire, as I said, I was carried back to my chamber, where the stink was so great, that I was forced to hold the monkey close to my face. Having caused the mats to be shaken, we had scarce slept half an hour before I was awaked by the light of a flame of fire at the chamber-door: I called my people to see what it was; they found the fire had taken hold of the thatch of the house, and fearing the fire might increase with the wind, I caused myself to be carried again into the garden. The fire being put out, we endeavoured to go to sleep again, but all this hurry had discomposed me too much; and before the troublesome night was quite over, I heard a great noise near us: I waked my Blacks that they might be in readiness, in case there was some other army of beasts to engage. One of them laid hold of one of the halberts F. Michael Angelo had caused to be made, and went out to see who made all that hurly-burly: he came back again to tell us, that the pismires having again broke into a neighbouring cottage, they had burnt them as we did; but the hut being all of straw, it was consumed as well as the ants, which made the Blacks get out of their houses for fear the wind should carry about the flame and burn all that quarter. I got off, causing myself to be once more carried into the garden, giving God thanks that he had delivered me from the pismires; for had I been alone fast in my bed, and unable to stir, as I then was, it is certain they had eaten me up alive. This often happens in the kingdom of Angola, where in the morning there are cows found devoured in the night by ants, and nothing left of them but the bones. It is no small deliverance to escape them, for there are some that fly, and are hard to be removed from the place where they lay hold: but God be praised that my body was not devoured by them alive.

I had a young tiger given me, which I did not care to keep, especially because the monkey would not lie upon the bed with him: I gave it goat's milk to preserve it, but it did not live long, and I was not sorry for it, it being no satisfaction to me to see that fine beast, though little, and as yet unfit to do like the old ones. The great duke's visits were a great comfort to me, and when he could not come himself, he sent some of his chief men, who would stay three or four hours sitting about me upon mats; but they always having their pipes in their mouths, and the smoke offending my head, I was forced to tell them they would oblige me in coming, but that I begged of them for God's sake not to take tobacco in our house, and that the rather because their pipes which are an ell long have great bowls like a little pot, which are never out. They were so obliging as to comply with me, and when they came, left their pipes in the garden.

I found no other remedy for my distemper but to recommend myself to God, through the intercession of the glorious St. Anthony of Padua. In short, after long continuing irresolute, I resolved to cause myself to be carried to Loanda, notwithstanding I was sensible of the fatigue of the journey, and could find no Black that would go along to be my interpreter. I spoke to the great duke, who promised me a great many
Blacks,

Blacks, but he found not enough to carry all my baggage, part whereof was therefore left behind to be stolen. I took another way different from that we came, and did not pass through Dante: all the poor Blacks flocking about me at my departure, came to express their concern for losing me, and I comforted them with the hopes of my return, if it should please God to restore my health.

I went as far as the next Libatte without an interpreter, but could speak enough to be understood. I endured all that can be imagined in such a condition, for my conscience checked me for putting myself into such danger, as if I would have tempted God; but I had such confidence in St. Anthony, whom I had taken for my advocate, that I fancied I saw him before my hammock. During all this journey, which lasted twenty-five days, I could not open my mouth till night, so that the Blacks often came to see whether I was not dead. One day being to pass through a river, they discovered about twenty-five elephants that were gone to drink, which troubled them very much, and made them stay till they were gone another way from us. Having crossed the river with some danger, the two Blacks who carried me going up a hill, did not hold the staff fast, and let me fall plump on the ground, which put me quite beside myself, the staff having hit me on the head and almost broke it: they took me up again, and I bound my head with a handkerchief without speaking one word, fearing if I complained of being hurt, they might leave me there, and fly unto the woods; therefore I thought it better to hold my tongue than talk to people that have no compassion.

Being come to a Libatte, they left me alone in a cottage upon a little straw, and carried away my staff I had brought out of Italy, but I was resolved to be concerned at nothing. I looked whether any body would come in, being very weak for want of sustenance; but nobody appeared all day till sun-setting, when the women returned with their children from their labour in the fields; I desired them to boil me a pullet I had brought with me: they having dressed it very well, I took the broth, and gave them the fowl, which made a great feast among them. All my sustenance during the journey was a porringer of broth a day. They gave me two Nicestias, which are so refreshing and dainty, that I could not forbear eating of them, though cautiously, for fear of causing my distemper to increase upon me.

Next day they carried me to a Libatte, where I found all the people made stuffs of palm-tree leaves, and therefore would not leave their business to carry me. Finding them positive, and not knowing what other way to take, I bethought myself of a bag of those shells they call Zimbi, I had along with me, and began to call them, but they were deaf to me, though sitting in the next cottages on the ground about their fire: that is their usual posture. After night-fall, that the women are returned out of the fields with their children, they light a fire in the middle of their cottage, sit round it on the ground, and eat of what they have brought; then they talk till sleep makes them fall backwards, and so they spend the night without any further ceremony. Finding it was to no purpose to call and spend my breath, I dragged out of the bed where they had laid me, which was about a foot from the ground, and crawling upon all four to the cottage-door, called a Muleche, or young lad, who was playing with his companions, and getting him to help me, opened my portmanteau, whence I drew the bag of Zimbis, and shaking the bag, that they might sound, drew those hard-hearted Blacks to me, and told them I would pay them in Zimbis if they would carry me to the next Libatte: they agreed to it, but being too few to carry all my goods, part of them was left to their discretion. There was no remedy but patience, and at length, by the help of Zimbis, beads, and medals, I came to Bamba, the first place belonging to the Portuguese.

There

There I was met by a Portuguese, who lived in the place, with a priest of Portuguese extraction, but born in Africk; they carried me to their house, and seeing my countenance as yellow as saffron, said to me, "Father, how came you to travel through these desarts in such a condition?" I could not answer them, nor open my eyes. They understanding by my carriers that I had eaten but one porringer of broth a-day, and never spoke all the way, endeavoured to bring me to myself with malmsey and new-laid eggs. Being a little recovered, I found all their people weeping about me. I told them nothing had befallen me but what I had foreseen when I left Italy, and that I had concluded I should not return out of that country, as is the common fate of the missionaries sent thither. I continued there two days, and having thanked them for their civility and charity they had used towards me, went away to Loanda. The Portuguese gentleman would needs bear me company thither. I was kindly received by the chief men of my acquaintance, who wondered to see me alive still with that dead countenance. They sent me some refreshment, which I did not taste for want of appetite: there I continued six months without being able to stir out of my bed, and never quit of the fever: I loathed flesh, and could eat nothing but a little fish. After that, I bled at the nose, and lost three or four pounds a day; as if I had not been blooded during my sickness; the heat I endured going on the hammock contributed much towards it: it was surprising to me that there should be so much blood in a man's body. The physician told me that all the water I drank turned to blood, and I drank five or six bottles a day, for they allow the sick to drink as much as they will. The physician had me blooded twenty-four times by way of revulsion; for I kept account how often I was blooded during my three years sickness, which was ninety-seven times, without reckoning the blood that ran in great quantities at my nose, mouth, and ears, which to me seems prodigious.

During my stay at Loanda, the R. F. John Chrysostome, superior of Loanda, came thither with two or three Capuchins of our mission, who had much ado to know me, and were yet more surprised to hear that most of our fellows were dead in that country. The father-superior resolving to provide the province of Messangrano, one of the chiefest in the kingdom, with missionaries, sent thither F. Peter de Barchi and F. Joseph Mary de Buffette: and within a few days news was brought that one of them was dead, and the other at the point of death, which much troubled the superior, who had taken a great deal of pains to bring them from Italy, which shews how little that climate agrees with our bodies. I desired the father-superior to send me to Colombo, two days journey from Loanda, to try to recover my health. I went thither with F. John Baptiste de Sallizan to a house of our father's near the river Coawza, where there are abundance of crocodiles. We have there a very fine garden, in which are orange and lemon-trees, and other sort of fruit. There is a sort of fruit in Africk like our St. John apple, at the end of which is a chestnut little differing from ours: the apple is not eaten because it is full of fibres, but they suck the juice, which has a muscadine taste. The chestnut is boiled, and tastes like our almonds, is very hot, but the apple cold, and is called Befou.

Near that place live several Portuguese farmers, who keep a number of swine, cows, and sheep, but know not how to make cheese, it being very difficult there to bring the milk to curd. We sometimes took the cool air under a fine row of trees ten paces distant, reaching from the church to the river. These trees bear a certain sort of fruit like great plums, but very harsh; they hold their leaves all the year round. One day as we were walking under those trees, we discovered a great serpent crossing the river to our side: we would have made it go back by shouting, and throwing clods of earth

earth for want of stones, which are not to be found, but in spite of us it came over, and went to take up its post in a little thicket of reeds near the house. There are some of them there twenty-five foot long, and as thick as a good colt, that make but a mouthful of a sheep: when they have swallowed one, they go into the sun to digest it: the Blacks who know the manner of it, watch and kill them, to make a good meal of them, for they are as fat as pork; and having flayed them, they throw away nothing but the head, the tail and the entrails.

F. John Baptist gave me an account of his travels in those parts of Africk, and among the rest, of his being at Cassangi, where a black prince resides who rules a large country, and is called Great Lord: that he came there at a time when that prince's birth-day was celebrated after an odd manner: he makes all the people of his country who can travel come into a great plain; they leave only one place empty, in which there are several trees, on which there are huts built for the great lord and principal men of his kingdom, who go up thither with several musical instruments sounding. One of the most furious lions in the country is fastened to a tree standing at some distance from the rest. The signal being given, the string that holds him is cut, and then, after some roaring, he falls upon the first he meets: they, instead of flying, run together from all parts to kill him, being obliged to do it without any weapon, and thinking themselves happy in dying before their prince. The lion, before he is tired, kills several of them, and revenges his own death sufficiently, being at last borne down by the multitude. After that, the survivors eat the dead, and accompany their king with abundance of joyful acclamations to his palace, making all parts resound, "Long live the Great Lord of Cassangi." Thus they solemnize this festival, which the Father assured me he had been an eye-witness of. A hellish invention, and fit for those barbarous people.

He also told me he would go to the kingdom of Malemba or Mattemba, where of late years Queen Singa, had reigned, who died a Catholic; but that after her death the people forsook the Christian religion, and returned to their ancient superstitions. I agreed with him to go thither, if he could gain admittance into the country, provided he sent for me; but when he was gone, I heard no more from him, and was left alone with two Blacks at Colombo. I baptised but very few there, the country about being possessed by the Portuguese, but sometimes there came boats full of slaves who were baptized; they brought me salt to use in the baptismal water, dug out of the mountains, which when pounded is very white. Whilst I was there, the fishermen took a great fish as round as a coach-wheel; in the middle it had two teats, and upon it several holes through which it sees, hears, and eats, the mouth being a span long: the fish is delicious, and the flesh of it like fine veal. Of the ribs of it they make beads to stop bleeding; but having tried them upon myself, they did no good; this distemper growing upon me, insomuch that they once thought I was dead, which obliged the father-superior to make me return to Loanda. The dread of going to sea again, made me unwilling to go from Colombo, though in other respects the place was scarce to be endured, being tormented day and night with infinite numbers of gnats and flies, which almost darken the air, besides the continual fear of serpents, crocodiles, and lions, who seldom failed a night of devouring some cow, calf, or sheep.

At that time a vessel was loading at Loanda for Brazil. Having obtained leave to return to Italy, I spoke with the captain, who was very willing to receive me, thinking himself happy in having a priest, and especially a Capuchin, with him; for not only the Portuguese but the Blacks themselves cannot sufficiently admire to see us take progress into those barbarous countries, without proposing to ourselves any other in-

terest but the spiritual good of our neighbour, and the propagation of the Catholic faith. I remember the great duke of Bamba one day sent me several Blacks to be my slaves; which I would not accept of, but sent them back to him. I afterwards told him, I came not into his country to make slaves, but rather to deliver those from the slavery of the devil whom he kept in miserable thralldom.

The ship I went aboard of, when it was ready to sail, was loaded with elephants' teeth and slaves, to the number of six hundred and eighty men, women and children. It was a pitiful sight to behold how all those people were bestowed. The men were standing in the hold, fastened one to another with stakes, for fear they should rise and kill the Whites. The women were between the decks, and those that were with child in the great cabin; the children in the steerage pressed together like herrings in a barrel, which caused an intolerable heat and stench. The captain had made me a bed upon the quarter-deck, with mats to keep me from the rain and dew.

This voyage is generally performed in thirty or thirty-five days at farthest; because there is no occasion to go to the Cape of Good Hope for a wind; but they sail in a line: however we were fifty days, being many of them becalmed, during which time we endured great heat under the line. Being we made no way, the captain desired me to baptize some Blacks that came last aboard, it being forbid, under pain of excommunication, to carry any Blacks to Brazil that are not baptized; which I did, instructing them in the principles of Christianity.

The Portuguese, who knew there was danger in that calm we were in, either in regard of the great heat of the sun, or because among so many mouths the provisions grew short, one day took the image of St. Antony, which they set against one of the masts, laying these words on their knees; "St. Antony, our countryman, you shall be pleased to stand there, till you have given us a fair wind to continue our voyage." This done, and some prayers said, some little wind came up, which set us forward, and made us rejoice. We passed very close to the island called the Assumption of our Lady; where we did not touch, thinking we had no need of any thing. Nevertheless the voyage holding longer than we had imagined, a few days after we began to want provisions, the providitor not having rightly considered how great a number of mouths there was to feed.

The captain came to me full of affliction, and said, "Father, we are all dead men, there is no remedy for it." My usual fever being upon me, and a dish of blood before me, I told him that was no surprising news to me, and that having lost so much blood, I did not expect to live long. He made me sensible he spoke of all the ship in general, and that they wanted provisions, being still far out at sea without discovering any land. To comfort him in some measure, I bid him look into the stern-lockers, for I remembered my friends had given me some provisions, which might keep the Whites aboard alive some time; and as for the Blacks, he must have patience if they died, since there was no possibility of relieving them; but that nevertheless since there were still forty butts of water, they should give them as much as was necessary; and the climate being hot, they might live two days at least upon water only: that yet God might relieve us, and we ought to confide in him, and not give way to despair.

I would have spoke some words of comfort to the ship's crew, and silenced them; but the dismal news I thought to acquaint them with being already come to their knowledge, the children began to cry for mercy; the women hearing them, set up the same cry, and the men made up the dismal harmony; which would have daunted the boldest heart. In fine, when they were a little pacified, I began in Portuguese to exhort

exhort them to confide in the mercy of God, who never forsakes those who sincerely rely on him; adding, that God sent us that affliction to punish our sins, and for the blasphemies wherewith they dishonoured his holy name, and perhaps because some of them were come aboard without confessing. Then turning to the Whites, I told them, that the ill example they gave these new Christians, making themselves drunk every day with brandy, had drawn that punishment upon them: that the Blessed Virgin was also offended at them, because they had given her name, to which all respect was due, to a rope's-end, with which they beat the Blacks, which was not the way to persuade them that we believed her to be the mother of God. This discourse made them again cry Mercy, but with a more sincere intention than at first. After the hymns of the Holy Virgin, which I caused them to repeat, they made a vow to cause eighty masses to be said, forty for the souls in purgatory, and forty in honour of St. Antony.

Their minds being a little settled, the captain ordered every Black a porringer of water; but those poor wretches, especially the children, began to cry for hunger. The compassion their cries moved in me, without any means of relieving them, made me retire to my cabin of mats. I continued so a day without eating, for fear of sharpening their hunger if they saw me eat. It was likely that unless God wrought some miracle, we were all lost.

As I lay full of these thoughts, I heard some begin to talk of living upon man's flesh, so far had despair disordered them; for which I reproved them severely, protesting that rather than suffer any one to be killed to maintain another, I would sacrifice my own life if it might any way contribute to prolong theirs. Notwithstanding all this affliction, there were those aboard who did not forbear doing some vile actions.

The master, being drunk, mortally wounded a sailor; but he being the ablest and most experienced seaman in the ship, it was requisite to pardon him, and wink at it. At length God taking compassion on us, we discovered land; three days we continued without eating, and the water was spent before we got to the shore. Who can express the joy which succeeded the former sorrow! To hear all their discourse, one would have thought all the people in the ship had been out of their right senses. I observed the ship lay much more to one side than the other, and obliged the captain to redress it, the burden of men being greater on that side which inclined. He did it by filling four casks with sea-water, and fastening them to the other side.

We discovered Cape St. Augustin, well known to the Portuguese, and on Sunday entered the port of Baya de Todos os Santos, or the bay of All Saints, the capital town of all Brazil, where the viceroy resides. There we found several vessels of all nations. Next morning several boats came to us with merchants and others who had slaves aboard. Understanding we had been fifty days at sea, they concluded that most of the Blacks were dead, and were pleasingly surprised when they were told there wanted but thirty-three of the number, it often happening that half of them die in that passage. They thanked God for that miracle wrought in their behalf, for it would have been a very considerable loss, if all the slaves had been dead.

I went ashore as well as the rest, but my weakness was such, I had no use of my legs. A good woman, into whose shop I went, had compassion on me, and lent me her hammock to carry me in to the Franciscans, who received me very courteously. A Genoese captain of my acquaintance would have carried me to his house, but I excused myself on account of the obliging reception I had met with in the convent; declaring that unless I found I was a burden to them, I would not leave it till my departure out of the country. The governor of the island of St. Thomas, which is

under

under the line, sent his steward to make me a visit, and to desire me to come to his palace to see a Capuchin that kept his bed, and had been sixteen years in Africk, either in the aforefaid island, or the kingdom of Benin and Overola. I could not go immediately, but went afterwards several times to see that Father, being carried in a hammock. He wondered to hear I was so obedient to my physician, who was the same that had him in hand; but the physician told me, that according to his way he could not live long; and so it proved, for he died soon after at Lisbon.

In this convent there is a chapel of the third order of St. Francis. On Maunday-Thurday the Fathers made a procession, in which all the images of saints of the third order were carried. Then followed three hundred Blacks, carrying whole trees for mortification; others had their arms bound to a great beam in the nature of a cross, and others after other manners. I was told their fathers' confessors had enjoined them that penance for robbing their masters, and committing other sins. It is not the custom there to make sepulchres that week, but they expose the blessed sacrament with an infinite number of white wax-lights, whereof there is great plenty there, as well as of honey.

The Genoese captain, who was to sail for Lisbon, had given me my passage aboard his ship. Being ready to sail, the viceroy sent to desire the captain, that since he had a good fighting ship, he would, for the King's sake, convoy the merchants' ships that were ready to sail, for fear they might fall into the hands of the Turks when they came near the coast of Portugal; that kept us till Holy Saturday. Leave to depart being obtained of the viceroy, the captain sent me word to come aboard, which I did, against my will, not liking to begin so long and dangerous a voyage upon a Holy Saturday; but he carrying me out of charity, I must submit to his will. We sailed, firing all the cannon, and all the bells in the town clattering.

The ship was like Noah's ark, for there were aboard it so many several sorts of beasts, that what with the noise and the talk of so many people as were aboard, we could not hear one another speak. The loading was a thousand chests of sugar, three thousand rolls of tobacco, abundance of rich wood for dying and making of cabinets, elephants' teeth; besides the provision of wood, coals, water, wine, brandy, sheep, hogs, and turkeys: besides all this, abundance of monkeys of several sorts, apes, baboons, parrots, and some of those birds of Brazil, which they call Arracas. The ship carried fifty guns, four-and-twenty patareroes, and other necessaries. The people aboard were of several nations, as Italians, Portuguese, English, Dutch, Spaniards, and Indian slaves who followed their masters. The great cabin was hired by a rich Portuguese merchant, whose name was Amaro, and who was returning to Lisbon with all his family, that is, wife and four children; gave a thousand crowns for his passage, and had laid out two thousand upon provisions and necessaries for so long a voyage. That honest man seeing me so sick, freely offered me a place in his cabin, which was large, painted and gilt. I accepted of his offer, his wife giving her consent, who, being a virtuous lady, was glad to have a religious man's company. He would have allowed me his table, but I told him I was engaged to the captain, but that I might breakfast with him sometimes after mass, which I said every day in the great cabin during the voyage, which lasted three months, excepting only three days of stormy weather; and not only he, but all the Portuguese aboard were at it. The chaplain of the ship said upon deck to the seamen and officers of the ship.

As we were under sail, having scarce run two leagues, and being busy placing the trunks and goods aboard us, it pleased God to mortify us, who thought ourselves the safest of the five ships, that we might learn to honour holidays better; for we struck

five times furiously upon a bank, which threw both the men and goods, not yet lashed to, from side to side, and put all into a great consternation, the vessel sticking fast upon the flat. The officers and pilots, in a fright, thought to save themselves from imminent danger of death, which threatened, and leaped hastily into the boat to get to land, which was not far off, for we were still in the harbour, it being four leagues in length. The sailors and passengers, seeing themselves forsaken, began to cry aloud, "We are all dead, we are all dead." And who can be able to describe what a sad spectacle that ship was, which but just before looked like a castle on the sea? This conclusion made me rise from a mat on which I lay struggling with a fever; and being upon deck, perceived we made no way, though the sails were all loose, and a plank floating upon the sea, which made it appear the ship was fast.

Nothing could be heard but cries and complaints. Some cast a barrel into the sea, others a roll of tobacco, others a chest of sugar, to lighten the ship, and every one did something to save his life; only the captain sat still like a statue, without being able to speak or stir, though he had fought six Turks in that same ship. They would have fired a cannon for the others to come to our assistance, but in that hurry they could neither find gunner, powder, nor match. The several sorts of animals hearing such a noise, began to play their part and increase the confusion. In this general consternation both Whites and Blacks came to cast themselves at my feet, crying, "Father, Father, confession, absolution." Having caused them to make an act of contrition, I gave them absolution, wanting time to hear them singly. I met the chaplain of the ship in his shirt, his countenance altered and looking ghastly, though he was one of the bravest men aboard, as he had often made it appear, fighting with the Turks upon several occasions. After hearing his confession according to his desire, I asked him, what he intended to do in that case; "O God," said he, "I had no mind to come on board, but I suffered myself to be deluded." I would have encouraged, and made him conceive, that God had not altogether forsaken us, but we might yet escape that danger. "Suppose it does so fall out," replied he, "I am resolved to swim for it, and get ashore." The others hearing his resolution, renewed their complaints and exclamations. I went into the great cabin, and found the Portuguese lady sitting on a carpet, and leaning upon two cushions, with her four children on their knees, their hands clasped together in a fright, and crying, "Mercy;" the husband sitting on a chair, rather dead than alive. I comforted them both the best I could, and heard their confessions.

In the mean-while there came aboard us a captain, who was a friend to Senhor Amaro, to carry him and his family away to his ship. He seeing the horrid confusion we were in, began to encourage all the people, and sent two of his men to the pump, and into the hold, to see what harm was done. They neither found water, nor any thing broken, and perceived that the plank we had seen on the water, was only some of the sheathing which had given way. Our captain taking heart, ordered to cast the lead, and found but little water for so great a ship. Then he caused the ship's head to be brought about, which made the vessel move; and it was well for us there happened to be but little wind, for had it blown hard we must have been beaten to pieces. They that were ashore seeing us make way, came back with the boat; and we continued our voyage towards Fernambuco, a hundred leagues distant from Baga de Todos os Santos. There we came to an anchor, five miles from the town, the harbour being unfit for great ships.

The governor kept us there five days before he dispatched us. As we were weighing anchor, when it was already above water, it broke off so suddenly, that all the men

men who worked at hoisting it, being forty of them, fell down and hurt themselves, some on the head, some on the sides, and others in other places. They would have recovered it, but there was no doing of it, because it dropt in a place that was very foul and full of small rocks.

It was pleasant to see our ship, where every tradesman worked at his trade, as if he had been in his shop; there were gun-smiths, armourers, butchers, shoemakers, tailors, coopers, and cooks. Others mended the colours, there being an hundred of several sorts, very fine upon great days, and particularly the pendant at the main top-mast-head, eight ells long, and all of carnation taffety. When the weather would permit, the other vessels bore up to us, and gave us a concert of drums and trumpets, saluting us with three huzza's all the sailors gave, taking the signal from the boatswain's whistle. The captain exercised his men in firing volleys. These diversions were one day interrupted by this accident:—Eleven Englishmen came together to complain to the captain that they were not allowed water enough to drink, which put him into such a passion that he went to lay hold of a sword, and had done them some mischief, had not care been taken to appease him. He caused one to be put into the bilboes, with two men to stand sentinel over him, till we came to Lisbon, for fear he should raise some mutiny among his comrades; for that Englishman was wonderfully strong, would manage a cannon as another man would a musquet, and had formerly blown up some ships, setting fire to the powder. He punished him after this manner to teach the rest, not to come in a body like mutineers to make their complaints to him, whereas one alone should come when they wanted any thing. There was another Englishman, whom they called Kill Turk, whom he also put into the bilboes, because he had made himself drunk with two bottles of brandy, and was not sober again in three days. He was so strong, that they said he had cleft a man with his cutlafs, and therefore it was feared he might do some mischief in the ship, being in that condition.

One morning, before sun-rising, being near the coast of Portugal, we heard a cannon fire, and the shot fell not far from us. I turned out to see what was the matter, and observed that Captain Joseph, brother to our captain, had put up the red ancient, which was a signal of battle. Our captain took a perspective glass to discover what it was that had occasioned it, and a moment after told us his brother was mistaken, and that those sails we discovered, to the number of five hundred, were fishing-boats, that sail with any wind. The sun rising, it appeared he was in the right, and we perceived, without the help of a glass, a prodigious number of boats covering all the coast. It is not to be admired that there is so much fishing, for most of the people in Lisbon eat fish at night, even upon flesh days, which causes an infinite consumption, and it is not sold by weight, but by the barrel.

We arrived at Cascais, a little town without the bar, and sailed on to Fort St. Julian, where we fired so many guns that the report reached the city. Being come to the mouth of the river Tagus, we saw abundance of boats coming towards us, as well Italians as Portuguese, that seemed to cover all the harbour; they were merchants and others who had some concern aboard us. I knew several who did not know me. They were surprised to see me alive, after they had received an account that I was dead, and expressed much joy that the news had proved false. Having taken in pilots belonging to the port, as is the custom, we came to an anchor just before His Highness Prince Peter then Regent of Portugal's palace, the King being sent away to the islands Terceras. All that came aboard the ship had put on such fine clothes, that I scarce knew them again. This they do at every port, being but meanly apparelled, as long as they are at sea. After my compliments to all those who had been kind to me during the
voyage,

age, and particularly to our captain, I went ashore to our convent, to expect some ship bound for Spain.

It was not long before an opportunity offered : Captain Dominick, a native of Corfica, who was desirous to have a priest aboard him, came to offer me my passage in his ship, which was to sail in company of two others, the Loretto and the Princess. His ship was called the Paradise, and it was too good an omen to refuse to be chaplain to the Paradise. Several Dominicans, Benedictines, and other religious men, went aboard with me, inasmuch that one said, "We were afraid we should want a chaplain, but here are enough to keep a choir." However those good religious men, who were very much afraid of death, were no sooner under sail, but they kept themselves so close under deck, that not one was to be seen. They admired, that I being indisposed, the sea did me no more harm than if I had been ashore : but I said to them, "Fathers, you need but go to the Indies, and then you will be no more afraid of the sea than I am."

During this voyage I fell into discourse with an Irishman, though he was a heretic, because I found some disposition towards gaining that soul to Jesus Christ, and the more because he was of an inoffensive nature. He observed what I did, especially when I said mass, and was pleased to hear the truth ; so that in a few days, with God's assistance, without which the endeavours of the ablest men are useless, I brought him to waver in his opinion. He told me, he would have abjured in public immediately, but that he would first go visit a brother of his at Cadiz to receive absolution. In fine, I was informed by him in that very town, that he was become a Catholic, which nevertheless I would not publish, though I saw him more pleasant than he used to be, fearing he might do like many others, who sometimes appear very zealous, and yet afterwards forsake the good way they were in.

Though our ship was the biggest of the three our convoy consisted of, yet our captain had consented that the captain of the Loretto, as being the elder, should be commodore. One day we discovered a ship, and it being our captain's duty to know what she was, he made all the sail he could. We fetched her up in a quarter of an hour, and fired a gun without a ball to make her strike, as the strongest usually do. They, instead of answering our expectation, crowded up all the sail they could, as if they would fly, their vessel being much less than ours ; that made our captain suspect they might be Turks, since they had put out no ancient. He fired at them with ball, and put up the red ancient, which made them answer with one gun but without bullet. Being very near, the captain made a trumpeter, who spoke several languages, hail them. He spoke to them in French, because they had put up white colours, but we suspecting it was a cheat, bid them send somebody on board. They launched their pinnace, and the master came aboard, by whom we were informed, that the imagined Turk was a vessel laden with salt-fish from Nantes, and bound for the islands Madeiras. They drank the healths of the Most Christian King, and the republic of Genoa, and every one made the best of his way.

At last we came to an anchor in that great and noble port of Cadiz, one of the most famous in Europe, full of an infinite number of ships, galleys, barks, caravels, tartans, and other vessels, which I was assured at that time amounted to an hundred sail. Just at the entrance of the harbour we saw twenty-five ships of an extraordinary bulk. There is a continual resort of ships from all parts of the world, even from the Indies ; and it is usual there to see thirty or forty sail come in or go out in a day, as if they were but little boats. I went ashore with an Italian gentleman, and some Spanish merchants, and we were all of us presently stopped by the custom-house officers : I gave an account of myself, and so did the gentleman ; but he added he was a soldier in the King's service, and

and they let him pass : the Spaniards said so too, and we caused our goods to be loaded to go to our several homes. No sooner were we in the town, but the chief officer of the custom-house, with his followers, stopped the porters, and bid them carry the goods to the custom-house. The Spaniards said they were all cleared, and there was no need of further search. The customer gave a furly answer ; one word drew on another, so they came to ill language, and from ill language to blows. An hundred swords were drawn in a moment, but they were thronged so close together, that they fought with the points of their swords up, striking one another with the pummels, and making such a noise, that one would have thought they were going to cut one another in pieces. The dust flew so thick, there was no seeing one another, and the field of battle being near the harbour, the people ran thither in crowds, fearing there were many killed and wounded. There was much crowding to part the combatants, hearing their cries, and the clattering of their swords ; but what abundance of rational sober people could not do, was done in a moment by four drunken Englishmen, who, to make way to go to their ships, began to throw stones so furiously, that every man thought themselves happy enough that his legs were sound enough to run away. Those who were fighting, not thinking it safe to stand that shower of stones, made their escape in an instant, some one way, and some another.

I repaired to our monastery, where my fever, which had granted me no respite, increased, and kept me in bed a month, being forced in that time to be six times blooded again, and that while our ships were gone. Before I could continue my journey into Italy, I took the opportunity of going to the shrine of St. James the apostle in Galicia, and, to that purpose, associated myself with a Milanese religious man of the third order of St. Francis, with whom I embarked for Porto. A stormy sort of gale carried us thither in a few hours, from whence we went by sea to Birona, and from Birona with much difficulty afoot to Compostella, where we visited the famous church of St. James the apostle. The canons of this church are all clad in scarlet, and called cardinals. They told us, that none must say mass at the saint's altar but prelates and grandees of Spain, for which reason the sacristan would not permit us to say at that altar. The saint's shrine is placed on the altar, with his image upon it, so that the pilgrims who go thither for their devotion, ascend four or five steps, and put their hat on the head of that effigies, which is clad like a pilgrim. There are abundance of silver lamps about it, but they are all black, as if they were of wood. Having said a Pater and Ave, we went away ; and the Father told me, that if he thought it was as he found it, he would never have come into the country. I lodged at a goldsmith's, who treated us at table with Florence wine, Bologna sausages, and Parmesan cheese ; which made me admire that Italian wines and provisions should be found in so distant a country, and we may well say, it is the garden of the world.

We had received information that, at Cape Finisterre, there was a ship ready to sail for Cadiz, which made us hasten our departure. Just as the captain was going into his boat to embark, we got thither ; and, though I knew he was a heretic, I begged of him to give me my passage to Cadiz aboard his ship for God's sake. He, without answering, made me a sign to go into the boat, which, when I had done, seeing he had not answered me, and perhaps because he did not understand Spanish, I spoke to him in Portuguese, then he answered I was welcome, and that he would not only carry me to Cadiz, but to Seville, if I would. I thanked him for his charitable offer : but my companion, who would have been glad to be in such a habit as mine, was forced to pay for his passage. It was a great English man of war of seventy guns, and three hundred men, laden with anchors, and other naval stores. It was bound by order of

His

His Britannic Majesty to all the ports of Spain, to find out twenty-four frigates belonging to that crown, sent against the Turks, and was to furnish them with what they wanted.

When we were out at sea, I saw the captain with a prospective glass endeavoured to discover some sails that appeared at a great distance; after which, he went into his cabin, and talked to his officers in English, who went to give out orders, and presently after the drums began to beat, and the soldiers to take their posts. My companion and I guessed they were making ready to fight, though we saw no ships, but they had seen them. We directed our course towards them, sailing with a side-wind, and adding two small sails on the sides of the main-sheet; so that having fourteen sails aboard, we flew like the wind itself, and cut the water in a most violent manner.

Within an hour we came up with the two ships the captain had descried, and they having put out no colours, he gave them a gun to bring them in; but they seeing they were two to one, and, doubtless, never imagining our ship was so well manned, answered with a bullet, and, at the same time, we heard from one of those ships a confused noise of voices as it were of people that complained. Our captain said he did not question but one was a Turkish vessel that had taken the other which was a Christian, and it proved so. At the same time he furled his sails, and gave them a broad-side of twenty guns, which made such a thundering as would daunt the bravest heart. It was happy for us we had the wind, which carried all our smoke upon the Turks. Yet they fired like madmen from both ships, for the prize was manned with Turkish sailors and soldiers, and the poor Christians were forced against their will to help at the guns, the chief of them being put into irons. The cannonading continued an hour and a half, and, not knowing what the event might be, the Father of the third order and I confessed to one another. He was vexed at heart to be in that business, but I armed myself with patience against whatever might happen, whilst no ball reached me.

Our captain perceiving the fight was like to hold, caused one of the enemies to be boarded, grappling with them to come to handy strokes. Then it was we began to hear the groans and cries of the poor wounded men lying about the deck one upon another, and serving to shelter those that fought. The attack was furious, and the resistance vigorous; but the enemy being inferior in number, began to give way and yield. Our men without losing time leaped aboard, put the Turks in irons and set the Christians at liberty, who took up arms to be revenged of the infidels, and to secure the liberty they had newly obtained. The other vessel being left alone fled for it, but our brave captain soon had all things in order, and put men aboard the prize, which being less than his ship, could better pursue the other that fled, which being loaded with goods taken from Christians was soon fetched up by the other we had taken, that had nothing aboard but provisions and ammunition. They fired some guns, but perceiving our great ship came up and was within cannon-shot, yielded. The lieutenant, who had the command of the first given him, went to take possession of the other, putting the Turks in irons, and releasing the Christians, who were in number fourscore in all, sailors, merchants, and passengers, besides twelve that were killed: of the Turks there were a hundred and thirty, the rest being either killed or dangerously wounded.

The three ships drew close together, and our captain ordered all the Christians to be brought before him, who all knelt down to thank him for their deliverance out of the hands of those barbarians: he asked who was their captain; and a lusty man half stripped told him in Spanish it was he; and afterwards in Portuguese, which our captain understood better, gave an account how they had been taken: that sailing from Malaga

laden with wine, and being out of the straits near Cape St. Vincent, that Turkish ship, which carried no goods, but was well manned with about two hundred and twenty-five soldiers and sailors, had attacked him, and being much the stronger made themselves masters of his vessel after some resistance. The captain bid them go dress themselves, and take possession of his ship again, making the English come out. They returned him abundance of thanks, and begged of him to convoy them to Cadiz, since he was bound thither as well as they, which our captain granted them. The English divided themselves, some aboard our ship, and some aboard the Turk, put all things in order, and held on their course rejoicing that they had killed two birds with one stone, having taken the Turk, and delivered the Spaniards, among whom there were some Neapolitans, Milanefes, and Flemings.

As we proceeded on our voyage, making all the sail we could, the sky began to grow dark on a sudden; and fearing some storm was gathering, we lowered our sails, which indeed was done just in time, for but a moment after the wind blew so outrageously that there was no keeping the ship to her course, but she was left to the mercy of the wind. Then were there heard throughout the vessel such hollowing and calling as increased the terror of approaching death; yet the captain bid us fear nothing, for that the ship being new would certainly bring us off: however we did not cease to offer up our fervent prayers. The Father seeing we were every moment in danger of perishing, told me we had done ill in going aboard those heretics, who are always under excommunication; but I answered, "Those who travel about the world must make a virtue of necessity." In the meanwhile the man at the topmast-head cried, Land, Land. The captain ran up, and perceived we were on the coast of Barbary, the storm having carried us a great way up the Mediterranean; for which reason, before any Turks might discover us, he gave orders to steer towards Oran, a strong place belonging to the King of Spain. We got thither in less than an hour, the wind blowing so hard, and gave God thanks for delivering us from the Turks, the wind, if we had not minded it, carrying us directly to Algier.

Our captain went ashore next morning with some of his officers and the Spanish captain; they went to the governor, and gave him an account of our fight, and he in the name of His Catholic Majesty thanked the English. This fortress seems to be of great consequence, and in a manner impregnable: it is well provided with cannon, and very serviceable to Christians when they are drove by storms upon the coast of Barbary, there being no other place where Christians can put in. Next morning the wind being fair, we weighed anchor, and soon arrived at Cadiz. I had thoughts of going ashore to our monastery, but the captain told me, that he having some business at Seville had hired a bark to go thither, and that if I pleased he would carry me in it for God's sake, which made me not neglect so good an opportunity. I staid about a day till he had dispatched some business he had at Cadiz, and then we set out, carrying thirty men with us to row in case the wind failed us. We touched at St. Lucar, staid there some hours, and having kept going all night, arrived at Seville. I thanked him for so many favours I had received of him, declaring I was so much the more sensible of their greatness, because I could not have received more from a Catholic. He made me such an answer, as implied that Capuchins were in good esteem among them.

I went to our monastery, which is great considering our poverty, and has a considerable number of religious men. There I continued eight days, as well to rest myself, as to see the town, which would not be unlike Milan were the streets handsome and wide: the dome is nothing inferior to that at Milan, only that it is not of marble,

but of a stone somewhat like it, yet softer and easier to work. It is the custom throughout all Spain to make their choir and high altar in the middle of the church, particularly in cathedrals, which is very inconvenient where there is a great resort of people, though otherwise they are great and stately structures. The steeple is so large and well-built, that a man may go up to it on horseback, or in a litter: going up to it, I was surprised to see so many bells, for there are no less than three and thirty. Whilst we were there they came to ring them, and all being to ring but two or three that belonged to the clock, we made haste down for fear of being stunned with the terrible noise of their clattering: as soon as we were in the street, they began to ring with such a noise, that it sounded as if all the bells in the town had been rung.

I went to see the King's garden, which is fine enough, and has abundance of water-works, orange and lemon trees, yet there is nothing in it but what we have in Italy in greater plenty. I visited the convent of the Recolets, which is very large, but of an ancient structure; there are in it above one hundred and fifty religious men, besides those in the infirmary. The bell they ring to call to the refectory is twice as big as that which serves our church. The canons of this city are very rich, and always go in coaches drawn by four mules: they then expected Monseigneur Spinola an Italian, who had the archbishopric of that city conferred on him.

I set out from thence a-foot for Cordova, passing through Carmona, and other small places, of which I will give no account for fear of tiring the reader; yet I cannot forget the wretched road, where there is neither house nor tree, nor so much as water to cool one's mouth, to be found. This made me provide a bottle of wine, which I had through the assistance of a gentleman I met on the road, who bought it for me, there being no hopes of having it given me for God's sake by the inn-keeper. And were it not for people of quality that relieve us, it would be impossible for Capuchins to live upon charity according to their ways, the people being wholly strangers to giving of alms. Being in a town where we have no convent, I begged some bread for God's sake of a baker, which was so surprising to him, that he stood in amaze like a man besides himself: I left him and his bread, for fear, if I should beg any longer of him, he would be quite beside himself. I continued my journey, begging of God that he would soon let me get out of a country where there was so little charity.

Being come to Cordova, I went to our monastery, where I was forced to be satisfied with the Spanish dish they call Olla Podrida, signifying a rotten pot; which name is not improper, for it is an extravagant medley of several things, as onions, garlic, pumpkin, cucumber, white-beets, a bit of pork and two of mutton, which being boiled with the rest are almost lost. The fathers asked me whether I liked it: I told them it was very fit to kill me, being as I was almost sick, and so weak that I had need of some better restorative than that Podrida, to which I was not used. They put so much saffron in it, that had I not been yellow enough already with my distemper, that alone might have been enough to dye my skin of that colour. It is a great dainty for Spaniards, but a scurvy mess for those that are not used to it.

The cathedral on the outside looked to me bigger than all the town, and I was not deceived, for being in it, I was amazed to behold a church so large, that from one side of it a man can scarce see the wall on the other; and were it proportionable in height, it would be one of the wonders of the world: there are on the inside ten rows of pillars, and fifteen pillars in each row: the middle isle is very spacious after the modern manner, and gilt about the high altar and choir. A canon told me there were in it three hundred and sixty-six altars; on the chief of them is a very large tabernacle all of precious stones, which has a revenue of three thousand livres appropriated

priated to it. In a large chapel there is a great silver *ciborium* that weighs ninety-six ounces. I observed upon a pillar standing by itself, a man painted kneeling : they told me it was the picture of a Christian who had been many years a slave in that town when it was in the possession of the Moors, and had with his nails carved a cross upon that pillar : it was shewed me, and a man would have thought it had been done with a penknife. I believe he was very long about it, for the pillar is very fine marble. This city is situated in a great vale, a river running by the walls ; formerly it ran through the midst of the city, which was then very large, but at present indifferent, and has in it nothing else remarkable that I know of.

I set out for Alcala la Real, and met with some Spaniards, who told me that Andalusia was the garden of Spain : whereupon I said to myself, God keep me from the rest of Spain if this be the garden, I had better return to sea. That town stands upon a hill, and I saw nothing remarkable in it. Granada, whither I went next, is a beautiful and very large city, but yet inferior to Seville. Our fathers have two monasteries there, one for a novitiate, the other to study ; the cathedral is not yet finished. The palace of the Moorish kings, called the Alhambra, stands upon a hill ; which, though very high, has plenty of water. There are such abundance of rooms in this palace, that a man may lose himself, as if he were in a labyrinth. There are two baths, where the Moors used to wash themselves, one of hot water, the other of cold : the ceilings of the rooms are very curious, being made of a coloured plaister that still looks new. There is another hill on which the infidels did put holy martyrs to death, and where abundance of relicks are kept.

From Granada I went to Lerenna, the wine of which place is looked upon to be the best in Spain, but the people speak such ill Spanish, that they are hardly to be understood : they call them Biscalins. I held on my journey to Antequera, a town as big as a city. I rested there eight days, in one of our monasteries ; and the guardian, who did me a thousand good turns, would have kept me there as long again. Thence I went to Malaga, which is an indifferent good sea-port town, very populous, and full of trade. The archbishop is a Dominican, brother to Don John of Austria : I was told his revenue was worth eighty thousand ducats a year.

I lay there waiting some opportunity of shipping, and finding myself still very ill, my bleeding at the nose, ears, and mouth, not being over, I put myself into the hands of an English physician, who had so much success as to mend my condition, for I bled only at the nose : for eight days I was pretty well, and then relapsed as bad as ever. After waiting some weeks, a very good opportunity offered : six Spanish galleys, returning from the straits of Gibraltar, came to an anchor in the port, to take in provisions, and go winter at Carthage : I applied myself to the Marquis of Bayona, who commanded them ; he was then called Marquis de Santa Cruz, having resigned the title of Bayona to his son, who is now general of the galleys of Sicily. That noble lord understanding I was an Italian, did not only grant me my passage, but would have me aboard his galley ; and though I could speak Spanish, would have me converse with him in my mother-tongue, because he spoke Italian to perfection, having been formerly general of the galleys of Naples and Sicily. The priest belonging to those galleys having been left sick at Carthage, during our passage I had the post of chaplain, and confessor to his excellency.

Our voyage lasted fifteen days, and in that short time I found what it was to be at sea in galleys : I envied their happiness who were aboard great ships, which are more commodious and expeditious than galleys. The bad weather made us put back three times ; a calm ensuing, we made way with our oars ; discovering a sail by the moon-

light, the oars were hard plied to fetch it up : when we were near, she set up English colours, yet we hemmed her in, and gave her a gun. She answered, and the captain launching his boat, came aboard His Excellency. That vessel appeared like a mountain to us that were aboard the galleys, the stern was all gilt ; they were cruizing upon the Turks, whom they mortally hate : and did all princes follow their example, I believe those wicked pirates would scarce shew their heads at sea.

We held on our course to Almeria, where we continued two days, laying in water and other fresh provisions : the town is neither large nor populous, but seems to have been considerable in the time of the Moors, being encompassed by mountains, and defended by a good fort : it is adorned with abundance of fountains of very pure and wholesome water. As I was there, quenching my thirst, proceeding from the fever and effusion of blood, I heard the warning-piece for sailing, and returned aboard the galleys. We set out about night-fall, being saluted by the fort, and in our way took three Turkish brigantines ; the men were distributed among the gallies, and the vessels manned with Christians and Turkish slaves. At last we arrived at Carthagena, where is an excellent port formed by nature, shut in with mountains and very safe, especially for galleys. The town seems to have been formerly considerable, but is at present the most wretched place in Spain ; for after the inhabitants had stoned their bishop, they were seven years without rain, but it seems God took compassion on them after that, for now it rains twice or thrice a year : however the country is barren, and they carry biscuit thither out of Italy, to maintain the people belonging to the galleys that winter there. Thence I went to Caravaca, where I saw the holy cross brought by an angel from heaven, and set on an altar where a priest was saying mass without a cross. I went on to Valencia, a very fine city, delightful for its gardens, the pleasantest of which is the archbishop's. Thence to Murcia, and Alicant, a little town, but of good trade, the houses high and well built : having staid there five days, I continued my journey through Tortosa and Tarragona, where there is a beautiful dome, and then came to Montserrat : this place inspires respect, and draws tears from the eyes of those who go thither with a spirit of devotion. There are as many chapels as mysteries of the holy rosary. One would think all the way to it was hewed out, it being all through a rock. There is a very great number of silver and gold lamps, and some of amber, the ornaments of the altars being answerable to that grandeur. There are continually pilgrims on the road going thither, or returning from thence.

From our Lord of Montserrat, I went to Barcelona, the capital city of Catalonia, and a bishopric : I resided there six weeks, because of a pain I felt, which made me unfit even to ride a horseback. Three monasteries we have there, are out of the town : that of St. Matrona is upon the side of a hill under the fort, and in the church is the body of that saint. The second is that of St. Eubalia, where that saint's house stood, among the mountains, two miles from the city, and that is the novitiate. The third is that of Mount Calvary, not that it is seated on a mountain, but it is so called because of three crosses there are in it : to this it was I betook myself, because it is the greatest, and has an infirmary. Those Catalonian fathers received me with extraordinary civility, especially when they understood I came from so far a country. The city is large and beautiful, abounding in all things necessary for human life, and would be the most considerable place in those parts, had it a safe harbour for great ships. I took notice of the music they use upon rejoicings, for instead of violins at weddings, they have fifes and trumpets, which make the church shake.

During

During my stay at Barcelona, there came thither one of our lay-brothers, whose name was Peter de Sessari, from Argier, where he had been ransomed among other slaves by the Catholic King: he had been taken six months before, with F. Luis of Palermo, in their way from Cagliari to Saffari. Those two Capuchins being carried to Argier, F. Luis found no difficulty to get his living by preaching, masses, and hearing confessions, and could besides pay his master to whose share he fell, so much a month as they agreed upon; for which reason he was not put to the oar, but was allowed to go about the town freely: so when they were about ransoming of him, his master set him at three thousand ducats, whereas the brother was sold for three hundred, being only fit for the oar; and it being easier to raise that sum, he was first ransomed. I proposed to him to go into Italy, and his head was so possessed with his late misfortune, that he gave me to understand that his only design was to return home as soon as he could. We resolved, therefore, to lay hold of the opportunity of a bark bound for Sardinia, the captain whereof, D. Carlos de Pifa, a very devout Catalonian, received us very courteously: we were two hundred and fifty souls aboard that bark, which set sail with a fair gale. The wind being very brisk, we had made much way, and were entering the gulph of Lions, when the weather becoming boisterous, it grew to one of the most terrible storms imaginable, the waves tossing our bark like a nut-shell, and mountains of water covering of it every foot. The disorder, confusion, and especially the cries of the women, terrified those that were most inured to such tempests. The worst of it was, that the seamen could not hear one another, with the noise of the sea and of the passengers, which obliged the captain to draw his sword, to drive all those under deck who could not help, but only served to hinder the sailors: all upon the deck and in the cabin were wet; the vessel seemed to be ready to overset with the beating of the sea, which drove all the people to that side which inclined, when a wave struck against it with such violence that it broke the lashings of one of the guns. The cannon being loose ran down to the lower side with such fury, and gave such a shock, that it was a wonder the bark was not staved: the noise it made increased the terror, which the darkness of the night spread. The sailors wet and spent, resolved to let the bark run before the wind, provided she did not run aground. I thought with myself, how comes it about that I who have twice crossed the ocean, should come now to be drowned in a puddle of water; for to say the truth, I never thought myself so near being cast away as at that time, seeing one of the masts spent, the sails half-rent, the bark battered, and the seamen all cast down. This storm lasted all night, so that we knew not whither we were going. About day-break the sea seemed to grow somewhat stiller, and the sky clearing by the rising of the sun, we discovered mountains, which were not above a league from us, and found we were on the coast of Spain near Cape Gata. So that perceiving I was drove back, and had in six hours space lost near as much ground as I made in six months, I resolved to go no more to sea. However we soon took heart, for whilst we were making to shore, there started up such a fresh gale from the north, that the pilot thought it would not be amiss in some measure to regain the time and ground we had lost. We bent our course for Catalonia, and in a few hours arrived at Mattalona, our pilot's native country.

Being come to an anchor, I landed with my companion whom I had not seen during the storm, and we went to rest us at our convent, which stands on a hill without the town. I designed to have staid there some time, but understanding the pilot would sail up to Ablana, which is a better harbour, I suffered myself to be tempted to make use of that conveniency, being willing to put to sea again, as soon as I was ashore, because of the distemper I still laboured under. In a few hours we got to Ablana, and went to

our monastery seated on a rock in a peninsula joined to the town by a small neck of land; so that the sea serves for an inclosure to the monastery and garden, which I thought the finest situation of any convent of our order, the air being very temperate. I acquainted my companion that I intended to stay there some time, in order to return home through France, a more worthy object for my curiosity than Sardinia. The crew of our vessel, and particularly the officers, who were all Italians, hearing of it, came to confession to me, expressing how much they were concerned that I should leave them. They sailing again for Sardinia, I rested eight days in that delicious place, and then set out with two companions for Girona; so that I saw almost all Catalonia, which is a very fruitful country, and the people extraordinarily well tempered. From Girona I went to Figueras on the borders of Spain; whence crossing some mountains, I entered upon the earldom of Roussillon, and the first town of it called Cerat.

From Cerat I went to Touy in the vale of Perpignan, and I remember I there passed over a river upon a bridge that has but one arch, the feet whereof rest upon two hills, so that the middle of it is a prodigious height, and frightful to look down. They say there is not so high an arch in all France, and for my part I must own I have not seen any like it in all those parts of the world where I have been. I saw all the country about full of soldiers; and asking what might be the reason, was told, that country had once belonged to the crown of Spain; but being since under the dominion of France, and the price of salt being raised, the people had revolted; for which reason troops had been sent thither from Languedoc to quell them.

Perpignan, which I saw next, is a fort royal seated on a high rock, encompassed by three lofty walls with good ditches, and well stored with cannon. To appearance it looks impregnable, yet the Most Christian King took it after a siege of eight months: which was the easier for him to do, because there is a very populous town adjoining to the fort; for had it been a fort alone without a town, eight months had not been enough to starve the place, where they might have laid up three years provision. Our monastery there is without the town.

Having passed the mountains, I came to Narbonne, through the midst of which there runs a river that falls into the sea a league off. The city is not large, but very populous, as are all the cities and towns in France. The churches are not beautiful, but there is such a resort of people to them, especially upon holidays, that there is scarce room for the priest to turn himself at the altar. The priests of the church of St. Justus are habited like monks. The two steeples have a notable echo, which is pleasant to hear.

Next I saw the towns of Languedoc and Provence that lay in my road, whereof I shall say but little. Beziers stands on a hill in a delightful country, and well watered; I went to the cathedral to see the archbishop Monseigneur de Bonzy, a Florentine, but he was then absent. He has been since made archbishop of Toulouse, and His Most Christian Majesty's ambassador at Madrid. Yet the King allows him the revenue of his bishoprick, till it is bestowed on another. In this church I took notice of a very large organ over the great gate, where there are only those pipes that appear outward in sight, the others being distributed by three and three among the pillars, which makes the church shake when they play, though it is extraordinarily great, which is a notable piece of curiosity.

Toulouse is a city worth seeing, for the great number of relics kept there, as also for its greatness, and the number of its inhabitants; which made me take care not to go by the churches when mass or vespers were ending, the throng being so great that it would have forced me back.

Agde, an ancient town, where was held the council called Agatense. In our monastery, which is on the strand, there is a miraculous image of our Lady; for the sea having three times swelled up to the town, has never encroached since the image was placed there, but rather gone back, for which reason it is called *Nostre Dame de Gué*.

Arles, an archbishopric, and populous enough.

Martegues, a place curious to behold, for it is divided into four hamlets built upon the sea, with bridges from one to the other. We have two monasteries, one at each end of the town; in one of which there are fourteen religious men, and twelve in the other; and there being none of any other order, they hear confessions there, as they do in France, Spain, Germany, and some parts of Italy. The only support of this town almost is fishing, there being eight hundred tartans for this purpose, besides a vast number of little boats that cover a great part of the sea.

Thence I went to Aix the capital city of Provence, and to Marseilles, a considerable town, and of great trade, yet not so large as I had fancied it. The harbour is very handsome and safe, more especially for barks and galleys, because great ships cannot go in loaden. There I saw twenty five galleys laid up close by one another, and in the midst of them the royal galley, which all vessels that come into that port salute with a gun. Her stern is finely carved, and gilt. True it is, she is not so big as the royal galley of Spain I saw at Carthage, which carried the empress: this town has three forts, of which the new one at the mouth of the harbour has three walls, and four on one side. His Most Christian Majesty has caused the wall that inclosed the side next to the hill to be thrown down to enlarge its compass, which has brought our monastery into the town, and will make it much more considerable, being filled with a vast multitude of people of all nations: several bodies of saints, and abundance of relics are to be seen there, particularly St. Andrew's cross. I went to see the churches of St. Maximin and St. Beaume; they are places that inspire devotion, and draw tears from the hardest hearts.

I took ship for Ciotat and Toulon. This is an indifferent town, but the port very considerable, and capable of receiving any number of the biggest vessels: I saw the Royal Luis, which must be finished by this time, and carries a hundred and twenty guns; it has three galleries, and the stern all gilt, as are the sides, head and cabins. The gilder that was about it told me they had already laid out three thousand crowns in leaf gold. I took the opportunity of a vessel bound for Savona: the first day we sailed right afore the wind, and at night put into St. Trompes; but the next day the bad weather forced us into a place where there were but two houses, at a great distance from the city Grasse, which stands on a hill encompassed by other hills, so that we could scarce see it at sea, and therefore we must either go thither, or starve. Finding myself somewhat hot of that which the physicians at Marseilles called a heftick fever, making me unfit to travel, I lay down to sleep under a tree, but hunger would not suffer me to close my eyes. Being thus weary of myself, and not able to go to Grasse as the others did, I knew not what course to take, when God, who has always relieved me in distress, as I have often found by experience in my travels, ordained that I should meet a person that to me seemed of some note, and said to me, "Father, what do you here all alone?" "My distemper," said I, "which you may discern by my looks, has made me stay here; but at present hunger torments me more than my fever." He answered, "I am come in that covered felucca you see near that rock, and it is mine; I have caught some pilchers, if you please we will sup together." The offer was very pleasing to me, as any man may imagine, and so I followed him very readily. We went into the felucca, where two seamen had made all ready. "How shall we do," said he,
' for,

“for we have no bread but biscuit?” “Any thing is good, in the time of need,” said I, “and I have been often without bread or biscuit.” That good man talked to me in Portuguese, which I admired, being so far from that country, and therefore I asked him whether he was a Portuguese. He told me he was not, but that he had been there some time.

We began to eat and drink, without regarding that the sun shined violently hot in our faces, hunger making me lay about me, and giving an excellent relish to any sort of meat. Having eaten, and given thanks to Almighty God, we walked along the shore discoursing together; I stepped forwards alone to see a dolphin that made a noise in the water, as if it had been fighting with another fish, and was busy throwing some stones at him. When I had done, I looked about and found that good man did not follow me, which made me turn back for fear he should be gone before I could return him thanks; but I sought him in vain, nor could I discover the felucca. I went back to the place where it lay, and saw nothing, which put me almost beside myself. And indeed when I reflect upon it, I cannot tell what to think. One thing I know, which is, that having carefully examined those that were left aboard our brigantine, whether they had seen that felucca that came to the shore with three men in it; they answered, they had seen no creature, though they had been all the while ashore fishing in that little creek. I held my peace, and in my heart thanked God, the source of all that is good, for that he had been pleased, without any desert of mine, to relieve me in that distress, into which I had fallen for his sake. Whether it was by the hands of a man, or of an angel, I could not tell, but I felt an unspeakable comfort; and such it was, that had my health permitted, I should have certainly returned to Congo, since I could still make use of my missionary's patent which was not yet expired.

Next day we went aboard, and failing before the wind, arrived near to Nice; but the port not being safe, went on to Villa Franca, where I went to our monastery, which looks like a paradise amidst so many high mountains, and so many uncouth rocks. Three days after, I set out aboard a Genoese galley, which carried me safe to Monaco; this is a place of considerable strength, very pleasant and delightful. Thence I took the opportunity of a brigantine bound for Savona; but we had like to have perished in a storm, and were forced back. I would not trust the sea again, after finding it so merciless and uncertain, for fear lest, after so many dangers as I had gone through, I should at last be shipwrecked in the very harbour. I thought the land would be more favourable to me, and making short journeys, took my way through Menton, St. Remy, which is as it were the paradise of Italy, Savona, Sestri di Ponente, and Genoa. In the monastery called the Conception, which is without that city, I expected my superior's orders, having sent them an account of my return. A violent fever which held me forty days, had like to have done the work a hectic fever could not perform in three years. It was a comfort for me to be among my acquaintance, who did me abundance of favours.

During that time brother Michael de Orvietto came to Genoa from Congo, being sent to Rome by the superior, to represent to the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, to what a low condition that mission was reduced, most of the missionaries dying in a short time, and only three remaining in the whole kingdom. He brought us news of the death of D. Alvaro King of Congo, and the election of another as devout as he. Besides, he told us that the Blacks had eaten F. Philip de Galesia, a missionary of the province of Rome, which happened in this manner; the great men having obtained leave of the King to burn such forcerers as they could find, went to a place where they knew they were got together, and set fire to their cottages. As soon as the flame began

to rise, they fled, and meeting with F. Philip in their way, fell upon, killed and eat him; which the Blacks who pursued them saw by the light of the flames, and carried the news to St. Salvador. This happened in the province of Sonde, where a duke who is the King's subject resides.

Contrary to all expectation I recovered, and passing through Piacenza, came to Bononia, where, God be praised, I am at this time with some reliefs of my distemper, left me by the great fatigues of my travels, thinking my time well enough spent, if but one of two thousand seven hundred children and youths I baptized, obtains salvation through my ministry. F. Michael Angelo, before he departed this life, told me he had baptized three hundred and sixteen; and it is no wonder we should baptize so many in so short a time, the people being innumerable. A Black told me that a Macolonte had got fifty-two children upon several women. God of his mercy preserve those that for the future shall be appointed for this mission, for fear if they fail, all those people should turn Pagans. Be it all to the glory of God, whose judgments are incomprehensible, and the means he uses for our salvation various and wonderful in all respects. I desire the readers to pray for those poor converted Ethiopians, that they may persevere in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that we may all together attain to our desired port of the kingdom of heaven. Amen.

A
VOYAGE TO CONGO,

AND

SEVERAL OTHER COUNTRIES, CHIEFLY IN SOUTHERN AFRICK.

By Father JEROM MEROLLA DA SORRENTO, a Capuchin and Apostolic Missioner in the Year 1682.

Made English from the Italian.*

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE author of our salvation Christ Jesus, the only begotten Son of God, descending from the bosom of his Father to visit our tottering mansions here on earth, never had greater desires than to teach us by his word and works the secure and infallible way to heaven, and thereby to deliver us from the horrid and deplorable slavery designed us by the devil and his ministers; and wherein we were all miserably involved by the sin of our first parents. Hence it is, that after his most glorious ascension, he commanded his disciples to go preaching his most holy word through all the habitable parts of the earth: and that in defence thereof, if necessity so require, they should be ready to shed their dearest blood, which all the apostles and martyrs have accordingly done in obedience to his most holy commands, and for the good and propagation of the only true Catholic church. Now, because the preaching of this word of God to a people that were wholly ignorant thereof before, was one of the greatest of spiritual undertakings, Father Francis da Montelione, a Capuchin Friar, and native of the province of Sardinia, determined to go to Congo and other neighbouring kingdoms, to expose his life for that purpose; and the rather by reason that those people, especially the Giaghi, were so far from paying any adoration to the true God, that they sacrificed directly to the devil; and what is yet worse, their oblations were not sheep and oxen, but men and women. Being thus earnestly resolved, this Friar, inflamed solely by fervent charity, requested of the sacred college *de propaganda fide*, permission for himself and his companions to effect what he had thus proposed; and to the end he might not be thought to have any regard to self-interest, he proffered to go *gratis*, thereby depriving himself of what had always been accustomed to be given by that college to missioners, and trusting entirely to Divine Providence for support. Having obtained leave for himself, he further begged of the said college that I might go as his companion, which being likewise granted, I accepted the honour and great favour done me, though I was but little capable of so difficult an undertaking, either in respect of my health or ability. What follows is the product of some few years' observations in those parts, which, though short and imperfect, yet I assure my readers is wholly true, and that especially which I have affirmed myself to have been an eye-witness of.

AUTHORI PRO ARGUMENTO OPERIS.

QUISQUIS amat Congi fines peragrarare nigrantes,
 Africa et Æthiopum cernere regna, domus ;
 Æthram flammantem, multiplex clima locorum,
 Diversum tegmen corporis, atque togas ;
 Quadrupedum variam sobolem, variumque ferarum
 Ortum, serpentum lethiferumque genus ;
 Nubivagas acium turbas, volucresque loquaces,
 Fluminis et ponti squamigerumque pecus ;
 Obliquos annes, jucundo murmure rivos
 Currentes, vastos aquorcosque sinus ;
 Arboreos fœtus, ridentes gramine ripas,
 Plantarum sylvas, fructiferumque nemus ;
 Multiplices fructus, epulas, escasque, cibosque,
 Quas humus Europæ fundere nostra nequit ;
 Affectus, mores, naturas, prælia, ritus,
 Facta, gubernaculum, jus muliebre simul ;
 Eventus, casus, præstantia mira stuporem.
 Auribus ac menti, luminibusque suis.
 Perlegat hunc librum, quæ dixi namque videbit,
 Ut propriâ spectans luce MEROLLA refert.

FR. ANGELUS DE NEAP. PICCARDUS.

A VOYAGE TO CONGO, &c.

PART I.

ON the 5th of May, in the year of our Lord 1682, and under the pontificate of His Holiness Pope Innocent XI., we set sail from Naples in a felucca for Corsica and Sardinia, and arrived at Bastia the capital city of the former, on Whitsunday, where, meeting with a Genoese ship ready to go for the salt-pits, the wind being favourable, we immediately went on board her, and soon came up with a large Genoese sloop, with only three men on board. We hailed her, and begged of the master to transport us missionaries to the bay of Algheri in Sardinia, whither we were bound in quest of some of our companions. Our request being readily granted, we exchanged our vessel, and coasted along the island, often endeavouring to enter the bay ; but the wind proving contrary, were as often forced back to sea. We had recourse to our prayers, because in great distress for want of provisions : however the Divine Providence, that orders all things for the best, saw it not convenient that we should be so heard as to land where we desired ; and therefore, instead of suffering us to proceed on our voyage, we were driven back to a small port near the point. Here my companion, being well acquainted with the country, would needs go ashore and climb a small mountain, intending to beg

a lamb

a lamb for charity of any shepherd he could meet; as soon as he reached the top, he began to call out to us below with great earnestness, requiring us speedily to come up to him; where, when we came, we plainly perceived that, had we turned the point, we had infallibly fallen into the clutches of a Turkish corsair that lay there upon the catch. To be the better convinced of this, we took our glasses, and found what he shewed us to be real; besides that, some coral barks he had chafed assured us of the truth of it. Then began our master to lift up his hands to heaven, and to offer up acknowledgments with a flood of tears to St. Francis for having delivered both him and his companions from so imminent a danger on our account.

The night following, the pirate being wholly out of sight, and we probably out of danger, we went again on board our sloop to prosecute our interrupted voyage. In few hours after arriving at Algheri, we saw near an hundred Genoese barks fishing for coral, which, it seems, greatly abounds in those seas; as also for tunny-fish, and several other sorts, whereof there is great plenty. At our landing in the bay, we immediately dispatched a messenger to the father-guardian of our monastery, to acquaint him we were come ashore, and to desire him to send us a horse to carry our baggage to the convent. Instead of a horse he sent an ox, that being the beast of burden commonly made use of in this country. This seemed very strange to me, especially when I understood that he was likewise a pad upon occasion, and all this by reason of the extreme smallness of their horses; which I was the more easily induced to believe, when some Portuguese gentlemen told me that the same was done in the island of Cabo Verde, subject to them, where there was a breed between oxen and she-asses, which they compassed by binding a fresh cow's hide upon the she-ass, and this to the end that the cattle bred of them might be expeditious. The consideration whereof I refer to philosophers.

In this city I staid about a month, waiting for my companion, who was gone about the island in search of the other missionaries, who were to go with us to the kingdom of Congo. During my stay the bishop of the diocese made a solemn entry into the city, and shewed himself to be much devoted and well affected to our order; for the next day after his arrival at his palace, he came to our convent to visit us. Moreover, on the feast of St. John Baptist, the patron of our church, he assisted with us at mass. Likewise, as a farther instance of his favour, having been informed by some of our brothers that I was going on a mission to the Southern Afric, without any extraordinary provision of necessaries, he gave me a letter of recommendation to several of his friends in Spain to supply me with what I wanted; which kindness of his, as it happened, was of no use to us, because we touched at no port in Spain.

My companion returning, brought along with him only one friar, named Father Francis de Bitti, a preacher, the rest having been detained by some business. All things being now dispatched here, and finding a ship of Provence ready in the harbour, we immediately embarked and sailed towards that country. The captain being nephew and brother to two of our order, used us very courteously, not only while we were on board him, but after our landing, inviting us to his house, where we staid for some time; and to complete his civility towards us, understanding that the King of Portugal's fleet waited at Villa Franca to carry His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy to Portugal (whither he was going to solemnize his nuptials with the Infanta of that kingdom), he would needs take a felucca at his own charge to conduct us to that port, where we soon after arrived, and were received with great joy and civilities by the Portuguese commanders, telling us that if we could not find conveniences elsewhere in their ships, we might oblige them in accepting of their own cabins.

Our

Our superior, Father John da Romano, coming from Genoa with Father Amedeo da Vienna, and a secular priest of Piedmont, we all six went ashore to a convent of our order, where we remained three months, and had every week a charitable subsistence of two wethers, a small cask of wine, and sufficient bread sent us by those gentlemen, besides other presents made to the monastery on our account.

The delay the fleet made to set sail lasted in all six months, and which was occasioned by the duke of Savoy's falling sick, and growing worse every time, he resolved upon his departure; which politicians tell us happened through the providence of God, and for the benefit of Italy.

Not before the 4th of October, being the feast of our glorious patron of St. Francis, did the fleet put to sea, the wind north. For our better accommodation our superior had ordered our company to go but two in a ship. Himself and his Piedmontese companion went on board the admiral, the count of St. Vincent commander. I and Father Amedeo were in the ship called the *Fiscal*, commanded by Signior Gonfalo de Casta; and the other two in Don Lewis Lobo's ship, named the *St. Benedict*. This last person had been viceroy of the kingdom of Angola in Ethiopia. His singular piety and kindness to us was so remarkable, that I cannot omit giving one particular instance of it. The 1st of November being come, when we were to bid a farewell to flesh, and the land of Portugal being in view, but which we could not reach that day, he sent a boat ashore on purpose to fetch us refreshment, to the end we might pass the last day of our carnival with the greater satisfaction.

On the 2d of November, being All-Souls-day, we entered the port of Lisbon about sun-set. The waters here are a proportional mixture of salt and sweet; the latter being plentifully poured out by the river Tagus, so famous for its golden sands, and not unlike the Lydian Pactolus, according to Juvenal and others:

Quod Tagus, et rutilâ Pactolus volvit arenâ.—JUVENAL.

Hic certant Pactole tibi Duriusque Tagusque.—SIL. ITAL.

Quodque suo Tagus amne vehit, fluit ignibus aurum.—OVID.

Here we were obliged to make use of a pilot, (this port being near as dangerous as the Fare of Messina,) and that by the King's orders, to prevent any more wrecks, too many having happened here already. This kindness is used towards friends, but as for enemies they are left to the mercy of many sharp rocks, and of several well-fortified castles and forts.

Our vessel coming to an anchor, we entered our boats and landed, not at the usual place Belem, or Bethlehem, by reason of the too swift eddy that ran there, but at the palace royal, between the hours of one and two at night. Not knowing the way to our monastery, we endeavoured to get a guide, but there was none to be had, though a religious man that came with us, and was well provided, offered a considerable reward to any that would shew us the way. At last a negro native of Congo conducted us gratis, protesting the many favours and civilities his countrymen had received from the religious men of our nation moved him to it. As soon as we came to the monastery, after ringing the bell, our guide was ready to begone: we entreated him to accept of some reward, or, at least, of a glass or two of wine for a refreshment: but though the people of that nation are immoderate lovers thereof, yet could he not be prevailed upon to accept of a drop, which made me have a more than ordinary affection for the people of Congo.

Whilst

Whilst I was at Lisbon I visited the house where St. Anthony of Padua was born: it is now converted into a church; and though rich in respect of its ornaments, is good in regard of its structure, being both low, and built in the angle of a street. I visited likewise the parochial church and font of baptism of the same saint: the church is now called St. Engraca, which, after it had been many years building with a vast expence, fell down, and was at this time erecting again. I likewise paid my devotion to the convent of the Canons Regulars, amongst whom St. Anthony lived for some time, and whose statue, in the habit of this order, is placed over their high altar. Their church is also the chapel-royal, and the burying-place of the kings, and of several heroes of Portugal.

I shall not busy myself in any farther description of this famous city of Lisbon, its worth being already sufficiently known, and its situation admired. I shall only add, that its port is so large that it runs out thirty miles in length, though the bay before the city is but six miles over, and that its custom-house is considerably employed with entries of pearl, incense and ebony, from Arabia, of rubies and emeralds from Bengala, of cassia and amber-grease from Ethiopia, of cloves, cinnamon, and nutmegs from the Moluccoes, of slaves, ivory, and civet from Congo and Angola, of great varieties of silk and linen from India, of sugars, tobacco, and several sorts of wood from Brazil, and of divers commodities from other places, which I have neither room nor leisure to enumerate here.

Not having spent above a month in this city, I looked out every day for a ship to proceed onward on my voyage; for this purpose, I addressed myself to a captain of a ship, and desired of him to let me go as his chaplain to Brazil: he told me he could not accept of me as a chaplain, having one aboard him already, but go with him. I might if I pleased as a passenger. I thanked him kindly for his proffer, but withal acquainted him, that my superior had commanded me to go in no other capacity; and so I took my leave of him.

It happened a little after that another ship bound for Brazil, having paid off her chaplain and left him ashore, set sail with all imaginable expedition; but she had not been many days at sea before she was tossed with so violent a tempest, and threatened so many ways with destruction, that she was glad of a turn of wind to drive her back again to Lisbon: the captain vowing never to sail again without his spiritual guide at whatever rate. Upon his landing therefore, being acquainted that some of us had a mind to go for Brazil, he courteously received and promised me all the accommodation his vessel could afford, my companions being already provided. This coming to the first captain's ear whom I before had applied myself to, he began, with what reason I know not, to be in a great passion, affirming that I ought not to have promised another, since he had first proffered to carry me. The cause of this sticking about us I guessed to be by reason that we were to do our office at easier rates, for Capuchins are to have only their table free: when by the laws of Portugal, a priest or other religious person is to have not only his diet, but likewise a stipend of so much a month, and when he comes to land must have moreover a house hired for him, and three Carlinos a day allowed him. This put the captain into such a passion, that he threatened to challenge him that had taken me aboard, and would have done it had not all the rest blamed and condemned his proceeding.

The 1st of December we went on board, but for want of a wind could not sail till the 8th, being the feast of the Immaculate Conception: we were in all five ships, in two of which went our other two companions, Father Amedeo da Vienna and Father Francis da Bitti. Having left Lisbon, I wafted a farewell sigh towards the beautiful and

happy

happy Europe, and immediately after we fell into the gulph of Mares, so called from the furious agitation of its waves. We had now over against us the island of Madeira, which before its being inhabited was all over woody, and thence had its name Madeira, in Spanish signifying wood, but after being discovered, it was by fire rendered exceedingly fertile. Its present inhabitants have a more than ordinary desire to a convent of our order among them; but for want of religious men those pious inclinations have been laid aside. I am very sure that a gentleman of that island came once to Lisbon on purpose to solicit that affair with the King of Portugal, at the request of the devout inhabitants.

From Madeira to the island of Palma are threescore and ten leagues: this Palma is one of the Canaries, and whither we must go from Madeira with a strong convoy to prevent pirates: from thence we may sail forward unguarded without any fear of danger. Those that are bound for Brazil steer towards the height of Cape Verd, situate in fourteen degrees of north latitude, and distant from Palma about two hundred and sixteen leagues. Sailing near three hundred leagues more, you come into the torrid zone, and have the sun perpendicularly over your head. Hence the latitude of either pole is reckoned by degrees, each of which is generally computed at sixty leagues; but because the degrees may differ in many respects, I shall leave their number of leagues undetermined.

Our voyage now was so prosperous, that every short space of time we found ourselves considerably advanced: but notwithstanding the many brisk gales of wind we had, the heat, by reason of the propinquity of the sun, was still prevalent; and though we were in the midst of winter, made us considerably sweat and languish. At length by the grace of God we passed the equinoctial, when it has often happened that others have been kept under it for some time with no small prejudice to their health, and frequent danger of their lives.

I think I shall not much interrupt the thread of my relation, if I mention here a certain ceremony used by the mariners the day they cut the line. A sort of court is erected among them, and by consent of the commanders: then two judges dressed accordingly sit at a table, where they take full cognizance of all such as have not yet passed the line; those they find, they upbraid them with having lived so many years, and not having yet cut the line; and then, as if it were a great crime, they mulct them according to their quality: such as were not ready to pay their fines, or at least willing to offer something, are seized in a trice, and by a rope about their middles hauled up to the main-yard-arm, whence they are let thrice successively into the sea. From this punishment or a fine none are exempt, and it is said that with the latter they maintain a church.

Whilst the winds gently played their parts, we now began to devote ourselves to spiritual exercises, continually celebrating mass; morning and night we sung the Rosary, and in the evening the Litany. On holidays we had always a sermon preached by one or other of us. Our ship was dedicated to Our Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Joseph, which made us to celebrate the Holy Nativity with more than ordinary solemnity. Those merchants that were on board us not only adorned the altar with the richest things they had, but likewise hung the outides of our ship with several carpets and rich clothes, the air being at that time serene, and the sea calm. Having just then finished my Lent, and it happening to fall out on a Friday, when we were obliged to fast by the rules of our order, Providence so ordered it, that that very night a flying fish of a considerable bigness darted against our sails, and dropt down into our ship: this fish, with a great deal of pleasure, our captain presented me, and which was received

ceived with no small thanks by me; for God knows how much I had suffered during that whole course of my abstinence, flesh being the only provision of our ship, and my constant diet boiled lentiles, biscuit, and stinking water. The difficulty of getting fish I believe was partly contrived by the seamen on purpose to make me break my Lent, they having often told me, that in such long voyages as this, there was no obligation to abstain from flesh; but I thank God, notwithstanding their opinion, I still persevered in my duty.

On twelfth-day, about two in the morning, we discovered a star so large and luminous, as is almost incredible to believe: the captain declared he had never seen the like, though he had sailed those seas forty times. This, said others, may probably be that guide which on this day conducted the Magi to Bethlehem. But for my part, I am of opinion it was no other than the planet Jupiter.

During all this time we had but only one calm half day, and that the captain proposed to spend in fishing. Here it is most wonderful, that having cast the lead in that vast ocean, and ten degrees from the line, we found but ninety foot water. Among other fish we took one called the Dorado or Gilt-fish, and truly not without reason, having perfect rays of gold on his back, and being moreover excellent meat. This seems to me to be the fish Martial speaks of in his thirteenth book, where he says,

Non omnis pretium laudemque aurata meretur.

The prey this fish most delights in is the flying fish, with which these seas greatly abound, and which is like to our sea-swallows, and unlike them only in that it has a blue back: the flying fish has this particular unhappiness, that it is neither safe in the air nor in the sea, being persecuted by the birds in the former, and by the golden fi in the latter.

On the 17th of January we arrived at Baia, or the city of San Salvador in Brazil, situate in thirteen degrees of south latitude. The port of this city is not a little remarkable, whether it be for its capaciousness, or its security for shipping, the latter being occasioned by two mountains on either side the entrance of it, as likewise by its distance from the sea.

At our landing we met a widow carried in a net with a pole through it on the shoulders of two black slaves, with morning clothes wrapped about them, and the net covered with a quilt, at the four corners whereof marched four women slaves. This at first sight being a thing new to me, I took to be a corpse going to be buried, and upon enquiry found it to be a Portuguese widow. I thereupon demanded, "Why being a Christian she had not a cross carried before her;" and immediately out of pure charity and devotion fell to saying the *de profundis* for her soul. This occasioned an immoderate laughter in the standers-by, who began to gather about me, whilst I hanging down my head, and perceiving my mistake of a living woman for a dead, was glad to steal off as fast as I could.

The ordinary sort of these nets I spoke of have only one pillow or cushion in them whereon either to lie or sit: those for the women have a carpet under to sit on, and another over; and the women slaves, whom they call Moccomas, being the same that wait on them in their chambers, walk by their sides. The richer sort of people have these coverings like to the tops of coaches, with curtains on each side, but then the nets change their names to Palangas, and are much in use, not only in Brazil, but likewise all over Ethiopia.

This city of Baia or San Salvador is the metropolis of all Brazil, and has both a governor equal in power to a viceroy, and an archbishop. The shores of this king-

dom are chiefly inhabited by Portuguese, beginning at the river Della Plata, and extending to that of the Amazons, as likewise up as far as possible into the country. Beyond, the natives have their residence. The principal traffic here is for tobacco and sugars, of which, every year, great quantities are fetched away by the Portuguese ships, and that not only from this city, but likewise down the rivers from San Francisco and Janeiro.

To uphold the sugar-works, a vast number of slaves is required, as well to plant and cultivate the canes, as to provide sufficient fuel for the prodigious furnaces that are employed both night and day : some there are who have no less than five hundred slaves for this purpose, and whose labour is so hard, and their sustenance so small, that they are reckoned to live long if they hold out seven years.

So great is the application of the Brazilians to this traffic of tobacco and sugars, that few or none take care to till the ground, or sow corn. Hence it is that all manner of provisions are excessively dear in those parts. Their bread is generally made of the root of the herb Mandioca : the way they have to propagate it is by tearing off a branch of it, and burying it in the earth, when in a short time it will cast forth a root, and shoot up a stalk and leaves like to our lupins. At certain seasons of the year they press the juice out of the stalks and leaves by a sort of hand-mill, and that serves them either for drink or broth. The same custom is used likewise in the kingdom of Angola, and other places.

Fish is extremely dear in this country, there being but very few that apply themselves to catch it. Flesh likewise is at a great rate, and that by reason of the great distance of pastures, inasmuch that cattle often either die by the way in bringing, or else are harrassed to skin and bone by their journey. Water also, that necessary element, is scarce, and what they have is, for the most part, brackish ; so that a traveller in these parts must of necessity provide himself as well with this as with victuals.

Fruit they have here of many excellent kinds, and which, though different from ours in Europe, yet is no less palatable and nourishing. Among others, there is a sort of palm called Cocoa, whose nuts shoot out with a stalk in a cluster to the number of twenty, more or less, at the bottom of a thick crowd of long, sharp, and bending leaves, not unlike scythes : each of these nuts is of the bigness of a flask with its straw clothing, with two rinds, whereof the latter being sawed asunder, serves for cups to drink out of. Its fruit is of an excellent flavour, and white as milk, but very substantial ; in the midst of it there is about an ordinary glass-full of liquor, which, while the fruit is green, is in greater quantity, though not so pleasant, but, as they say, cooling ; yet when ripe, they say it becomes hot. This sort of palm is to be found in Ethiopia and in the East Indies, and, in time of year, by tapping, affords a great deal of wine. Here is another kind of fruit called Mamao, which grows on a tree mostly without branches, and whose trunk is like to a beam adorned with leaves and fruit ; each leaf produces its fruit like to melons and pumpkins in shew as well as taste : the seed is like pepper, and has something of the taste of it ; the stalks on which the leaves grow, are long, like the shoots of our vines in Europe, bowing with the weight of the large leaves, and four or five spans long.

Another sort of fruit-tree is the Banana, but which may rather be termed an assemblage of leaves interwoven and twisted together so neatly, that they form a plant about fifteen spans high ; at the top it throws out one cluster of fruit like to a bunch of those grapes which we, in Italian, call Corniole, and which is, of itself, a sufficient burden for one man : every berry of this cluster is about a span long, and as thick as one's wrist, with a rind like to an orange. When the fruit is once gathered, you cut down the tree to make it sprout anew, inasmuch that being once planted, and thus ordered,

it will often be ready to offer a grateful return to its planter. This fruit the natives called Cacchio, and which, even while green, they gather and hang up in their houses, where by degrees it ripens, and grows as yellow as gold: when dry, they cut it across the middle, and it tastes much like to a dried fig of Calabria. The leaves of this plant are so neatly streaked and sleeked, that one would think they were rather the work of art than nature: they are generally about ten spans long, and about three in breadth. Many are of opinion, and argue that these were the leaves our first parents covered their nakedness with, after transgressing the divine precept in Paradise; which is not unlikely, because of their length and breadth before-mentioned, and because in some countries this sort of fruit is called a fig; and the Scripture tells us they made them aprons of fig-leaves; unless it were that fig, in India, which the Arabs and Persians call Mouz, and the Portuguese the Indian fig, one leaf whereof serves for a tablecloth at a feast.

The fruit Nicefi is much of the same kind with the former, being produced by a like plant, and disagreeing only in, that these are somewhat less. This fruit being cut in the middle, or any ways except in length, shews a sort of sketch or rough draught of a crucifix, and which I take to be more wonderful than that of the fruit of the plant Baruth, vulgarly called the Paradise fig, wherein, when cut, is to be seen plainly the impression of the Greek letter *tau*, when in this our fruit is as easy to be discovered the figure of our Saviour upon the cross.

For want of a conveniency to carry me farther up into the country, I was fain sometimes to rely upon the relations of others, but then I always took care to take them from persons of credit and natives of the place. I was told that, higher up, there were vast woods of large citron-trees, which seems not improbable, if we consider the great quantity of candied citron-peel preserved, and brought yearly from thence. To ripen them, they bend down the tenderest branches of the tree, and cover the citrons with earth, whereby they soon become soft and yellow, and are pleasant to eat. I forbear to mention the many fruits that are to be found in these woods, and will confine myself to speak briefly of the trees.

The trees in the forest are some of them so vastly great, that large boats, called Canoos, are made out of them all of a piece. One of these I saw in the port of Baia, higher than one of our feluccas, as broad, and of length sufficient for ten or eleven men to row with long oars, having only the rudder added to it from another tree. This I must tell you was something extraordinary, for commonly they row these boats with oars like shovels, and that, standing more or less on a side as occasion serves. The Indian fishers have other sorts of boats made of reeds raddled together, and which serve their turn well enough, for they value not the waters coming in, having no clothes to spoil. In this country there is great quantity of the wood called Brazil wood, some red of the colour of porphyry, and another sort quite black like ebony. Here are also some trees that distil the true balm, others that produce a kind of oil, called by the natives Coppaiua, and which is an absolute cure for green wounds, as likewise a remedy against old aches, and good to comfort the stomach. A third sort called Almelega, which distills a liquor like to frankincense, and serves to heal contusions and bruises in any part of the body, and moreover comforts the stomach if taken inwardly. There are also some plants to be met with here named Bicoiua, or nutmeg, whose juice is a great relief against, if not an absolute cure for, fluxes and gripes.

Not many years since cinnamon was first ordered to be brought hither by the King of Portugal from the East Indies, with express command to the captains of ships, that they should deliver it to the reverend fathers of the Society of Jesus, who about four

miles from the city of Baia, have a marsh belonging to them, where it has thrived to a miracle. The birds likewise, by picking the feed, and dropping it about the country, have mightily contributed towards its increase; for when I was there, I saw many little trees of it in several places, and which could not have come thither by any other means. Also at my being there, the trees that were first planted were begun to be flawed, and about fourteen pounds of the bark ready to be sent as the first-fruits to the King.

I imagine I shall not much stray from my subject, if I give some light here into the origin of the natives of this country from a certain Franciscan writer, who writ in the Portuguese tongue, and had his information from the Hollanders. He says, that these people came from the islands of Swedeland, either because of the great colds that reign there, or being thrown on these coasts by a tempest. The Indian natives of Brazil have the name of Tabareos, and those born of a Portuguese and a native are called Cabollos. The former sort are of a brownish complexion, have long straight hair, with little round eyes, and thick well-set bodies of a middle size: their clothing is no more than they came into the world with: they maintain themselves with hunting and fruit, which is the reason that they seldom continue long in one place, but wander about according to the seasons proper for that purpose. Sometimes they feed upon man's flesh, and that upon the following occasion: when any one of their relations or friends fall desperately sick, before he grows worse they knock him on the head, and cutting his body to pieces, distribute it amongst the rest to eat; alleging, "that it is much more honourable for him to be devoured by them, than to be preyed upon by worms and insects." And thus, as they have lived like beasts, so, like beasts, they die.

I was told by one Father Martin, a Capuchin, who had lived fourteen years in those parts, and was then superior, that these sort of people are very apprehensive and docible, and that though they could not read, yet they would sing and assist at mass and vespers. This Father told me likewise, that he had brought over great numbers of them to the true faith, and that they were in appearance so good Christians, that, when they were at church, (I speak this to our confusion and shame,) they might be seen kneeling on both knees like statues, without the least motion; and though they heard any noise, not one of them would offer to look behind him, or speak the least word, thinking it a sacrilege. He added further, that at first he found great difficulties in learning their language, but that at length, in the space of four years, he made himself an absolute master of it.

And because that these people lived without a ruler and government, when he came among them, the same Father chose out the best among them for their governor, and whom the rest readily obeyed. He then reduced them to our way of living, and brought them to eat their meat at due times of the day, whereas before the pot was always ready, and they did little else but eat and drink. He taught them also to plant their Mandioca spoken of before, and instructed them in the art of spinning and weaving their cotton, to the end that they might conceal those parts which decency requires should be hid. He told me likewise, that before that time he had met with but one among a great number that had any thing to cover his nakedness, and that was given him by a missionary.

This Father, in process of time, becoming perfectly skilled in their language, and being moreover well-beloved by them, had a more than ordinary opportunity to inculcate religion into them; and which undertaking of his was likewise facilitated by their having no idols or worship among them at the time of his attempting it. Their notions of a deity are, that there are two great persons much in favour with God, and they pray for them continually; but who these persons are they cannot tell yet, which may be easily excused, in regard that some of them believe nothing at all. How

zealous they are for their new religion may be seen by the following instance. — A certain wizard, instructed perhaps in his hellish science by some Blacks that had run from their masters, was on a time seized by them, and carried before Father Martin, by whom, being sharply reprov'd for his wicked practices, he was let go, on condition that he should forsake his horrid profession. But this readiness of his to promise rather proceeded from want of liberty than from any inclination to recant; insomuch, that in a very short time he relapsed into his former error, and was seized a second time by such as did not think fit to release him any more without the loss of his head. This done, they dragged his body before Father Martin, to whom they addressed themselves in these words: "O dear Father, you are too forward in forgiving: these sort of people may prove a great check to the growth of our new religion, and therefore we have lopped off the head of this wicked wizard, to prevent his doing any more mischief among us. Here are his head and body to dispose of as you shall best think fit." And to give them their due, they are more than ordinarily careful to protect the sacred truths established among them.

The flesh they eat is generally that of wild creatures, killed by them in great abundance with their bows; and especially of a sort of serpent called Bomma, which they love inordinately. This serpent, after he has well filled his belly, falls asleep; and being so found by the hunters, they dart their arrows into him, and kill him. They say his flesh is exceedingly white, and well relished, and in fatness much like a hog. After they have cut off his head, and torn away his bowels, they devour the rest of it greedily. At a certain feast in Baia, I observed the windows, instead of tapestry and arras, adorned with the skins of these serpents, as wide as that of a large ox, and long in proportion.

Father Martin having taken care that the Indian governor elected by him should pay obedience to the Portuguese, it soon happened that a mutual commerce was established between both nations; and though the merchandize of the former was but of small returns, yet it nevertheless served them to clothe their nakedness, and to furnish them with iron for their uses. The things they traded in were chiefly Brazil wood, skins of beasts, divers sorts of monkeys, parrots of all kinds, and the like. Of these last, the hens are called, in the Indian language, Coricas, and are observed to be far more loquacious than the cocks. Araras are another sort; these are about the bigness of our capons, and have long tails of divers colours. The paroquets are equal to our thrushes in bigness, and generally green, whereas the others, for the most part, are grey and crimson. They all imitate the human voice when taught.

Apes and monkeys, likewise, they have of all kinds, but none without tails. One of these sorts is very much esteemed; but no less difficult to transport into any part of Europe, because of the cold; they are called Sagoris, or Sagorini, are no bigger than dormice, and are kept in cotton in muffs. Those few monkeys that are brought to Portugal are bought by the ladies there for about a pistole a-piece; and if they be of both sexes, the price is much greater, and they serve for a considerable present. These, and many other things no less curious than gallant, are brought by these people to sell to the Portuguese all along the coasts of Brazil. Such among them as have no genius to trading voluntarily list themselves in the Portuguese service for so much a month or a year.

Because I have before begun to speak of birds, I will here give some short account of the ostrich; if I may have leave to call that a bird, which is more beholden to its legs than its wings. In this country the ostrich is called Hiema, and is of that largeness as
may

may be guessed at by the dimensions of its egg: I have seen both young and old, little and great, of them: their feathers are of a light brown, and their wings strengthened by a double joint. They eat all sorts of food, and will digest wood and iron, both which they greedily devour. Their eggs they lay in the sand, wherewith they cover them, I know not whether out of design that it should serve them for a tomb or a cradle; for it often happens that, not remembering where they have laid them, they by mistake hatch those of another, and the chicken is no sooner out of the shell but it shifts for itself. When they run from you, they only raise one wing, and for the rest trust to their feet, whereon they have but two claws on each. They are so swift, that, provided they have the wind for them, (which they always take a great deal of care to procure,) they will out-run a horse in his full career. When the hunters have a mind to take them, they always follow them full speed, and with a long hook stretched forth catch them, if can, by the neck; which, if accomplished, they soon conquer, and have enough to boast of all the remainder of their lives.

Before I leave Brazil to proceed on my voyage, I must take notice of another sort of hunting there, and that not of animals by men, but, on the contrary, of men by animals, and those of the smallest size. You must know, then, that here is a sort of worms almost invisible, which are called, in the country language, Nigua, which, hopping upon men's toes for some time like fleas, afterwards penetrate the skin, and hide themselves between the flesh and nails of the toes. This at first gives a pleasant tickling, but at length they grow to the bigness of a vetch, and occasion a great deal of pain, reducing the patient, if not timely prevented, to a manifest danger of either losing his toe or foot. When they have thus entered the skin, the only way to get rid of them, and restore the part, is by paring away the flesh, so far at least as is infected; for they are of a sort of venomous nature, and will rot and corrupt whatever they lie long upon. For my part, I have experienced both the pain and the danger of them. But a certain French friar of our order was more particularly plagued with them; for had he not had speedy recourse to a skilful surgeon, he had infallibly lost all his toes.

Some will needs have these worms to be one of the ten plagues of Egypt, sent by God to humble Pharaoh; and Father Michael Angelo de Guattini, a Capuchin missionary to the kingdom of Congo, hints as much in a letter to his father from Fernambuco.

In the islands of Cape Verde there is another sort of worms that penetrate the heel, and thence creep up under the skin like a horse-hair. The way to extirpate these is either to scarify the flesh as before, and so stop their progress; or else to seize them by one end, and by little and little to draw them out whole. Of this sort Della Valle speaks in his travels; but his, it seems, were of a more contagious kind, and of a much longer size.

During my stay at Baia, however diverted, my mind still ran on pursuing my voyage, and consequently my chiefest business was to enquire for ships bound for Africa. We were but three of us, and heard of one, but that was not to depart in four months; therefore so great delay could not at all suit with our desires to be gone. At last we lighted on a smack or brigantine, which was to set sail the first fair wind, and whose captain proffered to carry us to Angola. His kindness we readily accepted: but whilst we thought ourselves secure of a passage, the governor of Brazil commanded him to transport nine prisoners in chains to Angola, amongst whom was his own secretary, disgraced for speaking disrespectfully of his master; and for his greater punishment, chained by the leg and arm with a Black slave. The captain having received these orders, excused himself of his promise to us, alledg-
ing

ing that he had not room in his ship for us all, and therefore desired we would provide ourselves elsewhere. This, however, did not discourage us, for we immediately applied ourselves to the governor, and begged of him to let part at least of the prisoners be left ashore, that we might proceed on our mission. He was so far from yielding to our request, that he commanded that we likewise should be gone on board, not caring whether there were any accommodations for us in the ship or no. He was obeyed, but scarce were we got out of the port, before the captain (whether moved by zeal or gold, I won't determine) called me to his crew, and asked them, where we poor Capuchins should lie, alledging that it was both his and their duty to take care of us. And so hoisting out the long boat, he put the secretary and two other prisoners into it, and sent them ashore, and I believe he had done as much for the rest had they presented him, by which means we got some accommodation. We afterwards heard that this secretary proved so great a thorn in his master's side, and secretly raised so powerful a faction against him, that in a short time he occasioned him to be seized and sent to Lisbon. This it seems has been a common practice in the Portuguese colonies at so great distance from court; for whenever they do not like a governor, they forthwith embark and send him home, and he ought to be thankful if he escapes so. The same has been sometimes done in the kingdom of Angola, and elsewhere in the Portugal dominions. If the succeeding governor does not bring a general pardon for all delinquents, he is not admitted ashore; and this because of their having once been called to account and severely punished for want of such policy.

Seventy-seven days were we cooped up in this smack without discovering land; but what most grieved us was, that we could not say in all that time that we had seen either sky or sea, being kept down in the hold continually to avoid the rain or waves. Towards the Cape of Good Hope we met a furious tempest, whose vehemence broke down part of our prow, and we saw ourselves at death's door; but at length through God's grace, and the diligence of the seamen, that danger was removed. All the while the pilot was extremely concerned that we saw no land, when by his computation it should have appeared at least eight days before. Nevertheless, at length we had sight of it, and found ourselves much nearer to it than we thought we had been. Then began joy to shine out in each man's countenance, and a feast was ordered throughout the whole ship; and the pilot was so well pleased, that he gave the seaman a pair of silk-stockings who first brought him news of the land.

After this we put our boat to sea, and some of the ship's company going in her a fishing, had so good luck in a very short time, as almost to fill her with excellent fish. This sight surprised me, and put me in mind of the sea of Genesarette, where the apostles, through our Saviour's blessing, had the like good fortune. We left the boat at sea all that night, fastened only with a rope to our smack, and with two men in her. About five hours after night, a whale happening to pass between the boat and the smack, broke the rope in two, and set the boat adrift; which was not all, for she gave such a shock to the vessel, as put out the light at the bittake, and the steerfman being in the dark, we were in evident danger of being lost, and must have inevitably perished, had she taken us across the middle of our keel. The night was exceedingly dark, insomuch that we could by no means discover which way the men and boat were driven; therefore we furled our sails, and laid by, and at the same time threw up some fire-works in the air to serve for a guide to those miserable wretches to find us; who at length appeared, when we had given them over to be lost.

Amongst other fish observed by me in these dangerous seas, is the shark; his nature is to follow ships in hopes of prey. His head is like that of a dog, and his bigness more

or less according to his age; but generally at full growth as thick as an ox. He has a very large mouth, and a treble row of exceedingly sharp teeth. When he eats, his upper jaw only moves; and man's flesh is one of the greatest of his dainties. Our mariners with a bait of salt beef took one of them, but in hoisting him up to the ship he escaped; yet throwing in the hook speedily he was taken again. Having opened his belly, we found therein a great many of the bones of meat which we had thrown for several days into the sea; and whereby it appeared that he had followed us for some time. I observing that his heart beat long after it was torn from his entrails, took it up and kept it till the next day; when going to view it again, to my great wonder, it still panted. This fish always swims attended by a great many little ones of divers colours, and which some will have to subsist upon the steam that flies from his mouth. These little fish are called by the Portuguese Romeiros, which signifies pilgrims. There is another sort of about a span long which stick to him, with their bellies upwards, and noses like nutmeg-graters; these have the name of Pegadores, that is, stickers, from this action. They are mentioned by F. di Gennaro, in his *Sacred Oriental*, lib. i. c. 7.

That this shark-fish is more than ordinarily greedy of man's flesh, may appear by the following instance:—Our ship having a brisk gale of wind most of the way between Lisbon and Brazil, a poor mariner about break of day happened to drop off the yard-arm into the sea. At this accident the sentry immediately gave notice, which occasioned us all to come speedily running to the man's assistance; some threw overboard to him whatever planks they could find, whilst others endeavoured to tack about the ship; but all in vain, for being under so full sail we made too much way. At last finding all means to save him fruitless, I caused one to call out to him from the poop of the ship to give a sign of confession; which the unhappy wretch immediately did, by holding up his arm; which I perceiving gave him absolution, and then he soon sunk. Not long after I spied a shark-fish, half above and half under water, rather flying than swimming towards the body; which was a terrible sight to all, but more particularly touched me to the heart.

Another sort of fish we saw, whose name is Bonitto, as large as the lantern-fish, and of a yellow and green colour; but which the more pleasing it was to our sight, the more pernicious it would have proved to us had we eaten of it, for it causes sudden death, which makes the fishermen as soon as taken to throw it away.

The birds that fly most about in these seas are Alcatraci, a sort of sea-gulls as big as geese, of a brownish colour, with long beaks, wherewith they take fish: and which they feed on, either upon the surface of the water, or after they are up in the air. At night when they are disposed to sleep, they dart themselves aloft as high as possible, and putting their head under one wing, support themselves for some time with the other; but because the weight of their bodies must needs force them down again at last, they no sooner come to the water but they retake their flight, and both which being often repeated, they may in a manner be said to sleep waking. Oftentimes it happens that they fall into the ships as they sail, and into ours there fell two one night, and one another; those that know the nature of them, farther say, that in time of year they always go on shore to build their nests, and that in the highest places, whereby they facilitate their flight, having but short feet, and those large like unto a goose. Of this we made an experiment upon them that fell into our ship, and found that being left at liberty upon the plain deck, they could by no means raise themselves.

—Before we had a sight of the Cape of Good Hope, we saw several other birds called Velvet-sleeves, as large as geese; exceedingly white, and with long black bills. These, like the pigeons out of the ark, were as so many messengers to inform us that the land was at hand, their custom being a days to flutter about upon the waves, and at night

to return to the shore to rest; the sight of them makes the seamen leap, and cry out for joy like madmen.

There are also other signs of land being near, as those they call the Caravels of Brittany, being weeds, or rather reeds like the Indian canes; or rather like grass, but as thick as one's finger, thrown out by the rivers, and which seem at a distance to be a small island fixed in the ocean, being met sometimes an hundred miles at sea. Whilst we sailed along the coasts, some of the seamen would needs shew me a great cross cut in a mountain, and which they told me was made there long before those countries were discovered by the Europeans. But notwithstanding all the diligence I could use, with the help of a prospective glass, I could not perceive it by reason of the great motion of the ship. I asked them who was supposed to have introduced this sign of our salvation amongst those ignorant pagans; but they could give me no manner of satisfaction.

Now we are coasting along the shore of the Cape of Good Hope, I imagine it will not seem any ways improper to discourse of something relating to the inhabitants of this country. By the relations of many, those people are said not to have the gift of human voice, but to understand each other only by a sort of hissing tone, and motion of the lips; likewise that whatever pains have been taken with them, they could never hitherto be brought to speak articulately. Instead of clothing in winter-time, they generally anoint their bodies all over with a certain liquor distilled from a tree; and which the better to settle upon their skins, they bedaub themselves sufficiently with wild oxen dung, which when dried and hardened, cannot be easily got off. When they would take off that crufted coat, they do it with hot water, which leaves them naked as before, as they go in hot weather, and eat much flesh. Which makes me say with Ovid in his *De Tristibus*, lib. v. el. 7.

Sive homines, non sunt homines hoc nomine digni.

The Portuguese call them Papagentes, that is, men-eaters, on account of some accidents that have happened there, one of which that was told me I will insert.

In one of the ports formed by nature, where there are many on these coasts capable of receiving two or three thousand ships each, a certain vessel came to an anchor; the captain with some of his crew going ashore well armed, and happened to stray a little further than ordinary from his companions, saw two women entirely black and naked carrying of wood. These women, at the sight of a white man, began to stand still; which we perceiving, and being willing to encourage them, threw them down several trifles, such as fine knives, glass, coral, and the like. At this they immediately cast away their burdens, and fell to gathering up the toys, leaping and dancing about the captain. This pleased him so well, that he was resolved to have as much of it as he could, and for that end squatted himself down on the grass. They perceiving his security, continued their gambols for some time; but at length one of them seizing him behind across the arms, and the other catching up his feet at the same time, flew away with him with such dexterity and swiftness, that it was impossible for his companions, who both saw and heard him cry out, either to rescue or come near him. Being deprived of all hopes of recovering him, they thought it advisable to return to their ship, where they reflected on the barbarous banquet those, rather beasts than human creatures, were to make that night.

To confirm the probability of this story, Father Michael Angelo de Guattina relates in a letter to his father from Loanda, a city in this country, that whilst he was sailing along these coasts, not above a mulquet-shot from shore, the pilot of the ship went

ashore to ease himself; but scarce was he out of the long-boat before he leaped back again with great surprize and amazement, having it seems discovered behind a rock, abundance of fish drying at a great fire, by which he understood the Papagentes were not far off, and put him into such a fright, that he never thought of the business he went about in three days after.

Another story I have heard as follows:—The captain of a certain ship having been in a great storm, drove into one of these ports to repair his damage; his passengers going ashore to look about them, discovered at a distance a sort of sea-monsters like unto men, and that not only in their figures, but likewise in their actions; for they saw them plainly gather a great quantity of a certain herb, with which they immediately plunged themselves into the sea. Having observed what sort of herb this was, the passengers gathered several bundles of it likewise, and laid the same upon the shore; the sea-monsters returning, and finding it ready gathered to their hands, took it up and plunged into the sea as before. But, O the great example of gratitude that reigns even in the deeps! These creatures knowing themselves to have been obliged, forthwith drew from the bottom of the sea a great quantity of coral, and other sea-herbs, and carrying them ashore, laid them in the same place where they had found the herbs. This being repeated several times, the passengers thought these creatures endeavoured to exceed them in benefits; and therefore as a great rarity, scarce to be paralleled even in rational animals, they resolved if possible to take them. For this purpose they procured a net from the ship, and pitched it in a proper place; but though their design succeeded so far as to take them, yet could not they hold them, they shewing them another human trick, which was by lifting up the net and making their escape, never appearing there after as long as the ship staid.

Another relation I have had made me, which may not be improper to insert here:—The Portuguese, for the conveniency of sailing those stormy seas, would needs some years since make a certain experiment on these parts. For this end they brought from Lisbon six or eight condemned persons, and left them in one of the three points of the Cape of Good Hope, with provisions of all things sufficient for a year. These men they commanded to take strict notice of all mutations of seasons, of the climate, the land and the sea; and withal enjoined them to let nothing pass of any moment each day they were there; promising them withal, that if they observed these their commands, they would come the next year and fetch them away, and give them their liberty to boot. These wretches being thus left, instead of escaping destruction, met a more than common fate by these means; for in a short time, through the excessive cold that reigns there, more than in any other of the points of the said Cape, they were all frozen to death. At the return of the ships, the last of them that survived having observed many particulars, and related the manner of his other companions' deaths, was found frozen to a stone with a pen in his hand. The last thing remarked by him was, "That the greatest fire was scarce capable of overcoming the most intense cold of this country." But all this I must submit to the reader, having it only by hearsay, and not having experienced it myself.

After three or four days sailing along these coasts right afore the wind, we entered a port in the kingdom of Banchella, or Banquella, a conquest of the Portuguese. Here the people, through a bad temperature of the air, which infects their victuals, have all the countenances of death, speak with broken voices, and as one may say, can scarce keep their souls between their teeth. Our arrival being but just known, the vicar-general came to visit us at one o'clock in the morning, bringing along with him several refreshments of flesh, fruit, and herbs. At this unexpected charity and civility, we were

were at first surpris'd; but after we came to know that both he, and four of his brethren, had been bred in our monasteries, that wonder ceased. This vicar may be said to be general only over himself, there being no Catholic priest in all this country but he.

Some years past there was another mission of our order into these parts; but because the chief man gave no good example himself, few of the Blacks were converted, and those that were gave but little attention to what was taught them, giving for reason, "That if the law of God was so negligently observed by Whites, how could they be expected to practise it more devoutly?" The last two of the friars employed at that time, died martyrs to their lenity; for they chusing rather to admonish than correct, to exhort than reprove a certain great man of a scandalous life, in about eight days time died of poison, thereby terminating both their mission and their lives: the truth of this ought not to be doubted of, because it was the common talk when I was there. The other Pagans that live up higher in the country, lead the infamous life of the Giaghi, a people that shall be spoken of more at large hereafter.

As soon as day-light appeared we went on shore to return thanks to Almighty God for our safe arrival. Here the first thing I observed was, a great abundance of date-trees, which it seems of all Lower Æthiopia flourish most in these parts, though in goodness they are far inferior to those of the east. I likewise took notice of many arbours and walks of vines, which, by reason of the moistness of the earth, springs being every where near the surface, produce grapes twice a year in great plenty. Nevertheless no wine is made, because the excessive heat that reigns here would rather putrify than purge it. Every house hereabouts has spring-water, it lying not above two foot deep; and which is the greater wonder, by reason that it is so near the sea.

If this country abounds with bad men, it is no less productive of good beasts. Of elephants here are many, which with their ivory teeth bring great profit to those that take them. The elk likewise, that so much desired and salutiferous beast, is frequently to be met with in these parts; and which for the virtue of one of his feet, has deservedly obtained, in the Congolan language, the name of Ncoco, signifying The Excellent Beast. It is only called in Spain La Gran Bestia, or the Great Beast. The way to find out in which foot the virtue lies, is by knocking him down; when to recover himself of the blow, he will immediately lift up that leg which is most efficacious, and scratch his ear. Then must you be ready with a sharp scymitar to lop off the medical limb, and you shall find an infallible remedy against the falling-sickness treasured up in his claws. Peter Cobero Sebastian says, in his travels, that he has seen many of these beasts in Poland. Those seen by me were of about the bigness of little asses, of a brownish colour, with long broad ears hanging down like to those of English spaniels.

In these woods may also be found another creature, called by the natives Engalla, and much like unto a wild boar: the two tusks of which beast being reduced to powder, expels fevers, evacuating by way of sweat the malignity of the distemper. This powder being likewise made up with the juice of a palm-tree, called Mateba, composes an admirable antidote. Here is also the unicorn, called by the Congolans Abada, whose medicinal virtue being sufficiently known, needs not to be taken notice of. These unicorns are very different from those commonly mentioned by authors; and if you will believe what I have heard say, there are none of that sort now to be found. A Theatine missionary to the East Indies told me, at his return from Goa, that he had endeavoured to get one of these last, but whatever diligence he used, he could by no means obtain it. He added moreover, that he had heard several of the Eastern people,

especially the Chinese astrologers, say, that according to their computations those unicorns all died the same day that our Saviour died. What allusion these can have to our Saviour may probably be from their chastity, but I must leave all to my reader, who will condemn and approve as he thinks fit. The unicorn or Abada of this country commonly arrives to the bigness of an ox, and the male only has a horn in his forehead: these have the same virtue as the other sort, if taken young, and before they have coupled; for the old ones lose much of their virtue by coupling.

These forests likewise breed another four-footed animal called Zebra, not unlike a wild mule: the skin of this creature is so beautiful, that one would rather take it for a fine woven silk than a hide: its beauty consists of several equidistant streaks (four fingers broad) of white and black, bordered on both sides with russet. This animal is no less swift than beautiful, inasmuch that if the natives can but tame one of them, no price is thought too great to offer for it. Our superior, Father da Romano, amongst other things, sent several skins of this beast as a present to the great Duke of Tuscany.

Here are also abundance of another kind of beasts, called by the Negroes Impellanche, of about the bigness of the foregoing, and in colour much like to what we call in horses a sorrel: these have straight twisted horns, by the several degrees of which wreathing, their age comes to be known. They have, in like manner, some resemblance of a mule; their flesh is white, and would be more in esteem were it not spongy and insipid; but in rutting time, say the natives, it ought by no means to be eaten, for fear of doing harm. The same is reported of the wild goat, that if it be eaten when it is lustful, it causes such a rot in the feet that the toe-nails drop off. This is held to be so infallible, that it can never miss. An instance whereof happened in my time, in the following manner:—Some hunters having taken one of these goats, suspected of being in the aforesaid condition, brought it to our monastery at Sogno to sell: our Fathers not knowing the nature of it, eat part of it, reserving the rest for another time. This coming to the count's ears, he came in mighty haste to our convent, with a numerous attendance, and going directly into the kitchen, he commanded all the flesh to be thrown away, the vessels that it had touched to be broken, and would moreover have set fire to the house as infectious, had not our Father remonstrated to him in an humble manner, "That they were sensible of no harm it had done them, and that they verily believed there was none to be feared upon that occasion: as also, that whatever mischief had formerly happened, it was rather to be attributed to some other accident, than to any pestilential quality in the goat." With these and the like reasons they at length prevailed on the count to depart, without doing them any farther damage. When these wild goats are old, there are certain stones to be found in their bellies, not unlike to Bezoar stones, and whereof those produced by the male are of the nobler kind, being experienced remedies in several cases, especially in that of poison. At the first taking them out, they are soft and tender, but having been a-while in the air they begin to harden, and in a short time become perfect stone. They must be taken as soon as ever the beast is killed, otherwise they will soon dissolve.

Another sort of beasts in this country are the Impanguezze, so called by the natives: these are a kind of wild cows, whereof some are red, others ash-colour, and some quite black: they are all very swift-footed, and have a pair of exceeding long horns in their foreheads. When they are wounded in the chase, like wild bulls or buffaloes, they immediately face the assaulter, and if he does not instantly take care to save himself in some tree or other, instead of killing, he will be in no common danger of being miserably killed. The flesh of this beast is very well relished and substantial; its marrow is an infallible remedy against cold humours and aches: of its skin the Negroes make

make targets, which will resist the swiftest force of an arrow, so that if a man stands bowing behind it he is altogether safe.

It is now high time to leave the wild beasts to range in the woods, and to come to speak of a certain brutish custom these people have amongst them in making of slaves, which I take not to be lawful for any person of a good conscience to buy here. Every one of these Negroes takes to wife as many women, be they slaves or free, it is no matter, as he can possibly get: these women, by his consent, make it their business to charm men to their embraces, which, when they have done so as to make them commit the act, they presently accuse them to their Barracan, so they call their supposed husband, who, feigning himself to be in a great rage, immediately runs and imprisons the lovers; afterwards, in a short time, sells them to strangers, without being subject to any account for so doing: with the money he has thus unjustly got, he buys other she-slaves, which are permitted to do the same thing; so that from time to time he is suffered to go on in this wicked round without any manner of controul. Of these women I fancy Tibullus speaks, when he cries out,

Ah crudele genus! Nec fidum femina nomen.
Ah pereat! didicit fallere siqua virum.

There are others who, not by means of women, but of themselves, going up into the country through pretence of jurisdiction, seize men upon any trifling offence, and sell them for slaves.

The current coin of this kingdom is little bits of glass coral, brought hither by the Portuguese, and which the natives call *Misangas*: this they make use of not only for money, but likewise for ornament, making of them both bracelets and necklaces. The forts and houses of the Whites here are composed of wood and clay, after this manner: two rows of strong posts are fixed in the earth, about two spans asunder, and joined together at top by several transverse pieces of a smaller size. The space between these rows is filled up with clay well beaten, and smoothed within-side and without, and which being chequered with creases, seem at first-sight to be a stone-wall. The roofs are made with reeds, laid over rafters, as with us. This is all I could observe of this country, having been but one day in it, and that in a continual hurry in preparing for our farther voyage.

After our departure hence, in four days sail, we reached the port of Angola, the utmost end of our desires, on the 6th of May, in about a year from our leaving of Naples.

I reserve the description of this city of Angola for another place, intending at present to speak only of its port: this is as secure as famous, being formed neither by art nor nature, but only by chance, having a long slip of sand thrown up by the sea, and forming a plain island, about ten leagues in length, about a mile from the city, behind which the ships ride: the entrance into it is by two narrow passages at the extremities of the slip. Here all the drinking water used in the city is taken up, and the greatest wonder is, that it is freshest at the flood, and saltest at the ebb. Here, and no where else on these coasts, are caught crabs and lobsters, as likewise Cuttle fish, and those little shell-fish called *Zimbi*, which pass for money. Heretofore the King of Congo reserved the right of fishing for these only to himself, but now the Portuguese usurp that liberty upon him. In the aforesaid pleasant island, the citizens of Angola delight themselves as much as the Neapolitans do in their retirement at Posilippo: for this purpose they have several little houses there, which being intermixed with verdant trees,

trees, afford a very delightful prospect. They likewise cultivate the earth in that island, which being well watered, proves not a little fertile.

Being got into port, and our arrival known, the governor immediately gave notice thereof to our Father-superior, who forthwith sent Father Joseph da Sestri, and Father Francis da Pavia to bring us a-shore. At our landing in the city, I could perceive joy in every countenance on the occasion, and which was seconded by the great civilities shewed us by the citizens; for as we passed by their houses, they not only sent us umbrellas to defend us from the scorching heat, but likewise to honour us. Being come to the church, our Fathers sang *Te Deum* for our safe arrival. For eight days together we received visits and treats from the principal persons of the city, in return whereof we presented them with some small relics brought from Italy, which were nevertheless accepted with a great deal of devotion and thanks. The accustomed ceremony used at the arrival of missionaries or a prefect, was not shewn for us, by reason that we were only three. The ceremony is this:—No sooner is the news spread abroad that there are several Capuchin missionaries come into port, but our brethren, accompanied by the nobility and gentry of the city, go out to meet them: having received them into a barge, they conduct them a-shore, where are posted a great number of White singing-boys, dressed like Capuchins, who, going before in procession, sing all the way to the church, and afterwards perform *Te Deum* there: then the governor, and all the clergy and laity of the place, come to pay them their respects.

In about a fortnight's time I was obliged to depart from hence, with some of our Fathers, who, although they had been here above nine months, were not yet gone out on their mission, and that by reason of their expecting the heat should abate, which it seems it is wont to do about this month of May, just contrary to our country, where the cool weather begins with September rains. Father Joseph Maria da Bassetto, a man of great learning and experience, chose me for his companion in his mission to Sogno, and asked me of our perfect, Father Paul Francis da Portomauritio. Though I found myself not altogether recovered of my last fatigue, yet considering the easiest way of travelling was by sea, as also that this mission of Sogno was not only the ancientest, but likewise the best we had, through the commodiousness of its river, and the disposition of its inhabitants, I readily consented to accompany this Father thither. Hereupon the day appointed for our departure being come, we went on board a skiff, and in four days arrived at the mouth of the river Zaire, the port of Sogno. At our entering this river the wind blew so hard, and the waves rose so high, that we were not a little afraid of being lost. At length having weathered the first point, we spied some fishermen, ready, as we thought, to assist us, but expected to be called; yet we taking them for heathens, and fearing, that instead of helping they might rather hinder us by their sorceries, gave them no sign.

My companion conjured the winds and seas, but I having said my prayers betook myself to an oar, at which I tugged heartily for some time, till at length, by the sole mercy of God, we were courteously received into the embraces of the river. After having passed the first reach, our souls began to revive, and we took pleasure in casting our eyes about towards both shores, which seemed to be strewed with vegetable emeralds; or might be taken at first sight rather for the industrious workmanship of Pallas, than the capricious product of nature. The water also appeared more like a crystal causeway, than any part of the inconstant element. As we rowed along the winding banks of this river, we were continually shrowded with trees called Mangas, not unlike the royal laurels: these trees, at the joining of each branch, sprout forth a long hanging root, which at length reaching the mud and taking root, shoots up anew,

and in a short time of one tree forms a kind of a little wood, in a manner that you can hardly distinguish the suckers from the plant. I was shewn one of these trees, quite withered and decayed, and was informed that a certain bishop of Congo, having been ill-treated by some of these people, made the sign of the cross upon it, whereupon it immediately dyed, like the fig-tree curst by our Saviour.

Although my business should be to write only what I observed in my voyage, and not to take notice of other matters, yet cannot I forbear speaking of some particulars relating to this large and famous river: its mouth then is about ten leagues wide, though some writers will needs have it to be thirty; but their mistake I presume arises from including the mouth of another branch of it, not far distant from the former. The waters of this river are something yellowish, by which they are known above thirty leagues at sea, and which was likewise the cause of this country being first discovered; for the King of Portugal, Don John II., having sent a fleet under the command of Don Diego Cano to make discoveries on this southern coast of Africa, that admiral guessed at the nearness of the land by nothing so much as by the complexion of the waters of Zaire; and putting into it, he asked of the Negroes what river and country that was; who not understanding him answered, "Zevoco," which in the Congolan tongue is as much as to say, I cannot tell; from whence, though the word be corrupted, it has been since called Zairo. After this on one of the points of this river the Portuguese first planted a cross of fine marble, which some time after being found out by the Hollanders, they out of envy broke it to pieces; nevertheless so much remained of it when I was there, as to discover plainly the Portuguese arms on the ruins of the basis, with an inscription under them in Gothic characters, though not easy to be read.

The first discovery of this part of the world by the Portuguese happened in the year, so fortunate for them, 1485, and because they had been so courteously received by the Negroes, and admitted among them with so many tokens of love and affection, this kingdom of Congo has never yet been subjected by the Whites, when it fared quite contrary with the queen of Singa and others. The first religious persons that set footing there, were three Dominican friars, as is testified by Father Maffeus a jesuit, in the first book of his history of the Indies. One of these was killed by the Giaghi at the time when they over-ran the kingdom of Congo, and routed the Congolan army under the conduct of their general Zimbo. This barbarian of a conqueror amongst other spoils seized upon the sacred vestments and utensils of this unhappy friar, and not contented with the bare possession of them, would needs ridicule and profane them by putting them on, as likewise by appearing at the head of his followers with the chalice in his hand. As for the other two missionaries, they died in a short time after their arrival, through the excessive heat of the climate, which is often fatal to us Europeans.

To these succeeded twelve Franciscans of the order of Observants, who were carried hither by the same Don Diego Cano in his third voyage into these parts. Some attribute the whole conversion of this country to these Fathers, not allowing that the three that were there before, through the shortness of their continuance, could have time to do any thing towards it. But for my part I am of opinion that it is next to impossible, those who had been so courteously received, and who found the people so easy to be wrought upon, should not convert many of them before they died. Likewise it is certain that the friar that was killed by the Giaghi had been chaplain to the Congolan army, and consequently was in a post to do with them even what he pleased. Nevertheless not to carry the argument farther, let me be allowed to say, that it is probable the first friars might sow the seed, and that the last were those that cultivated and caused it to flourish.

Several other evangelical labourers had been sent out from time to time into this vineyard, and at length, at the request of Don Alvaro sixth King of Congo made to Pope Urban the Eighth, that His Holiness would be pleased to send some more Capuchin missionaries into his kingdom, there were others sent with letters patent from the said pope in the year 1640, although through the many rubs and difficulties they met with, partly occasioned by Philip the Third King of Spain's death, and the seizing of the crown of Portugal by the Duke of Braganza, they did not arrive till the year 1645, which was under the pontificate of Pope Innocent the Tenth, and in the reign of Don Garcia the Second, successor to the before-named Don Alvaro. These Fathers entering the river Zaire, the first place they landed at was the country of Sogno, where they were received with extraordinary demonstrations of love and joy by the people, and especially by the count, who went out to meet them many miles from the place of his residence, and assisted with them at mass with great devotion in the church of Pinda, a town near the mouth of Zaire, adorning their altars moreover with the richest furniture in his wardrobe. Hitherto flocked an infinite number of people upon this occasion, as well out of curiosity to see these new apostles (whose awful deportment filled them with wonder and amazement), as to vie with each other which should shew most obedience to the gospel. But this is no wonder, since the first converts made by the aforesaid Franciscan friars were the Sognese, and who still seemed to have lively impressions left upon them of their former instructions. The first that were baptized among these Negroes were the count and one of his sons, whereof the former had the name given him of Don Emanuel, and the other of Don Antonio. This Emanuel dying, besides the funeral commonly made for other counts, he had a particular ceremony paid to his memory every year after, and which I myself have more than once performed on his account. After the count of Sogno, the King and Queen of Congo, together with their eldest son, were prevailed upon to be baptized, the two former taking the names of Don John and Donna Eleonora, the King and Queen of Portugal, and the latter that of the King's son the Infante. Thus began the Christian faith to be first established in these parts, and which has been all along since maintained through the grace of God, and by the labours of several poor missionaries successively sent in the service of the gospel.

But let us return to speak farther of the river Zaire. This river is commonly said to take its rise in the kingdom of Matamba, subject to the queen of Singa, which kingdom being altogether governed by the female sex, I may number it among those nations described by Claudian in Eutrop. lib. i. v. 323.

———Medis, levibusque Sabæis
Imperat hic sexus, reginarumq; sub armis
Barbariæ pars magna jacet.

In this Matamba there is a vast collection of water, which dividing itself into two principal streams, one runs through Ethiopia, and is this river Zaire, and the other flows towards Egypt, being the Nile: this last was formerly adored by the Egyptians as a god, and that because of their being not able to find out its source, imagining that therefore it had none. I believe the cause why they could not discover its head, was by reason they could not go far up it, being hindered by the cataracts which fall in such a dreadful manner, that they at the same time offend both the eye and the ear. In this vast lake before-mentioned, before it divides itself into the aforesaid rivers, are to be found several water-monsters, amongst which there is one sort which differs from human kind only in want of reason and speech. Father Francis da Pavia, one of our missionaries living in this country, would by no means believe that there were any such monsters in

this lake, affirming they were only illusions devised by the Negroes; whereupon the queen of Singa being informed of his infidelity, invited him one day to go a fishing for them: scarce had the fishermen thrown in their nets, but they discovered thirteen upon the surface of the water, whereof they could nevertheless take but one female, which was big with young. The colour of this fish was black, it had long black hair and large nails upon very long fingers, which perhaps were given it by nature to help its swimming: it lived not above twenty-four hours out of the water, and during all that time would not taste any the least food that was offered it.

Throughout all the river Zaire there is to be found the mermaid, which from the middle upwards has some resemblance of a woman, as in its breast, nipples, hands, and arms, but downwards it is altogether a fish, ending in a long tail forked: its head is round, and face like to that of a calf: it has a large ugly mouth, little ears, and round full eyes: upon its back it has a large hide tacked, perforated in several places. This hide or skin seems to have been designed by nature for a sort of mantle to cover it, being contrived either to open or shut. The ribs of this fish are proper to staunch blood, but the greatest of its physical virtues lies in two little bones in its ears. I have eat of this fish divers times, and it seems to be well-relished, and not unlike swines-flesh, which its entrails likewise resemble. For this reason the Negroes name it Ngullu à Mafa (the water-fow), but the Portuguese called it Peixe Molker (the woman fish). Although it feeds on the herbs that grow on the sides of the river, yet does it not nevertheless ever go out of the water, but only holds its head out. For the most part it is to be taken only when it rains, for then the water being disturbed it cannot so well discern the approach of fisher-men. Those that go to take them have a little boat for that purpose, in which they paddle up softly till they come to the place where the fish lies, and which they know by the motion it causes in the water; then having a lance ready, they immediately dart it with all their force into her, and if through the smallness of their boat, or for want of strength, they cannot hold her, they let go the lance, and leave the fish at liberty, well knowing that being exceedingly long the lance must necessarily discover where she flies with it. But if on the other hand they can maintain their stroke with another lance, they dart a second time, by which means at last they easily tire and take the fish. After the same manner, but with less trouble, they take pilchards, which are fat, and as large as herrings, and they have no other way to take them but this. I should have told you what sort of fashioned lances these were, because they differ something from ours of Europe; they have a very long round staff made of wood, but as hard as iron, round, and so thick, that as many darts are made fast to it a small distance from one another, that they take up six or seven spans in compass.

There is also in this river the water or sea-horse, as large as two land ones: he has short thick legs, round feet, a large wide mouth, with a double row of hook teeth, and long tusks besides in the lower jaw, like to those of a large wild boar, with which, when he is in fury, he tears whatever comes near him. As I was once sailing along this river, I saw one of these horses floating near our boat, and neighing like a horse, of which he has great resemblance: a-nights he goes ashore to feed, but, in the day-time, he keeps for the most part close in the water; but wheresoever they are, the female is always at hand, in whose defence the male fights desperately; and when the female is with young, or has lately dropped her colt (which she generally does in the fens where there is but little water), the male is most furious, and, being exceedingly jealous, will assault the barks as they pass along the river, and sometimes, if they be small, overturn them with his heels: this makes those that know his nature, to avoid the marshes at that time, not caring how far they go about, so they can but have their

passage safe. The time to hunt them is a-nights, when they go to feed upon the land : then the hunters block up their way back to the river with boats, and afterwards wait for their return. Being returned, they let fly their arrows at them like hail ; but woe be to him that happens to be in any one of their ways after being wounded, for he will then assuredly tear him to pieces, if they have not trees to save themselves on, which they generally take care to procure. Sometimes these creatures will fly away after they are wounded, and, not finding a passage open to the river, will run to the next precipice, and leap off from thence into the water, whereby they break their legs, and then are easily taken. The flesh of these animals is little valued, being generally esteemed food for the meaner sort of people, allowed by divines to be fish because they live and breed in the water, though they feed on land. The yard of the male, and the two stones found in his ears, as large as hen-eggs, are good to dissolve the stone, as well in the kidneys as the bladder. This last is likewise a remedy against a stoppage of urine, being pulverized and dissolved in fair water, and given about a spoonful at a time. As I was once going up this river, I observed in a low island hard-by, several small houses set upon stakes, about ten foot from the ground, with a ladder at the door to draw up and let down. Having inquired what these meant, I was told that they were built in that manner to prevent the inhabitants from being injured by the sea-horses, that always feeds thereabouts a-nights. The like sort of houses I have seen near the forests, to prevent the ravage of lions and tigers : but what makes me wonder most of all is, at the name of these sea-horses, it being their nature to keep always out of the salt-water, which they hate and cannot subsist in.

Here are no crocodiles as in other rivers, but there are nevertheless several kinds of excellent fish which are taken various ways, though never in any great number, by reason of the slothfulness of the inhabitants, who are naturally enemies to hard labour. The right of fishing with nets is wholly reserved to the prince, who nevertheless is accustomed to give leave to do it to any that will ask it of him ; and when he wants fish, he sends his servants with his own nets for it.

Having failed up this river, about midnight we arrived at the town of Pinda, twelve miles from the sea. Landing immediately, we retired to a church, the first built here by the Portuguese, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, whose statue of basso-relievo is constantly worshipped every Sunday by a vast number of Negroes who flock hither for that purpose. Here likewise was formerly a convent of our order, but by reason of the badness of the air, being too near the river, it was thought advisable to remove it to the city of Sogno where the count resides, about two miles off. Hither we went next morning with a great deal of willingness, though I could not say I had wanted for satisfaction all the way I came up this river. Being got to our convent, the count came immediately thither to congratulate and welcome our arrival, and that more especially on account of my companion, who had been there three years before. After his visit, he ordered us a present of several things of the product of the country. In this our convent we found only one priest named Father Paul da Varese, and he returned to Loanda in a few days in the same skiff that brought us ; there remaining then with us only a lay-brother, one Leonard da Nardo, an old man of a good life, and extraordinarily well versed in the customs of the country, through the long stay he had made there.

We now began forthwith to apply ourselves to the business of our mission, and it fell to my share to celebrate the first mass ; but not knowing much of the language, I could not pretend to preach in public. I therefore hastily composed a short sermon, and preached it in the congregation adjoining to our church, which consists of the better sort of persons, and who generally understand something of Portuguese. Out of some of this

congregation it is that the counts are mostly chosen, provided they are of the Sangre de Cadera, as they call it, which is an expression borrowed from Portuguese, and signifies, "the blood of the throne." My companion always preached publicly every holiday; but we were fain to say mass late, because of the count and his followers, who never came till then. He always came in great pomp, being better attended than any prince of the Lower Æthiopia is wont to be. The fifth Sunday after Whitsuntide it happened, that when I was just ready to come out to say mass, the count came in. My companion, and superior, presently spied him, and, turning to me, bid me preach that sermon in public which I had prepared for the private congregation, that the count might not go without a sermon on that day. I began to shrug up my shoulders, and to excuse it, not thinking myself yet qualified to speak in public; till at length he bid me obey, and God would assist me. I began mass; and after the Gospel, the usual time of preaching, took for my text the words of the commandments, "Thou shalt not kill." From this text I took occasion to inveigh against wizards, who bear a mighty sway in this country, proving, "That it was much worse to kill the soul, by inclining it to diabolical illusions, than to murder the body." Now, because I often repeated the word "kill" in my sermon, the people began to give a great hum. I nevertheless went on, and was rather encouraged thereby to exaggerate the heinousness of the offence, than affrighted from speaking against it. But the more I raised my voice, the greater was the murmur, I might have said clamour; the count only all this while continued silent. At length the sermon being ended, and the substance of it explained by the interpreter, according to custom, I and my superior were in a thousand doubts about this humming. We inquired of every one we met concerning it, yet none durst satisfy us therein; but all went away smiling. When all the rest were gone, we took one into the house, and treating him with aqua-vitæ and roll-tobacco, intreated him to tell us the cause of the disturbance in the church, believing it could not be caused by the sermon, in which nothing was to be condemned, either as to the subject or language.

"The discourse," said he, "was most excellent, though not designed by the Father; for the people, though not well skilled in the Portuguese language, imagine that the Fathers-missioners know all that has happened, and that hum was a token of their approbation, they having taken his words in another sense." "Pray tell me what has happened," said F. Joseph: "I will so," replied he; "but take notice, there is no less penalty than death for him that discovers it to the missioners, and, therefore, Your Reverence must take care that you do not make me lose my life." Being assured we would keep his secret, he proceeded thus:—"Your Reverence must then know, that in the time of holy week, Father Paul da Varese officiating in the church, great multitudes of this principality flocked hither from all parts to join with him in devotion. At the same time the devil, who is never wanting to promote his interest as often as he sees occasion, took the opportunity to put it in the count's and his relations' heads, that several of this congregation, under pretence of religion, were met together in a treacherous design. Hereupon a great number of the count's vassals and friends being assembled to wish him a merry Easter, that prince ordered them to see the oath taken (what this oath is shall be explained hereafter) by such and such as he then pointed out, in three several places of his dominions, and whereby," continued he "there are many already dead, and more and more die thereof every day." "Is it so?" quoth Father Joseph: "for the future you shall have no reason to fear any more dying by these means." "Neither shall you," said he to the Negro, "be in any danger for your discovery of these devilish practices." The second mass after, the same Father preached, and re-

suming

suming the subject which I had been upon before, took occasion from thence to hint something against this scandal.

Towards night we both went to court, and desired private audience of the count ; which was readily granted us. The first that began with him was my companion Father Joseph, who warmly represented to him, "That being a Christian, he had behaved himself like a Pagan, commanding those poor people to take such a devilish oath on a groundless suspicion." To this smart charge the count at first gave no answer, being no doubt surprized with so unexpected a reproof ; but instead thereof, though a Black, became almost pale, and thereby convinced us at the same time both of his guilt and remorse. This strange and sudden alteration put me in mind of what the poet said of Queen Dido :

Maculisque trementes
Interfusa genas, et pallida morte futura. VIRG. l. 4. *ÆNEID*.

"I cannot believe," added the Father, "that Don Antonio Bareto da Silva (so was this prince's name) could do this of his own head, but rather imagine it to have been contrived by his counsellors or relations." The poor count immediately fell on his knees, weeping and lamenting like another David before Nathan the prophet, and confessing his crime in the following words : — "Truly," said he, "I have been exceedingly to blame, in ordering so barbarous a test of my subject's loyalty ; but since I have sinned like David, like him I also beg pardon." To which Father Joseph replied in the words of St. Ambrose spoken to Theodosius the Emperor ; "since you have imitated a king in his sin, follow him in his repentance." The effect of this was, that the count the same night countermanded his orders, and thereby all further mischief was prevented.

The aforesaid oath, Bolungo, is administered to the supposed traitor, by a sort of wizard called Cangazumbo, who making a certain composition out of the juice of herbs, serpents' flesh, pulp of fruit, and divers other things, gives it to the supposed delinquent to drink, who if guilty (as they tell you) will immediately fall down in a swoon, or trembling, to the ground, inasmuch that if they did not presently give him an antidote, he would infallibly die away ; but if not guilty, no harm would happen to him. A manifest and open cheat this, though not discovered through the blindness of this people ; for the wizard, in case he has a mind to acquit the accused, omits those ingredients in the composition which he puts in where he designs to condemn him. This order from the count was an absolute new thing, and never practised before ; for he had commanded every one of his subjects, not excepting any, to go to one of those three places where these ministers of the devil reside, and there to undergo a test of their loyalty, after the following manner : — The supposed traitor was made to look into a great vat of water, wherein if he fell he had immediately his head struck off ; but if he was innocent, he came away safe and sound. Whence it proceeded that they did or did not fall, time must discover ; but they that performed this work being heathens, it is to be supposed that they poisoned the water.

Now we are upon the subject of these oaths or tests, give me leave to inform you of several other sorts now in use among these wicked people : one of these is called Chilumbo, and which might rather be said to be applied than administered ; for the person accused hath a red hot iron passed over his naked leg ; which if it causes any blister, he is forthwith thought guilty ; but if not, he is released. The deceit of this is, that if the patient be determined to be acquitted, the subtle wizard has a certain preparation

concealed in his hand, of an exceedingly cold nature, with which stroking gently over the part, the fire when applied there loses its force ; but if he be to be found guilty, that remedy is omitted, and then the iron is left to cause its effect.

The following passage happened when I was in my mission at Bengo in the kingdom of Angola, on the account of my health :—The son of a Mulatto being sick, was ordered by a physician to be let blood ; and a slave of his that had been a surgeon, undertaking to perform the operation, through an unsteady guidance of his lance happened to prick an artery, whereby soon followed a gangrene, and in a short time the patient died. The father of this youth supposing that the slave had done what he did on purpose, resolved to have him undergo the trial of Chilumbo, and thereupon immediately caused him to be seized and carried to one of those three before-mentioned places where the wizards live. This done, he was soon brought to the test, and had not only the red-hot iron passed over his thigh, which burnt him miserably, but the enraged father likewise, not contented with what he had already suffered, would needs bind him hand and foot, and after that thrust a flaming torch several times into his face. The knowledge of this coming to my ear the next day, by means of a courier belonging to the bishop of Loanda, who likewise heightened the fact, alledging that the Mulatto had moreover burnt the slave alive, and afterwards thrown his ashes into the river ; I told the courier that I could give no credit to what he related, unless he would bring two witnesses to vouch the truth thereof. Hereupon they were presently produced, but could only affirm, that they saw the Mulatto thrust the torch several times in the slave's face ; and that they afterwards heard he was burnt and thrown into the river. Upon these depositions I used all the means I could to get the wizard into my power, that had performed this hellish ceremony ; but found it impossible, because he had suspected I should be informed of it, and so fled away. The next thing I had to do was to catch the Mulatto, which I soon accomplished by the diligence of some special friends. Being brought before me, he accosted me after this manner : “ I would fain know,” quoth he, “ for what reason I am brought before you ? ” “ For having wickedly burnt your slave,” said I. “ That is not so,” answered he, “ for he is yet alive.” “ Bring him then hither,” said I, “ that I may see whether he be or not.” Hereupon he immediately ordered some others of his slaves to bring him in, which they forthwith did, but bound after that barbarous manner, that it was impossible to loose him without cutting the cords. Then I demanded of the Mulatto, why he used his slave so barbarously. He answered, “ For having murdered his only child,” said I, “ and therefore you have not done what you can justify.” “ I will justify it,” said he, “ before any magistrate whatsoever.” “ Then you shall do it,” replied I, “ to the bishop of Loanda.” And accordingly I ordered both him and his slave to be sent away to that city. I afterwards heard that the said bishop had discharged the slave, but shut up his master in prison till he had satisfied for his offence.

There are many other species of this test of Chilumbo, but which I shall only hint at here, they having been more at large described already by Father Montecuccolo in his *Historical Descriptions*.

The second way of administering this Chilumbo test is, by taking a tender and soft root of the tree Banana, which is put into the mouth of the person accused. Now if this root stick to his mouth, and make him seem to be eating of something clammy, then he is immediately thought guilty, and worthy of punishment ; or if it happen otherwise, then is he forthwith discharged.

The third way is, by eating the fruit of a certain palm called Embâ, which yields oil; this being first tasted by the wizard, to shew that there is no danger in it to the innocent, is afterwards poisoned and given to the person intended to be convicted; but if that person be wary, and has a mind to come off safe, he must grease the fists of the distributors, and by those means may escape.

The fourth trial is, by a pot of boiling water, into which the wizard throws a stone, or any other thing of the like nature, and then takes it out himself with his naked hand, ordering the rest to do the same; they that take it without being scalded, are supposed innocent, whereas the contrary declares their guilt.

The fifth, and which is chiefly practised in the kingdom of Congo, is to clap several snail-shells to the accused person's temples; where, if they stick, he is condemned, but if not, discharged. Let the reader judge if there may not be any fallacy in this way, or not.

The sixth, most in use among the Blacks, is to light a torch made of a certain bitumen distilled from trees, and to quench the same in water; and afterwards to give that water to the supposed criminal to drink; which, if he be guilty, will do him harm; but if not, will cause no alteration in him.

The seventh is practised only by smiths, who are sometimes wizards, and is called by the natives Nole Fianzumdu. The manner of administering this Chilumbo, is by heating an iron red-hot, and afterwards quenching it in water as before; which water is immediately given to drink to those that take the oath. Now, if it is observed that they cannot easily get it down, as it sometimes happens, through apprehension only, then are they pronounced guilty without any farther proof; or else, by their easy swallowing of it, discharged.

Others make this trial, by the water wherein their lord's feet have been washed, and which is called Nfy-a-masa. The rest of the kinds I shall omit speaking of, for the reasons before-mentioned.

There are other ways of discovering theft and forcery, as likewise for absolving any that have taken the aforesaid oaths.

As for the first, a subtle wizard is commissioned with the name of Nbaci, who takes a long thread in his hand, either of linen or woollen, and holding one end himself, gives the other to hold to him who is the supposed thief. This done, he applies a red hot iron to the middle of the said thread, and if it burns, the delinquent is fined to the value; or, if the theft be great, he is made a slave; but if otherwise, absolved. Whether the devil has any hand in this I cannot decide, not being thoroughly acquainted with the matter of fact.

Concerning the second, to discover who has been dealing with the devil, they make the following experiment:—The root of a certain tree called Ncassa, is dissolved in water; and, after dissolution, that water is put up in vessels, and given to the person accused to drink. Afterwards he is delivered into the hands of several strong men to misuse, and shake about in a manner, that in a very short time he falls down in a swoon; some imagine that this is rather occasioned by poison given him instead of the said root. This tree is pretty tall, and of a red colour, and has a wonderful virtue for curing the tooth-ache and sore gums. It is likewise extremely pernicious to birds, who fly from it; for if they should once settle on its boughs, they would immediately fall down dead to the ground.

As for the third, to absolve from any sort of oath, it is performed by a minister called Ganga, or Nzi, who rubs the tongue of the person to be absolved with the fruit
of

of the palm that produces oil, and after muttering some few words to himself, he thereby frees him from his oath, and so sends him home to his house.

Lastly, there is another sort of trial, which is performed not by the deceitful hand of a wizard, but by a person of some quality, after the following manner:—Two obstinate fellows being at law together, and the truth being hard to be got out of them, the judge summons them both to appear before him, where being come he fixes to each of their foreheads a sea-shell, and at the same time commands them to bow down their heads; now he that the shell first drops from is taken for the liar, and the other acquitted.

Whilst I was in Bengo above-mentioned, my companion Father Francis da Monte Leone, having seized upon one of the aforesaid wizards, sent him to the Portuguese governor to be punished, who immediately upon conviction condemned him to death: his time of suffering being come, he was exhorted by Father Francis to confess his crime, but instead thereof, being an obstinate fellow, he gave this answer: "What! would you have me to accuse myself where I have committed no crime? My practice has always hitherto been to do good to all men and not evil; for when the poor people of my country have sowed, and the earth became afterwards dry for want of rain, if I out of mere charity have caused the clouds to dissolve to supply that necessity, was this a crime? If I have conversed with tygers, serpents, lions, and other wild animals, and they have answered me, was there any harm in it? If at a time when there was no boat to be found in the river, I out of pure compassion called crocodiles to carry us over, must this be accounted a sin?" After this and the like manner he justified his crime for some time, yet however at length thought fit to own himself guilty; but because he had been prosecuted by a missionary, he was afterwards pardoned his life, and sent bound to Brazil.

We had not been many months in Sogno before the people, through remorse of conscience, discovered to us that the sister of a certain nobleman of that country cured persons publicly by the help of magic; and that moreover to make herself the better known for a sorcerer, she went clothed like a witch, and wore long dishevelled hair, contrary to the custom of these parts. They further informed us, that she frequently had a drum beat before her to publish her profession, and likewise that she had a son that practised the same art, and lived with her in the house. This being heard by us with great abhorrence, we immediately drew up a charge against both mother and son, and at the same time made use of our utmost endeavours to get them apprehended: but the former being timely acquainted with our designs, escaped up into the country, while the latter fell into our snares, and was sent by us bound to the count. This prince, notwithstanding our diligence to seize the prisoner, gave him nevertheless so much liberty, that he soon found means, though bound, to get to his father's house, by whom he was instantly loosed, and sent to an island in the Zaire to be protected. This was the first displeasure we received from the count, whom we afterwards severely upbraided with destroying the tender plants of Christianity in his country, and putting a stop to all good works we had begun there; telling him, he imitated but ill his predecessor Count Stephen, who, after having extirpated these wicked wizards almost totally out of his dominions, commanded his governors that wherever they were found at any time to have returned, they should immediately be seized, and have their heads lopt off without any further ceremony; and in case any of his officers did not put this law in execution, he was liable to the same sentence. After this manner were our missionaries assisted in their endeavours during Count Stephen's reign: nay, he was so zealous in his assistance, that he would travel about with them himself, and observe how things passed

passed with his own eyes; and if he found any whoremonger, he would reprove him in the following words:—"Either this woman pleases you, or not; if she does please you, why do not you marry her? and if not, why does she continue with you?"

This reprimand we gave the count succeeded so well, that he seemed afterwards inclinable in some measure to comply with our desires, alledging that he would willingly bring those offenders to punishment, but that he could not catch them, by reason of their being removed too far up into the country. Notwithstanding, the father that had before released his son without authority, being afraid of being imprisoned himself for so doing, thought it adviseable to feign himself sick to evade that danger, and consequently sent for me to confess him: I immediately complied with his desires, and confessed him, but soon found that what he had done was more out of hypocrisy than sincerity; for it is a custom in this country, that where any person has received absolution, he forthwith becomes free from any crime, and may consequently depart at liberty, though he were in hold before. The reason they give for this is, "That if God has pardoned them, how can man pretend to find them guilty?" The same was answered us by the count, when we requested him, upon finding out the fellow's dissimulation, to have him imprisoned again. "Have ye not absolved him?" quoth he. "Is he not free? How then can I pretend to lay hands upon him?" Nor would he hear any reason to the contrary, because the offender was his kinsman.

Awhile after the count sent us another of these wizards, with an assurance that for the future he would let none escape that came into his power. This person we immediately carried into a room to examine; but while my companion went into an adjoining apartment to fetch a paper, leaving the prisoner for me and the interpreter to keep, he, notwithstanding our diligence, and the great number of people in the next room, got from us. A dog we had in the house being alarmed at the noise immediately run after him, while I by another way pursued him so luckily, that I soon met him and tript up his heels, and at the same instant followed his fall and leapt upon his back, belabouring him with all my might, notwithstanding the fear the people have here of meddling with wizards, with the cord of my order, invoking all the while St. Michael and the rest of the saints to my assistance. At the same interim my companion came in, and could not forbear laughing to observe how lustily I laid him on. A little after, the people that had brought him to us came up and bound him in such a manner that he could not stir; for you must observe they were not afraid to touch him, by reason of the Agnus and other preservatives that we had furnished them with. Being thus in our power, we soon brought him to abjure his errors, and afterwards set him at liberty. The laws of this country as to these cases are as follow:—If the wizard that is taken be a freeman, and abjures, for the first offence he is only enjoined penance; for the second he pays an Indian piece of about the value of a slave; but if he offends a third time, he is forthwith sold for a slave, and the price of him distributed among the poor: if he be a slave himself that offends, although it be the first time, he is nevertheless presently sold, and sent among the Whites, a thing so much abhorred by them that they would almost purchase their redemption with the price of their lives. When any of these three last cases happens, a person is deputed either to receive the money and distribute it as before, or else to take in exchange so much linen as amounts to the value, and this to wrap the dead poor in, after the custom of the country. All which is done without our concerning ourselves, lest it should occasion some evil-spirited people to suggest that what we did was rather through a motive of covetousness than any of charity or religion.

So many cases of this nature happened to me during my mission, that would suffice to make a volume apart; nevertheless, not to be too tiresome to my reader, I shall content myself with relating only the most remarkable. Upon a time a certain wizard more famous than ordinary was brought before me, whom, not to trust any more to the count, I committed to the custody of the keeper of the church (an office of great gain and much honour, and which is not conferred by us but upon persons best qualified), to the end that he might imprison him the safer in his own house. This good man, notwithstanding my particular injunctions, not long after set his prisoner at liberty, and placed in his room and in chains a poor slave. At my coming a little while after to examine the offender, not finding him to be the same that I sent, I began to demand of the keeper what was become of him. He answered me, "That was he." Then I asked the prisoner, if he were the person: to which he replied, "He was." Hereupon I seemed to believe both, yet being certain that I was imposed upon, I was resolved to know the truth: for this end I called one of the slaves belonging to the church to me, and commanded him to go immediately and cut off the pretended wizard's head. Hereat the imprisoned slave being affrighted, especially when he saw the axe brought, began to tremble, and cry out, "I am not he, I am not the wizard, but such a one is (naming him) whom the keeper has set free, and put me in his stead." Then turning to the keeper, I said, "What say you to this?" He answered, "Father, the wizard is gone forth to seek a livelihood, and has left this person here as a pledge till he returns: but (continued he) I will immediately go and look after him, and do not question but to find him." Hereupon I went along with him, but to no purpose, for the subtle conjurer had very prudently given us both the slip. For this offence I could do no less than deprive the keeper of his place, and he was not a little thankful that I left him his life. Moreover, prisoners escape many times here through the slightness of their prisons, for being most commonly built with reeds they cannot be supposed to be very strong. To remedy this, we generally took care at the arrival of any European vessel to embark our prisoners on board, and to transport them to other countries.

The infernal practice of sorcery is even abhorred by the natives, and those that make use of it are for the most part the meanest sort of people, serving here either for physicians or surgeons, there being no others in the country. The remedies they have are generally the natural ones, and therefore they have recourse to witchcraft to credit their art, and to make people believe that the virtues of their medicines are communicated to them by the devil. If their physic fails, they excuse themselves, and say, "A certain ominous bird flew over their heads, and hindered the operation of it:" or else they assert some other ridiculous lie. These sorts of incantations are always practised in the night-time. The first thing they say to the sick person after he comes under their cure is, "If you have a mind to be cured, be sure not to send for any confessor, for his presence will not only take away the virtue of the remedy, but likewise deprive you of your life." When any one dies under their hands, they affirm that there were other occasions of his death than those of his distemper, which puts the parents upon divers cursed methods of finding out the supposed murderers, they being generally of opinion that nobody dies a natural death.

Dreadful to be remembered, though not unworthy of memory, was a case that happened in our time, as follows:—A certain child had languished for some time under a desperate disease, and which, by being the only one its parents had, was their chiefest comfort and support: the relations often solicited them to send for some wizard or other to recover its health, but they would by no means hear of such a proposal,

allegding that they never yet had had recourse to any such people upon any occasion whatever. To this the relations replied, and asked them, "What they thought the world would say, that they who had but one only child, should suffer it to die for want of being at the expence of a magician?" This they urged so home, and made use of so many other arguments of the like nature, that they at length prevailed upon the deluded parents to send for a wizard hard-by : when he came into the house, the mother had her sick child in her arms, which the magician stretching forth his arm to touch, in order to begin his charm, at the same time both the child and the wizard expired : this occasioned so excessive an affliction in the father and the mother, that blaming themselves for this impious credulity, and looking upon this accident as no better than parricide in them, before they would bury the body of their unhappy infant, they came to confession at our convent.

Not unlike this was another accident that happened in this country while I was there. A certain sick person sent to a magician to come and cure him : the magician came accordingly, but as he was stretching forth his hand, as in the foregoing case, he fell down dead to the ground, miserably losing his own life, at the same time that he endeavoured by wretched means to prolong that of another man.

But let us return to speak a little more of the wicked oaths practised among these people. They have another sort of oath which they call *Orioncio* : the way of administering this is, by putting exceeding strong poison into the fruit called *Nicessi*, sufficiently spoken of before, and afterwards giving that fruit to the supposed guilty person to eat : he has no sooner tasted of it, but his tongue and throat begin to swell to that excess, that if the wizard did not speedily apply an antidote, he must inevitably soon perish under the experiment, and though innocent he commonly remains tortured for many days.

The oath called *Oluchenche* is given after the following manner : — The person that takes it has his limbs bound tighter or looser, to force out the truth as they term it, according to the wizard's inclination to find him either guilty or innocent.

As I passed through the kingdom of Angola, one of the afore said sorts of the oath called *Bolungo*, was administered to a *Mufacca* (so they call the receiver among the Whites), a relation to the King of Congo, and to him of Loango, one of the powerfulest along that coast, and whose son, as they told me, was to succeed in that kingdom. To this person the *Scinghili*, (gods of the earth, being the name they have for their wizards,) attributed the cause of its not raining in the month of March, at which time it always had accustomed to have rained. He therefore, to satisfy the rage of the people, was to undergo this dangerous test, which he accordingly did, and unexpectedly came off acquitted. The *Scinghili*, or wizards, boast that it is in their power to grant or prevent either wet weather or a drought.

We having put ashore in one of the ports of this kingdom, as we were on our voyage to Congo, and the people having understood who I was, and that I was of a contrary opinion to that of their *Scinghili*, they began immediately to murmur against me. Their wizards, to confirm their belief, and to oppose mine, foretold that there should be no rain all that summer. But it so fell out, and Providence, I believe, had so ordered it, that scarce was I got ashore to say mass, but the heavens began to pour forth their watry wrath against these infidels in such a manner, that these very wizards were afterwards forced to own to me that their knowledge in these matters was not infallible.

In our convent at Sogno, our Fathers had built one apartment two stories high, on purpose to keep some of the church utensils by themselves. No rain having happened

that season, the Scinghili attributed the cause thereof to our raising our building contrary to the custom of the country. Hereupon the too credulous people came one day in a great rage to pull down that apartment; when one of our Fathers, immediately going out, demanded of them, "What they would have?" Whom they answered in great fury, "That they must either pull down that building, or they should always want rain." This soon fired the pious Father, and made him to go on with a great deal of zeal; first reproaching their unwarrantable folly, and after giving them to understand that God was the only disposer of all gifts, whether in heaven, earth, or sea, sometimes giving, and sometimes withholding, according as he best saw fit and convenient; and that the ministers of the prince of darkness, such as their Schinghili, were only qualified to destroy men, both here and hereafter, instead of doing them the least kindness. "Make a devout procession," said he, "to our Lady of Pinda, I assure you God will relieve your wants." So they did, and so it fell out, the earth being soaked with the rain, the house remaining untouched, and the people satisfied. Since then they have used this in time of distress, and it has happened they have gone from the Banza with fair weather, and returned well soaked from Pinda.

Whilst my companion, Father Joseph, was formerly travelling on his mission in Sogno, he came to an open country at a time when the clouds were just ready to disembody their burthens. He there overtook a traveller likewise, who was standing stock still, and murmuring strange words to himself. After which he mounted his bow, and shot an arrow up into the air with great indignation. The Father perceiving this, and guessing it to be some of the devilish practices of this country, immediately came up to him, and after having sharply reprov'd him for his offence, acquainted him, "That he believed all his hellish art would not suffice to keep it from raining that day;" and as he guessed, so it soon happened; for presently after there fell so great a shower, that the Father was wet to the skin, which he was nevertheless pleased with, by reason that it had so plentifully disappointed the wicked forcerer. At this the wretch was much surpris'd, but would not nevertheless be convinced of his error, affirming, "That this had happened through the power of those that went before him, who were greater proficient in magic than himself." These provoking words caused the black Christians that were along with the Father to seize upon the wizard, and to give him that chastisement which his crime deserved.

In the country about Coanza, a river to be pass'd in the way to Singa, a certain Soua, or lord of the manor, caus'd himself to be accounted a Scinghili, requiring his vassals to make their addresses to him when they wanted rain. One of our Fathers coming thither, and detesting the impious abuse, did what lay in his power to get him seized; but being disappointed through the quality of the person, he was forced to have recourse to a milder remedy; and no doubt inspir'd by God, he told the inhabitants, "That if they did not rid out of their hearts that curs'd opinion, they would never have any rain." As the Father prophesied, so it happened; for ever since, for seventeen years together, they have not had one drop in those parts, whereby the earth is become so dry, especially considering the climate, that it was yawnd wide in most places, and seems with so many mouths to beg pardon to the Almighty Dispenser of the benefits for the blasphemy of their lord. It is true, the best come-off they have for this offence is, that the said Father, after their disobedience, curs'd the air; and so caus'd it to withhold its favours from them. Notwithstanding the curse on his country, and the loss of his vassals, who went to live in other parts, the obstinate Soua, unwilling to own his error, still continued to pretend to the same power.

To conclude speaking any more of oaths, I will give one terrible instance relating to them, which happened in the kingdom of Matamba, being the dominions of the queen of Singa, and related to me by Father Francis da Pavia, a missionary there. Upon an affair something more considerable than ordinary, a certain friar of our order thought fitting to give an oath on the holy evangelists to two of the greatest magicians, counsellors to the queen. At first they refused to take it, but at length consented, saying to themselves, "What harm can happen to us by so doing? We had better satisfy the Father in so indifferent a matter, than disoblige him by a refusal." Hereupon they presently agreed to take it, and swore, but falsely, when a strange accident happened. The first of these burst, and fell down dead, while he had his hand on the mass-book; and the other languished away, and died in about six hours after. Which taught others to be more cautious how they jested with God.

From the death of these two magicians of the higher rank, let us proceed to speak of other wizards, who most commonly die violent deaths, and that for the most part voluntarily. For the present, I shall only speak of the head or chief of these wretches, from whom the rest take example. He is styled in the country-language Ganga Chitorne, being reputed god of the earth, and to whom is consequently paid the first fruits of all it produces, due to him, as they say, as its author, and not either to the ordinary work of nature, or to the extraordinary one of Providence. This power he also boasts to be able to communicate to others, when and as often as he pleases. He further asserts, that his body is not capable of suffering a natural death; and, therefore, to confirm his adorers in that opinion, whenever he finds his end approaching, either through age or disease, he calls for such a one of his disciples as he designs to succeed him, and pretends to communicate to him his great power; and afterwards in public (where this tragedy is always acted) he commands him to tie a halter about his neck, and to strangle him therewith, or else to take a club, and knock him down dead. This command being once pronounced, is soon executed, and the wizard thereby sent a martyr to the devil. The reason that this is done in public, is to make known the successor ordained by the last breath of the predecessor, and to shew that he has the same power of producing rain, and the like. If this office were not thus continually filled, the inhabitants say, "That the earth would soon become barren, and mankind consequently perish." In my time, one of these magicians was cast into the sea, another into a river, a mother and her son put to death, and many other banished by our order, as has been said.

In the first year of our arrival in these parts, there happened a passage worthy to be remembered, which, before I can begin with, I must go some years back with my story. Upon the late King of Congo's death, two very considerable persons pretended to that crown, either of whom did all that in him lay to procure the count of Sogno, a powerful elector, on his side. One of these, whose name was Simantamba, made him several presents of slaves for that purpose, but which had been all taken by force; and therefore the Fathers that were then at his court advised him by no means to accept of them. To this the count answered, "That he had already considered of the matter, and was inclinable to be of their opinion, that he ought not to accept of them." Some time after, the same Simantamba, to ingratiate himself the further into this prince, and to engage him in a stricter tie of friendship, requested his sister of him for a wife. To this the count so readily consented, that he not only sent him her forthwith, but likewise the crown itself, which, it seems, he had then in his possession, together with a velvet throne, several other things of great value, and divers armed troops. Simantamba having advice of the approach of his spouse, went out several days' journey to
meet

meet her ; and, the better to avoid the snares that might be laid for him by his rival in the crown, thought it proper to set down and fortify himself in a very strong wood. The count's army arriving some time after with songs, music, and dancing, entered the wood with great alacrity, which Simantamba's followers perceiving, and, fearing some treachery by reason of so great a number of people sent by the count, advised their master to oppose their entrance : but he trusting too much to his security, rejected their advice, and, consequently, soon became a martyr to his credulity ; for the count's army had no sooner got possession of the wood, but they set upon both him and his followers with pistols, and, killing the greatest part, forced the rest to fly. Thus, instead of a joyful hymen, this prince met with a barbarous death, and which, together with that of his friends, suited with the description made by Virgil in the second book of his *Æneid* :

Luſtus ubiq. pavor, et plurima mortis imago.

Some time after, the brother of this deceased prince got together a great number of people to revenge his brother's death ; and his first exploit was the taking of a great part of the county of Chiovachianza belonging to Sogno. To recover which, the count, at our being there, raised a great army likewise, and marched directly towards the chief city of his antagonist. At his arrival, he found all the inhabitants fled ; whereupon the Sogneſe ſoldiers fell immediately to rifling of the houſes, and moreover began to kill all the living creatures they met in their way, to ſatisfy their hunger. Amongſt the reſt they found a cock of a larger ſize than ordinary, with a great ring of iron about one of his legs, which occaſioned one of the wiſeſt among them to cry out, " Surely this cock muſt be bewitched, and is not at all proper for us to meddle with." To which the reſt answered, " Be it what it will, we are reſolved to eat it." For this end they immediately killed, and tore it to pieces after the manner of the Negroes, and afterwards put it into a pot to boil. When it was enough, they took it out into a platter, and two, according to the cuſtom, having ſaid grace, five of them ſat down to it with great greedineſs. But before they had touched a bit, to their great wonder and amazement, the boiled pieces of the cock, though ſodden, and near diſſolved, began to move about, and unite into the form they were in before, and being ſo united, the reſtored cock immediately raiſed himſelf up, and jumped out of the platter upon the ground, where he walked about as well as when he was firſt taken. Afterwards he leaped upon an adjoining wall, where he became new-feathered all of a ſudden, and then took his flight to a tree hard-by, where fixing himſelf, he, after three claps of his wings, made a moſt hideous noiſe, and then diſappeared. Every one may eaſily imagine what a terrible fright the ſpectators were in at this ſight, who, leaping with a thouſand Ave-Marias in their mouths from the place where this had happened, were contented to obſerve moſt of the particulars at a diſtance. The cauſe of their preſervation they attributed to the grace that was ſaid before they ſat down ; otherwiſe they were of opinion that they ſhould all have been either poſſeſſed or killed. I having related this ſtory to Father Thomas da Seſtolla, one of our order, who had been ſuperior of a miſſion to Congo and Angola for above ſeven years, he told me, that whiſt he lived in Congo, he heard two perſons aver that the before-mentioned Simantamba had a very large cock, from whoſe manner and time of crowing he obſerved with great ſuperſtition, whether his undertakings ſhould be unlucky or proſperous. But notwithſtanding the infallibility of his oracle, we find he was deceived when he made that laſt expedition wherein he loſt his life. Whether this cock of his was the ſame mentioned
before

before to have been restored to life after a most miraculous manner, I shall not take upon me to determine.

The same Father Thomas acquainted me how he and his companion had been abused in their mission at Sogno, and sent among the pagans into the kingdom of Angoij, which was after the following manner. A King of Congo being desirous of being crowned, had recourse to the Portuguese of the kingdom of Angola for their assistance, with condition, that in case he succeeded in his design, he would give them the country of Sogno, and two mines of gold to boot. This proffer being not unwelcome to the Portuguese, they immediately assembled themselves to take possession of it, to the end that thereby they might be more secure of having their bargain performed after they had done their work. At the same time, the King gathered great numbers of his subjects together to join the Portuguese, adding moreover a certain company of Giaghi under the Calangola (a chief among this barbarous people, that delight in feeding on man's flesh) all which immediately set forward towards Sogno. The count being soon acquainted with these proceedings, raised a prodigious army likewise, and therewith went out to meet his bold invaders. But it so happened, that by reason the Sognese army were wholly unacquainted with the fire-arms and manner of the Portuguese fighting, they were soon discomfited and routed, leaving the field, and an innumerable number of prisoners, together with the dead body of their count, to the conquerors.

After this victory obtained, the aforesaid Calangola proposed to the Portuguese captain to have all the prisoners killed, and given to his soldiers to eat, alleging, "that the next day they should take as many more, and they would then not be able to keep both." This proposal the captain, either through clemency or interest, refused to consent to, telling the calangola, that his men, if they pleased, might feed for the present on the dead bodies, and in the mean-time he would consider of his request. Whilst this passed, the countess-dowager, together with all the people, petitioned the said captain, "that he would proceed no farther with his hostilities, and he should be fully satisfied in what he demanded." To which the captain answered, "That he was resolved to go on as far as the farthest Banza*, to teach the Sognese people the bounds of their obedience to Congo." Hereat the people being extremely enraged, one of the principal among them being of the blood of the counts, stood up, and told them, "That if they would elect him for their count, he would soon rid them of their fears of the Portuguese." To this the affrighted people immediately consented, and, at the same time, chose him for their sovereign. Being thus chosen, he began to unite and fortify the distracted minds of his subjects; and to the end they might quickly be in a condition to take the field, he gave them the following instructions. First he ordered them to shave their heads (which custom continues even to this day among these people, whether male or females). Next he commanded them to bind palm-leaves about their temples, to the end that in the battle they might thereby be distinguished from those Blacks that accompanied the Portuguese. He further advised them not to be afraid either of the noise or flashings of guns, since they were only as bugbears fit to fright children, and not men of courage. He moreover cautioned them against minding those European trifles which their enemies the Whites were accustomed to throw among them, when they had a mind to disorder and make them break their ranks†. He likewise ordered them to shoot always at the men, and not the horses, these last being inconsiderable in

* Banza is a name given to the cities here.

† The Portuguese, to put them into disorder, used to scatter knives, bits of coral and of cloth, about which they ran out to pick up, and so were dispersed.

war, and nothing like to the nature of tigers, lions and elephants. He commanded them moreover that if any among them turned his back, they should immediately strike off his head; and if more than one did the same, the rest should serve him the like: "For," says he, "we are all resolved to die a glorious death, rather than live a miserable life." Lastly, to the end that his followers might go on under him with the less concern, he commanded them to kill all their domestic animals; and the better to encourage them therein, was the first that set them an example, by killing his own in their fight. This he did likewise to prevent the Portuguese (in case they should have the better of him) from having any thing to triumph over, and feast with in his dominions; and rather chose to have his subjects feed on them, to hearten and strengthen them for battle, than to have his enemies fatten and regale on his spoils. Now because his orders had been so punctually observed in this particular, the whole race of these beasts, especially of cows, has almost been totally destroyed ever since; insomuch that I myself have known a young maid fold here for a calf, and a woman for a cow. To reinforce this his army, the last thing this count did was to call in his neighbours to his assistance, together with whom and his own subjects having composed a wonderful force, he forthwith marched out into the field. His enemies, through too great a negligence and contempt of his power, soon betrayed themselves into his hands; for marching on without the least order, they gave opportunity to an ambush that lay ready for them, to break, and put them easily to flight. The first that fled were the Giaghi, being the troops under their calangola, and the forces of the King of Congo followed soon after. The slaves that had been taken in the battle before, finding here an opportunity to escape, run like madmen in amongst their friends, and having their arms unloosed by them, presently turned all their fury upon the remaining Portuguese, who still kept their ground; but at length being overpowered by numbers, they were forced to give back, and were all killed in the pursuit, except six who were taken prisoners, and brought before the count; who demanded of them, "If they would choose to die with their companions, or survive to be made slaves?" To which they answered, with an accustomed Spanish resolution, "Never did Whites yet yield to be made slaves to Blacks, neither would they." Which answer soon caused their destruction; for scarce were the words out of their mouths, but they were all killed upon the spot. All the artillery and baggage was taken by the Sognese army; the former of which, together with some pieces of cannon bought of the Hollanders, served to furnish a fortress built with earth at the mouth of the river Zaire, which commands both the said river and the sea.

Before they left Loanda, the Portuguese army had desired of the commander of the Armadilia (so they called their fleet by reason of the smallness of it) "that as he sailed along the coasts of Sogno, wherever he saw great fires burning he should anchor." Now after the obtained victory, the Sognese soldiers spent all their nights in jollity and merriment about such fires, as had been described; which the ships immediately perceiving, dropped their anchors hard-by and were preparing to land their force: while discovering from the shore a Portuguese slave that hailed them, they soon took him into a boat, and found he had been sent by the count to the governor of Loanda with a leg and an arm of a White; together with this insulting message, "Go carry the news of your defeat, together with this present, to the governor of Loanda your master." Thus you may perceive the seamen, if they had landed, had been in the same case with the landmen, and instead of imprisoning the Blacks in the shackles they had carried along with them for that purpose, had been undoubtedly in the like condition themselves, and had been at least made slaves of, if they came off with their lives.

What the Sognese say for themselves in justification of this quarrel, is as follows: 'They ask first, "What right the King of Congo had to give away their country of Sogno to the Portuguese, when it was none of his, but a sovereignty of itself?" And next they would know, "Why the Portuguese, who were not unacquainted with that particular, should be so unjust as to be ready to accept of it, and that in an hostile manner?" They alleged moreover, "That when the Hollanders some years since had got possession of the kingdom of Angola, a great number of Portuguese being routed thence, fled to Sogno, where they were courteously entertained by the count, who gave them the island of Horses to live in; and moreover furnished them with all manner of provisions gratis. Now they could not but much wonder that those people whom they had so hospitably relieved, should have the ingratitude to endeavour to take their country away from them." These jars arising upon this occasion, could not but be extremely prejudicial to the infant growth of Christianity in this country, inasmuch that one of our order who lived at Sogno died for mere grief thereof: and I myself met with several people in Chitombi, the place where the battle was fought, who would come no more to confession upon that account.

Now to return to our story: the count having received in the aforesaid battle about thirteen wounds, in near the compass of a month, died thereof; and a new one being soon chosen in his stead, he nourished in his heart so great a hatred to the Portuguese, that he resolved for the future to have no more dealings neither with them nor the Capuchins, whom he looked upon to belong to them. Whereupon sending for some Flemish merchants that were just then upon their departure out of his country for Flanders, he writ by them to the pope's nuncio there, to furnish his dominion with new priests. The pious prelate upon the receipt of this letter, sent him two Franciscans and one lay-brother, with strict command to them, that if there were any Capuchins in the country, they should submit to them as their superiors. These three religious persons being arrived, were received with all the courtesy imaginable, and afterwards conducted to our convent. The count perceiving that he had now got other priests, made use of several false prettexts to send ours away; and at last being not able to prove any crimes against them, he had recourse to the most barbarous and arbitrary usage that could be thought on, commanding that they should be dragged out of his dominions for the space of two miles together. This was forthwith executed with the greatest rigour, for the officers of this cruel master not only tore them along in their own cords, with their faces grating downwards upon the sands, but likewise reviled them all the way with unmerited reproaches and calumnies. All which notwithstanding these pious fathers underwent with the greatest cheerfulness, well remembering what greater punishments and indignities their Saviour had suffered for them before. So great nevertheless were the injuries offered to these fathers, that in no long time after one of them died; and the other, who was the aforesaid Father Thomas, hardly escaped with his life. Being thus misused, and withal unprovided of all necessaries, they were at last left on the confines of the count's dominion, in a little uninhabited island of the river Zaire. Here they made shift to support themselves for two or three days; F. Thomas, who was the least hurt of the two, going out to hunt for their subsistence: but at length they were unexpectedly delivered from hence by some pagan fishermen, who took them on board them, and carried them to a city of theirs called Bombangoij in the kingdom of Angoij. Here arriving at night, they were very courteously entertained by an infidel of the place, who gave them a supper, and moreover assigned them a house, and three women to wait on them after the manner of that country. But our fathers not caring

to trust themselves among these people, soon after they had supped, sending away their women, meditated an escape. For this purpose Father Thomas, who was the best able to walk, took his lame companion upon his back, and marched out of the house; but he had not gone far, but he was forced, through weakness, to set down his burden under a great shady tree; which as soon as day appeared, for fear of discovery, they made shift to get up into. Their patron coming that morning to visit his guests, and finding them gone, much wondered; and well knowing they could not be got far, by reason of the condition he left them in, immediately went about to search after them. Coming at last near the place where they were, and not having yet found them, a pagan thought came into his head, that they might have been carried away by some spirits, and which he expressed after this manner; "If the devil has carried them away, I suppose he did it that they might make me no recompence for my kindness." Our Fathers hearing this, could not forbear laughing, even amidst their miseries and misfortunes, and putting out their heads from the tree, cried out, "We are here, friend, never doubt our gratitude, for we only went out of the house to refresh ourselves with the rays of the rising sun." Hereat the old man being exceedingly rejoiced, immediately took them down, and putting them into two nets, sent them away to Capinda, a port of the kingdom of Angoij, about two days journey from Bombangoij. Here, if I am not mistaken, the Father that had been most harassed, died; and Father Thomas embarking himself not long after on board a vessel that lay there, departed for Loanda in the kingdom of Angola. One of the two Franciscans that remained yet in Sogno, the other having been gone for Angola some time before, being extremely affronted at the ill usage of these two Capuchins, signified to the count that he thought himself obliged in charity to go in quest of his banished brethren, and that either to support them if alive, or bury them if dead. This request the count highly approved of, and consequently gave him leave to go. Having hereby obtained his desire, he soon set out for Capinda, but never returned, thinking it rather adviseable to go on board the same vessel with Father Thomas for Loanda.

His companion, the lay-brother, not finding him to return, obtained leave likewise to go on the same errand, as well as under pretence of hastening his return; but being once out of sight, he also was no more to be seen. Our convent thus being deprived of all its inhabitants, only one lay-brother remaining behind, whom the count kept locked up for fear of losing him; the people rose in great fury against their Prince, and that for depriving them of the mission designed for their good. No prudence being capable of opposing this mutiny, they at last went so far that they seized upon their count, and sent him bound to an island of his dominions in the Zaire; where, that he might not be absolutely idle, they left him at liberty to command, and afterwards chose a new count. This Prince being but little satisfied with his confinement, did all that in him lay to get himself restored, intriguing incessantly with the neighbouring nations for that purpose. But which coming timely to his subjects' ears, they once more seized upon him, and tying a huge weight to his neck, threw him in a rage into the sea, with these words: "Over this river you made the poor Capuchins to pass into banishment, for no offence, and into the same go you, barbarous and inhuman monster, for so doing." Thus ended the life of a persecutor of poor harmless men, who offended him only in that they were either really or else suspected to be Portuguese.

Whilst matters went thus, Father Joseph Maria, who lived then at Loanda, after some time came to Sogno, under pretence of carrying away the lay-brother before-mentioned, with some church-utensils belonging to the mission, though in reality his

business was to found the minds of the Sognese people. After his arrival at the mouth of the river Zaire, called by the Portuguese Pionta del Padron, before he would set foot ashore, he sent a messenger to acquaint the count with his being there. As soon as the people heard of it, they hurried away in great numbers to see him, and presently acquainted him, "how they had dispatched the enemy of the Capuchins into that river, and that for the future they would defend those holy men to the last drop of their blood." This promise they afterwards confirmed by an oath at the holy altar. They also, at the same time, earnestly entreated this Father, "that he would continue among them, and depart no more for Loanda." To this request, Father Joseph answered, "That his commission from his superior extended no farther than to bring away Father Leonard, together with the church goods." In short, so very urgent were their entreaties, and so powerful their reasons, that he was at length prevailed upon to tarry with them; and that especially at the return of the messenger who brought him the same desires from the new count. All this gained so far upon him, that he not only consented to stay himself, but likewise, as a farther token of good-will, and pardoning their late offence, procured also the injured Father Thomas to return once more among them; and even from thence-forward our order has lived in that country without the least molestation.

This earldom is very large, even if you except Chiovachianza spoken of before. In it there were formerly about six missionaries, but there are now for the most part but one or two, when there is occasion for a much greater number. In the first mission my companion went on into these parts, above five hundred, as well men and women, as children, were baptized by him in a day. I have also known here abundance of mothers come five or six days journey, with their infants in their arms, to have them christened, or else to confess themselves, paying the interpreter to-boot. How often does it happen among Europeans, that many put off the sacrament of the blessed supper from time to time, with no small hazard to their souls? Whereas, in this country, there is only a want of apostolic labourers to make the people strict observers of the commandments, and constant in the faith.

To preserve as much as possible this new-planted Christianity, it has been ordered, that in every city, or place of any note, there should be one church at least, and at my being here there were in all about eighteen throughout the count's dominions. To every of these there is sent some person that has been bred up in our convent, who, three times a-week, is to say over the Rosary to the people, and withal to teach every Sunday. On all holidays, instead of mass the Litany is only sung, and the Christian doctrine expounded; and on the first Sunday of every month there is a procession to be of the Rosary. As often as any dedication-day of a church happens, the missionary takes care to be present himself if he can possibly, when great numbers appear, either to baptize their children, to marry, or to receive the sacrament.

Herein nevertheless there did not want abuses, introduced for the most part by foreigners, rather than the natives, of whom there are many, who, through the grace of God, live such good lives, that sometimes in their confessions there has scarce been matter for absolution. The first abuse was in matrimony, after the following manner:—These people were accustomed to converse with their wives some time before they married them, to try if they could like them; and after the same manner the wives were to experience their husbands.—The contracts were made thus: A father and mother seeing their son arrived to an age fit for marriage, send a present (which goes also for a portion), according to their ability, to the father and mother of the person that he fancies, requesting their daughter of them for a wife to their son. Together with this present

present there is likewise sent an earthen pot full of palm-wine, called by the natives Cietto à Melaffo. Before the intended wife's parents receive the present, they and their company are to drink up the wine: first, the father is to drink, then the mother; and after them it is handed about among the standers-by: if this last ceremony were omitted, it would be accounted a considerable affront. After all this is done, the father is to return an answer either one way or other: if he rejects the offer, he must make his excuses; but if he accept it, he only retains the portion. When the last happens, the husband, with his friends and relations, goes immediately, upon notice that the present has been accepted, to his wife's father's house; and having there received her of her parents, conducts her to his own. The way of marrying *in facie ecclesiæ* is not at all approved of by them, for they must first be satisfied whether their wife will have children, of which they are very solicitous; whether she will be diligent in her daily labour; and lastly, whether she will prove obedient, before they will marry her. If they find her faulty in any of these points, they immediately send her back again to her parents. When the fault proceeds from the wife's side, the husband must have the present he made her restored; but when it happens on his part, he can recover nothing. Though the woman, through any defect, either in person or behaviour, be returned, yet is she not nevertheless looked upon as the worse for it, but soon after generally undergoes another trial. Being obliged by us to marry, when once they are become so, they will live so christian-like and lovingly together, that the wife would sooner suffer herself to be cut to pieces, than consent to defile her husband's bed. If it at any time happen otherwise, which I am confident rarely does, the adulterer is obliged to give the value of a slave to the husband of the adulteress, and she is to go forthwith and beg her husband's pardon for the wrong she has done him; otherwise if he comes to know of her crime, he may easily obtain a divorce. Such as are found to cohabit together, without being lawfully married, are fined so much of the country money as amounts to the value of nine of our crowns.

It must be observed, that the father of the bride, when he receives the present for her, though it be never so little, must not complain, for that would be no better than selling his daughter. Wherefore, to prevent such a crime, all men are taxed by the public in those matters how much they shall give, and which is always rated according to their qualities and conditions.

All that the bride's parents receive upon this account, they look upon as due to them for maintaining their daughter to the time of her marriage; so that you may perceive he is to be esteemed the richest person here who has most daughters.

A notable abuse is this other, though practised by the meaner sort of people, and that but seldom. When a man happens to draw near his end, who has taken a woman for his wife, but whom he had not yet married, to save returning the portion, he leaves the concubine to some kinsman. To prevent the which, we have ordered, that he who receives a woman in that nature shall be bastinadoed. One of these Negroes that had taken his cousin to wife, was once brought before me. This person was of the better sort; but I thought the greater his quality was, the greater would be the scandal if I should let him go unpunished; and therefore having first used admonitions to him, and finding them fruitless, I proceeded to menaces; but all the effect they had was, that instead of quitting her, he made a new present to her father, and thereby insinuated that he had fulfilled the law. Hereupon I caused him to be again apprehended, together with his spouse; and having made a short sermon to them both, and the rest of the people, to shew the heinousness of this crime, upon their further obstinacy, I delivered them up to the people to be dealt with as they thought fit; who, taking them

into their custody, before they parted with them, severely scourged them both, and moreover deprived the man of a certain office he held, which brought him in great profit.

I said before, that women would have experience of their husbands before they married them, in like manner as the men were to have of them; and in this particular I can aver, that they are commonly much more obdinate or fickle than men, for I have known many of these last, that were willing to be married, and the women always hung back, and either fled away or made excuses.

Amongst the many cases of this nature that happened to me in my mission, I shall relate only one more. Being called to confess a sick woman that had a daughter who lived with a man upon trial; before I confessed her, I told her "That I could not make her partaker of the benefit of absolution, unless she withdrew her daughter from the state of sin she lived in, and obliged her to marry:" to which the sick woman readily answered, "Father, I will never consent that my daughter shall have occasion from me to curse me after I am dead, for obliging her to marry where she does not fancy." Then I replied, "What, do you stand more in awe of a temporal than an eternal curse?" And at the same time calling the daughter to me, I demanded of her, "If she would be willing that her mother should go to hell upon her account?" The wretch hearing this, began immediately to tremble and weep, and calling her feigned husband to her, swore before me, that she would be sure to marry him the first holiday that came; and accordingly she did; for soon after going a fishing with her husband, they happened to have good luck, and therewith they solemnized their nuptials. Hereupon I presently confessed the sick mother, and she not long after died in peace. Notwithstanding this, some obstinate mothers have rather chosen to die unconfessed, than to concern themselves with the marriage of their daughters.

The economy observed between husband and wife is as follows:—The man is obliged to procure a habitation, to clothe his wife according to her condition, to prune the trees, to grub up roots from the fields where there is occasion, and also to carry home the palm-wine to their house as often as it rises. The woman on her part is to find meat for her husband and children, and therefore only they have the care of marketing. As soon as rain comes, she goes into the fields, and works till noon, at which time she is to return home to get her husband's dinner. Being got ready, she sets it down before him, who sits only at table, and who, after he has satisfied himself, gives the rest to her, and she forthwith divides it between herself and children. I should have told you also, that the wives here wait on their husbands at table.

Another abuse is, that when the women are with child, they clothe themselves from the loins to the knees, after the country-fashion, with a sort of rind taken off a tree, which is like a coarse cloth, and so neatly interwove, that it rather seems the work of the loom, than the product of the earth. This tree is called *Mirrone*, the wood whereof is very hard, the leaves like those of the orange-tree, and every bough sends down abundance of roots to the ground. It is generally planted near the houses, as if it were the tutelar god of the dwelling, the Gentiles adoring it as one of their idols; and in some places they leave calabashes full of wine of the palm-tree at the foot of them, for them to drink when they are thirsty; nor do they dare tread upon its leaves, any more than we would on the holy cross. But if they perceive any branch broke, they no longer worship it, but presently take off the bark, or rind, whereof the women with child make those garments, receiving them at the hands of the wizards, who tell them they ease the burden of the great belly, and cause them to be easily delivered. It is not to be imagined how careful the women are of this tree, believing it delivers them from

from all the dangers that attend child-bearing. Nevertheless, understanding there was one in the liberty of our mission, I went, well attended, and cut it down. The woman it belonged to asked why it was cut down; I told her I wanted it to cut into planks; and she went into her house without speaking one word more.

The fourth abuse is, that whilst their children are young, these people bind them about with certain superstitious cords made by the wizards; who likewise teach them to utter a kind of spell while they are binding them. They also at the same time hang about them bones and teeth of divers animals, being preservatives, as they say, against the power of any disease. Likewise there are some mothers so foolish, that they will hang Agnus-Deis, medals, and relics to the aforesaid cords. When these women bring their children to be christened, if we find any of these cords about them, we presently order them to be stopped in their proceedings, and instead thereof to receive several scourges on their knees, till such time as they recant their error. I will relate only one of the several cases of this nature that happened to me. A woman came to me to have her son baptized, and who at the same time had the magic cord about his waste: I immediately ordered the mother to be whipped; but scarce had she received one stroke before she fell down on her knees, and in great consternation directed herself to me after this manner: "Father, pardon me, I beseech you, for the love of God, because that my child, having had four of these cords on, I took off three while we were upon the road, and the fourth I designed to take away as soon as I had opportunity, but forgot it." This caused great laughter in the standers-by, but in me it raised an effect of pity of the simplicity of the woman, insomuch that giving her only a smart reproof, I sent her away unpunished.

The fifth is, that being to wean any one of their children, the father and mother together lay him on the ground; and whilst they do that, which modesty will not permit me to name, the father lifts him by the arm, and so holds him for some time hanging in the air, falsely believing that by those means he will become more strong and robust. This ceremony they call the lifting of a child, and is in my opinion the most impudent and superstitious that could be imagined. These people moreover keep their young children always naked upon the ground, to the end they may thereby grow hardy and active; and scarce are they able to walk alone, but they tie a bell about them, to give notice where they are to be found when they have strayed.

A sixth abuse is, that the mothers are accustomed to present their infants to the wizards as soon as born, that they may foretel what good or evil fortune is likely to befall them: for this purpose the false prophet takes the child in his arms, and turning and winding it about, makes his pretended observations upon the muscles and other parts of its body, and afterwards tells the parents what he thinks fit. The same observations are made upon sick persons, to know what has been the occasion of their diseases: if they happen to guess wrong, and the patient comes to die, they never want for excuses to clear themselves.

Seventhly, it is a custom that either the parents or the wizards give certain rules to be inviolably observed by the young people, and which they call Chegilla: these are to abstain from eating either some sorts of poultry, the flesh of some kinds of wild beasts, such and such fruits, roots either raw or boiled after this or another manner, with several other ridiculous injunctions of the like nature, too many to be enumerated here. You would wonder with what religious observance these commands are obeyed. These young people would sooner chuse to fast several days together, than to taste the least bit of what has been forbidden them; and if it sometimes happen that the Chegilla has been neglected to have been given them by their parents, they think they shall presently die.

die unless they go immediately to receive it from the wizards. A certain young negro being upon a journey, lodged in a friend's house by the way: his friend, before he went out the next morning, had got a wild hen ready for his breakfast, they being much better than the tame ones. The Negro hereupon demanded, "If it were a wild hen?" His host answered, "No:" then he fell on heartily, and afterwards proceeded on his journey. About four years after these two met together again, and the afore-said Negro being not yet married, his old friend asked him, "If he would eat a wild hen?" To which he answered, "That he had received the Chegilla, and therefore could not." Hereat the host began immediately to laugh, enquiring of him, "What made him refuse it now, when he had eaten one at his table about four years ago?" At the hearing of this the Negro immediately fell a trembling, and suffered himself to be so far possessed with the effects of imagination, that he died in less than twenty-four hours after.

Eighthly; the maids have a custom, that in what place soever they first have their courtes come upon them, they must continue, though without doors, till one of their kindred comes to carry them into the house; then they have two maids and a separate apartment assigned them, where they must keep locked up for two or three months together, and observe certain superstitious ceremonies, such as, not to speak to any man, to wash so many times a day, to anoint themselves with Taculla, which is the dust of a red wood tempered with water, and the like. If they should not do this, they are of opinion that they should never be fit for procreation, though experience shews them the contrary. This superstition is by them called the Casket of Water or Fire.

On the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, I had a mind to preach a sermon against these practices; and the better to move the people, I had before placed the image, in relieve, of this blessed saint, covered, on the altar, with a dagger struck through her breast, and which the blood followed: this done, I began to discourse against those women that observed the hellish delusions before-mentioned, proving that they thereby not only offended their loving Saviour, but likewise did great injury to his immaculate mother. At the same instant I drew aside the curtain and discovered the image, which the people perceiving so wounded and bloody, began immediately to relent, and broke out into the extreme grief. Among the many present, there was one father of a family that had a daughter then shut up upon the foregoing account; who returning home in a great passion, fell upon both wife and daughter, and banged them to that degree, that they were glad to come immediately to our church to be confessed.

The ninth and last abuse is, that all the fields of this country being without fences, their owners, to preserve their corn, plant about them several rows of stakes, which being bound round with bundles of herbs by the wizards, they tell you will kill any such as shall offer either to rob or do them damage.

To remedy as much as possible all these disorders, which for the most part are practised either by women or men of no consideration, we have thought proper to issue forth the following ordinances:

First, That all the Manis or governors either of provinces or cities, who are not lawfully married, shall be forthwith deprived of their governments, to the end that they may not by their ill examples withhold the common people from their duty. To get this the better observed, we drew on our side all the principal courtiers, whom we persuaded to marry their wives without desiring to have any foregoing experience of them. This pious endeavour of ours, through the grace of God, succeeded so well, that all that embraced it were esteemed; and such as opposed it either despised or punished.

Secondly,

Secondly, That all the women which were great with child should be confessed, and communicate oftener than they were wont to do, and especially such as were near their time; both whom we likewise enjoined to wear religious relics instead of the wizards' mats.

Thirdly, That all mothers should make the cords they bound their infants with of palm-leaves that had been consecrated on Palm Sunday, and moreover guard them well with other such relics as we are accustomed to make use of at the time of baptism.

Fourthly, That all fathers and mothers should at certain times offer up their children to God, and that in the church before some image of Our Saviour.

Fifthly, That all mothers after the birth of their first born should carry it to the church, and perform the ceremony, which is called entering into the holy place; and if it be sick, we ordered its mother to recommend it to the Lord, together with some sort of vow.

Sixthly, That the parents should enjoin their children to observe some particular devotion, such as to repeat, so many times a day, the Rosary or the Crown in honour of the Blessed Virgin, to fast on Saturdays, to eat no flesh on Wednesdays, and such things used among Christians.

Seventhly, Those women that should be found shut up for the future on account of their conception were to be scourged, and which was forthwith executed by order from the count: but if through necessity they were obliged to keep up, then they were enjoined only to repeat the Rosary on common days, and to hear mass on all feast-days.

Eightly and lastly, Whipping was likewise imposed on all such as should rob, or otherwise do damage in any field; and that instead of the magic guard their owners had planted to preserve their corn, and to render it fertile, they should make use of consecrated palm-branches, and here and there set the sign of the cross. And further, to the end that all these preservatives should be left standing at the time of reaping the corn, we sent always a good company of our scholars at that season with a standard, to run over the fields, and see that all was in order; and also to back their authority, we procured several of the count's sons and relations to accompany them, who might warrant the pulling down any spells or incantments which they should meet with in their way.

Being thus got into the spacious fields of Sogno, let us take a view by-the-bye of the situations, possessions, habitations, and manner of living, and clothing of those Ethiopians. The earldom of Sogno is absolute, except only its being tributary to the kingdom of Congo. It is a peninsula, bordering on the east upon Bamba, a duchy belonging to Congo, and divided from it by the river Ambrise: on the west and south it has the ocean, and on the north it is bounded by the river Zaire, which divides the Christians from the Pagans of the kingdom of Angoi, and is seated in the torrid zone, being only six degrees distant from the equinoctial line. It has several islands in the Zaire, which are all inhabited by Christians. The election of the count is performed by nine electors, who for the most part chuse a new one before the old one deceased is buried. During the interim of the *sede vacante* (vacancy of the throne) a child governs, who is obeyed by all as if he were their real prince. As soon as the election is made, we missionaries are acquainted with it by order, to the end that if we approve of it, we may publish it in the church, otherwise the election goes for nothing.

The count being dead, the countess-dowager (like the Queen-dowager of Congo) returns with her children to her first habitation, where she is to exercise no dominion, but becomes a private woman, only retaining a privilege to take place next to the

countess-regent. Sometimes it happens that there are three or four of the countess-dowagers living at a time, and that because the women in this country are much longer lived than the men, as also that it is lawful for nobody to marry these countesses except the successor only.

Their duty is to observe continence strictly in their widowed state; for if any of them should be proved guilty of unchastity, they must either undergo death by fire or the sword. If either the son, or any other person of the blood has a mind to succeed his relation even in the life-time of the dying prince, there commonly arise great troubles to the state; for they generally by factions get possession of the throne, and exclude the electors from doing their duty. It is therefore that the death of all counts is always concealed as much as possible, inasmuch that sometimes the blessed sacrament has been forborn to be given them, for fear of discovering the occasion, by the priests going to court.

It once happened that I was called to court to comfort the indisposed count, but the messenger it seems had a particular order to conduct me by the most unfrequented road. I went, and being come into the count's presence, after having received me with all the civility imaginable, he demanded of the courtier what people he had met by the way: he answered, only three or four, and named them. After which, without any reply to him, he addressed himself to me, and discoursed of many things relating to my mission. I knew such discourse could not be the cause of his sending for me, and therefore after some time intreated His Highness to discover to me the occasion of it: he answered, "The occasion of my sending for you, Father, was only to see you, and to delight myself with your conversation." But as I was afterwards informed by a person about him, his reason was to have some remedy from me for his indisposition; yet although I had been above an hour with him, he had not the courage to open his mind to me, fearing lest even I should discover his illness to be greater than it really was, and therefore the better to keep me in ignorance, he immediately caused himself to be lifted out of the bed. My companion soon after returning from his mission in the neighbouring parts, found several dead bodies in the road, which we discovering to the count, fearing it was by his order they had been murdered, he frankly owned that they had been sacrificed to the interest of the state. We told him our sense of such practices, and withal enjoined him a severe penance for the fact.

The sons of the deceased count remain likewise no more than private gentlemen after his death; and if their father in his life-time has a mind to buy them any estates, he must publish throughout his whole dominions, that he has done it with his own money, legally arising from his own rents, otherwise his children would run a risk to be deprived of their possessions, as, for want of such a proclamation, it has often happened they have been. The counts have another way to leave livelihoods to their children or friends, and that is by grubbing up woods belonging to his crown, and thereby reducing them to arable lands, which he is at liberty to grant as he thinks fit. This way we have likewise made use of to subsist any slave baptized into our church, and for whom we have begged some of this land for him to cultivate to his own profit.

The count's dominions are very large, and in which are many cities called Banza, one of the principal of which is Chiova, but the greatest of all is the Banza of Sogno, where the count resides. This Banza is always governed by one of the count's near relations or friends, and who has only the name of governor, the rest having only the title of Mani. There are likewise several territories and towns subject to these cities, which are termed by the natives Libattas.

Every governor or Mani on the feast-day of St. James is obliged to appear with all his people at the Banza of Sogno, to assist at the first mass said there. If any one be any ways hindered from coming, he must send a deputy in his room, which if he neglects to do, he will both lose his employment, and pay a fine besides.

On the same day every one is to pay allegiance to the Prince after the following manner:—In the great market-place near our convent a throne is erected for the count, who in the presence of all the people comes to receive benediction from the missionary, who attends for that purpose in the church-porch: he afterwards exercises two feats of arms. In the first, after the custom of the country, having on his head a crown of flowing feathers, he makes use of a bow and arrows: in the other, being adorned with a hat with plumes of feathers on it, a chain and cross of gold about his neck, to which is fixed a long rope of coral which hangs down to his knees, together with a short scarlet cloak, all embroidered, on his shoulders, with two open places to put out his arms on each side, and several other fine things, he exercises with the fuzee. In both these he is at the same time imitated by the people, who herein use the same gestures and motions they would do in case they were either to attack or defend themselves against their enemy. As soon as the count has ended his exercise he goes to sit upon his throne, which is prepared for him under a great tree that stands on the south-side of the market-place before-mentioned. After him the captain-general, having received the like benediction with his master, performs the same thing that he had done before him, and wherein he is also followed by all the people, with divers ways of attacking, retreating, and other stratagems of war, called by the nations *Safchelari*. As soon as he has done, he places himself on a high seat covered with leather, built up for him on the east-side of our church: this he does, that he may both the better be seen, and observe the military exercises performed successively by the electors and the Mani, each being as a captain at the head of his company, and who every one carry a specimen of that which they are obliged to offer every year to the count for the subsistence of himself and court. For example; if they are to give fish, they carry a couple of fish tied together on the head of a spear: if oil, then they shew the palm-fruit that produces it: if flesh, they carry a horn of some beast; and sometimes I have seen a man wrapped about in a cow's skin to demonstrate that duty. At the same time the Manis dispose of the Syndicship to him that is most worthy, and remove such as have ill executed their offices from their employments. The great number of people met together from all parts to assist at this ceremony, occasions us also a great deal to do during the space of fifteen days: for some apply themselves to us to be married, others to confess themselves, and some to baptize their infants. I think of these last, for my share, I baptized about two hundred and seventy-two in one day. All the aforesaid ceremonies being at an end, the people return home each to their own country, but not without craving a blessing from father-missioner.

This ceremony is begun on St. James's day, by reason that apostle is looked upon as the patron and protector of all these parts, and that for having given a famous victory to the King of Congo against the idolaters on his day. The manner according to the common report was this:—

Giovi, the first Christian King of Congo, being dead, Don Alphonso his son, no less heir to his virtuous actions than crown, succeeded him. Panfanguitima his brother thinking his title not good, because he had changed his religion for the Christian faith, in a short time rebelled, and having no better warrant than his sword, moved against him with a numerous army of idolaters. Don Alphonso, not a little surprised at this attempt, marched out to meet him with a small number, trusting to the merits of his

cause, and the assistance of our Saviour: they soon came to a battle, and though the idolaters were very numerous, yet were they immediately routed, and Pansanguitima himself wounded. After the battle this prince fled to a certain retired place in the mountains, where being met with by some Blacks that were Christians, they seized upon and took him prisoner, and afterwards brought him bound before the King his brother: the King seeing him in that condition, embraced him with all the bowels of a loving brother, and being extremely concerned to find him so desperately wounded both in soul and body, made it his utmost endeavours to get him healed of both. But no Christian charity was able to prevail upon the stubborn and obstinate Pagan Pansanguitima, who giving himself up altogether to despair, would suffer neither remedy nor comfort, and so in a short time died. It did not so happen to his lieutenant-general, for he having heard the dreadful sentence of death pronounced against him in case he did not turn Christian, chose rather to be baptized than to die a martyr to his former opinion. Hereupon the King immediately caused his bonds to be loosed, and set him free, only enjoining him this penance, "That for a certain time he should be obliged to bring water for all such as were to be baptized." Now upon report that St. James was visibly seen assisting at this battle, he has ever since been received for the patron of Congo and Angola, and some other neighbouring nations.

The office of the Mani is to receive the King's revenue, and to employ husbandmen to manure the crown-lands when the rains have rendered them fit to till. At the time of reaping, these officers reserve a certain part of the corn for themselves, being their due, and a perquisite annexed to their employ. As for the administration of justice, whether civil or criminal, it all belongs to them, except in some particular cases, reserved to be determined either by the Prince or his delegates. The parties in law having joined issue to come to a trial, the plaintiff first urges his reasons on his knees before the judge, who sits on a carpet with a little staff of authority in his hand, and under the canopy of a shady tree, such as are wont to grow in the great men's court-yards here. Sometimes the judge hears causes in a great straw-hut built for that purpose. When he has gravely given ear to all the proofs the plaintiff can bring, he proceeds in like manner to hear the defendant: after which he calls for the witnesses, and if they do not attend, the cause must be put off to another day: if the witnesses appear and give their testimony, the judge after having seriously weighed and considered the proofs and allegations of both parties, proceeds to pronounce sentence according to the dictates of nature and reason, and not through any knowledge of any kind of laws. He that has judgment pronounced in his favour, after having paid so much to the judge's box, extends himself all along with his face to the ground, being a posture whereby to demonstrate his gratitude. When all is over, and the plaintiff about to return home, his friends and relations begin to set up their throats, repeating all the way to his house the conqueror's cause, and the judgment pronounced in his favour. Being got home, he is obliged to treat those that had accompanied him, and sometimes scarce a night and a day are sufficient to bound their merriment: if the case be considerable, they commonly feast for three or four nights together with no small charge to him that invites. All this while the unfortunate person having had the cause gone against him, remains silent and quiet, returning to his habitation without the least murmur or ill-will.

There are other sorts of feasts which are wont to be kept by the Blacks, such as upon the birth-days of their patrons, their assumption to any dignity, or the like: it is then that every one endeavours to make his lord a present suitable to his capacity, and moreover assists at the common solemnity besides.

Having

Having thus given a short sketch of some feasts in use among these new Christians, I will likewise take a little notice of one of the Pagans of these parts, and that especially upon the birth-day of the Cassangi, the most potent emperor of the Giaghi, with some other particulars relating to his dominions. What I am about to tell you was communicated to me by Father John Baptist de Salesano, a friar of our order, who accidentally happened to be in this country on the day this feast was solemnized. The dominions of Cassangi are very considerable, not so much for their bordering upon the kingdom of Matamba, as because of their continued enmity with the Queen of Singa, a friend to the Portuguese. This queen has formerly been very serviceable to the Whites, but now they generally make use of the assistance of another prince of the Giaghi, called Calangola, as has been observed before. But to speak of the feast made by the Cassangi: his subjects being summoned together, appear in a vast body in some spacious plain. After they are thus met, they gather themselves into a ring, leaving a large void in the middle, where there are several trees: on the top of one of which they erect a sort of scaffold capable to contain the Cassangi, with the chiefest of his lords: afterwards, at a convenient distance, they chain down to the trunk of a tree one of the fiercest lions they can meet with. When all this is done, and the emperor with his court placed as aforesaid, the people begin to set up a huge noise, which, joined with the untunable discord of a great number of odd musical instruments, composes a hellish harmony. After this a sudden sign is given for all to be hush and silent, and then the lion is immediately loosed, though with the loss of his tail, which is at the same time whipped off to make him the more furious. At his first loosing he commonly stares about, and seeing himself at liberty, though not altogether free, by reason of the multitudes that surround him, he immediately sets up a hideous roar, and afterwards, being greedy of revenge, rushes upon some part or other of the company, where tearing one, and rending another, he makes a fearful havock among them: all this while the people run round him unarmed, being resolved either to kill him with their bare hands, or to perish. At last the wild beast, having been the death of a great number of his assailants, is nevertheless forced to yield to the pressing crowds that gather on all sides about him; when the lion is killed, they all greedily devour the dead bodies; after which their music begins again, and so they return singing and dancing, and crying aloud, "Long live our Cassangi, Long live our Cassangi," to their emperor's palace, where being afterwards treated by him, they at length return with great joy to their own homes.

Now let us leave the Giaghi, and return to speak farther of Songo. To maintain this country in its due obedience to the Christian faith, no small number of priests is necessary. In former times there have been a father-superior, and six missionaries all at once. In my time there was only I and one companion: the means we made use of to make these people live well has been hinted at before; what remains is to inform you, that as soon as any missionary is arrived in any city, the Mani, or governor thereof, at night, when all the inhabitants are retired to their houses, publishes a proclamation to acquaint the people, "That a missionary is come thither, and that they must all appear before him to have their spiritual necessities relieved, and continue so long with him as such a business will require." If the Mani himself appear negligent in this, or occasion any manner of disturbance, he will receive a deserved punishment, for we make it our business to get such a person removed from his employment, even within his year.

At my first going out on my mission, I found, near a city called Tubii, a place where the wizards practised their sorceries. No doubt Providence directed me to discover

this hellish trade, for whilst I was walking along, I saw a large white bird flying before me, such as I had never seen before in these parts; my curiosity led me to have a nearer view of it, and in order thereto I followed it into a thick and shady grove somewhat dark, at the end whereof I observed a large heap of earth in form like a tomb, with a great number of arches and calabashes at the top, and at both ends. Being pretty well assured what this was, I presently sent for the Mani, who came trembling to me, and protested he knew nothing of the matter; I commanded him to inform himself then, and to get me the wizard speedily seized: he said he would, but I not caring to trust his diligence, returned the next night to the same place, expecting to have found the wizard there; but he it seems having been acquainted with my proceedings, took care to disappoint me by running away, as they all do as soon as they hear we make any search after them. Then I ordered the Mani, that within ten days time he should grub up and level all that place, which he nevertheless disobeyed me in; whereupon I caused him to be summoned before the count in our convent, where after a severe reprimand I commanded him to discipline (scourge) himself in the middle of our church during the whole time that I was celebrating of mass, adding withal several other punishments in case he did not level the said grove at his return home.

The churches for the most part are built here with boards, and ours, as exceeding the rest, was capable of holding five hundred persons. In the Banza of Sogno there were five other churches, in one of which the counts were always buried, and another was the chapel-royal. The houses are generally thatched, and the four sides of them are fenced with palm-branches, or leaves interwoven not contemptibly with each other: the floors are of loam well beat and hardened, and the roofs and ceilings made of those rushes we are used to bottom chairs withal. The lord's house is of a quadrangular form likewise, and built with boards, but the front is always painted with a sort of colour that issues out of the planed wood: the like any of the gentry may have, if they can obtain leave from their lords. Within, these houses are hung with a sort of osier mats variously coloured, but we Capuchins are wont to have ours done with rushes, as more warm in winter.

The count's habit differs according to the several feasts, and sometimes on other occasions: his ordinary wear is a vest of straw-cloth girt close about him, but of such workmanship as may be only worn by him, or by those that he thinks fit to honour with that privilege. This vest hangs down to the ground, as does likewise a long bays cloak he wears over it on his bare back. On feast days he changes this cloak for a short scarlet one fringed all round with the same cloth pinked. On the most solemn days he puts on a shirt of the finest linen, as likewise yellow or crimson silk stockings, and a cloak of flowered silk, which bears the name of the spring. When he comes to communicate with us at the altar, he has a cloak all white, and which trails along upon the pavement as he walks. When the count comes to church, which is at least three times a week, he has a velvet chair and cushion carried before him, being brought himself in a net on the shoulders of two men, each with a commander's staff in his hand, one all silver, and the other only of ebony tipped: the hat the count then wears is covered first with taffety, and next with a sort of very fine feathers: on his head he generally wears likewise a little silk stitched cap, which can be worn only by him and some few others. Before him marches one musician above the rest, who has several little round bells fixed to an iron two spans long, wherewith he gingles, and chants to it the glory and grandeur of his lord: besides this there are several other sorts of musical instruments made use of at festivals, the principal whereof are those which in the country-language have the name of Embuchi, which I mention first because they belong only to kings, princes, and others

of the blood royal. These are a sort of trumpets made of the finest ivory, being hollowed throughout in divers pieces, and are in all about as long as a man's arm; the lower mouth is sufficient to receive one hand, which by contracting and dilating of the fingers forms the sound; there being no other holes in the body as in our flutes or hautboys. A concert of these is generally six or four to one pipe. The Longa (which is made of two iron bells joined by a piece of wire archwise) is sounded by striking it with a little stick: both these are carried also before princes, and that especially when they publish their pleasure to the people, being used as the trumpet is with us. The instrument most in request used by the Abundi, being the people of the kingdom of Angola, Matamba, and others, is the Marimba; it consists of sixteen calabashes orderly placed along the middle between two side-boards joined together, or a long frame, hanging about a man's neck with a thong. Over the mouths of the calabashes there are thin founding slips of red wood called Tanilla, a little above a span long, which being beaten with two little sticks, returns a sound from the calabashes of several sizes not unlike an organ. To make a concert, four other instruments are played upon by as many musicians, and if they will have six they add the Cassuto, which is a hollow piece of wood of a lofty tone about a yard long, covered with a board cut like a ladder, or with cross slits at small distances: and running a stick along, it makes a sound within, which passes for a tenor: the base to this concert is the Quilando, made of a very large calabash, two spans and a half or three in length, very large at one end, and ending sharp off at the other, like a taper bottle, and is beaten to answer the Cassuto, having cuts all along like it. This harmony is grateful at a distance, but harsh and ungrateful near at hand, the beating of so many sticks causing a great confusion.

Another instrument of this concert is that which the natives call Nfambi, and which is like a little guitar, but without a head, instead whereof there are five little bows of iron, which, when the instrument is to be tuned, are to be let more or less into the body of it. The strings of this instrument are made of the thread of palm-trees: it is played on with the thumbs of each hand, the instrument bearing directly upon the performer's breast. Though the music of this instrument be very low, it is nevertheless not ungrateful.

Over and above the great drums used in the army, there is another sort of a lesser size, called Ncamba; these are made either of the fruit of the tree called Aliconda, or else of hollowed wood with a skin over one end only: they are commonly made use of at unlawful feasts and merry-makings, and are beaten upon with the hands, which nevertheless makes a noise to be heard at a great distance. When the missionaries hear any of these at night, they immediately run to the place in order to disturb the wicked pastime. It fell often to my lot to interrupt these hellish practices, but the people always ran away as soon as ever I came up to them, so that I could never lay hold on any to make an example of them. The Giaghi not only make use of these drums at feasts, but likewise at the infernal sacrifices of man's flesh to the memory of their relations and ancestors, as also at the time when they invoke the devil for their oracle.

But to return to the count's habit. From his neck to his knees there commonly hang several strings of purple coral, together with a large chain of the finest gold, having a massy cross just before his breast to demonstrate his being a Christian: on his wrists he generally wears bracelets of high-prized corals, and on all solemn days chains of gold of the finest workmanship: his fingers are almost always covered with rings: he generally goes in slippers instead of shoes. There are commonly carried before him two umbrellas of peacock's feathers, and two others of straw, both being fixed to the tops of long poles: he has likewise two horses tails along with him, wherewith to drive
away

away the flies, although seldom any come near him. Those of his followers who are employed in these offices, are commonly his greatest favourites or relations. While mass is saying, at the reading of the gospel he has a lighted torch presented to him, which having religiously received, he gives to one of his pages to hold till the consummation be over, and when the gospel is done, he has the mass-book given him to kiss. On festival-days he is twice incensed with the censer, and at the end of the mass he is to go to the altar to receive benediction from the priest, who laying his hands upon his head while he is kneeling, pronounces some pious and devout ejaculations. Whilst the priest that officiates goes out to put off his vestments, the count in like manner retires to his private orisons: afterwards he enters into the vestry to pay his respects to the missionary, who receiving him courteously, accompanies him back as far as the door of the church. As soon as he is come out, he falls on his knees again, and the people all standing round about him give themselves several cuffs on the ear as a token of their fidelity, according to the custom of their country, and he makes them a sign with his fingers to signify his satisfaction. At his coming out of the church on the principal feast-days, he commonly practises some warlike exercise; and on those of less consideration either the captain-general performs that part for him, or else his courtiers entertain themselves with dancing to the aforesaid musical instruments. On all the most solemn feasts mass is sung by us and our interpreters to the glory and honour of God, after which the count's guards which he brings along with him give a volley of musquet-shot, with drums beating, and other music.

The captain-general and the governors, or Manis, have all their places severally assigned them in the church to prevent any disputes: the noblemen have carpets allowed them to kneel on, but no cushions, that honour being wholly reserved for the counts to sit on. The habits of the nobility and gentry are as follow:—The gentry have a kind of straw-garment on their shoulders, which reaches down to their waists, curiously wrought, with their arms coming out at two slits, and ends in two tassels which hang down on their right side. About their waists they have a cloth girt, which on one side hangs down to the ground: on their heads, those alone who have that honour allowed them, wear a wrought silk cap neatly quilted. The noble women have a sort of straw-petticoat called *Modello*, which reaches to their middle: from the waist upwards to their breasts they have a piece of cloth which they bring twice about them, and that which goes about a second time they wrap about their head like a veil in the church. Both men and women generally appear with long pipes in their mouths smoking. The vulgar of both sexes have only a cloth about their loins, which reaches no farther than their knees. In the inland parts it suffices that they cover only what modesty requires should be hid. Within doors they generally go stark naked, being accustomed so to do in regard to the excessive heat that torments them for nine months together, not enjoying the least fresco, only during the months of June, July and August.

The manner of ~~the~~ ^{the} cultivating the earth in this country is such, that they make use neither of the plow nor spade. When the clouds begin to afford the least moisture, they are accustomed to prepare for the rain by gathering up the scorched herbs and roots into heaps, and afterwards setting them on fire upon the land: then as soon as the first shower is fallen, they proceed to turn up the ground with a slight hoe, called by them *Lzegú*, which is fixed to a handle about two spans long: with this they cut into the earth with one hand, and with the other scatter the seed, which they have always ready in a bag by their sides. Now the business of manuring the ground belonging solely to the women in this country, they are almost forced to carry their children upon their backs in swathing-rolls, thereby to prevent their being either infested with,

or devoured by the great number of insects that come out of the earth upon this occasion; for at home they do not care to leave them, out of an extraordinary love and fondness they have for them. The same they are wont to do when they carry any burden, for then they have a sort of hammock which comes about one shoulder, wherein they secure their children from any danger either sleeping or waking, their feet coming round their mother's waste on either side.

These people sow in March, and, if the heavens prove favourable in affording them rain, they may gather in their harvest in June. The seed they sow is of various sorts of pulse, for the most part unknown to us; but those we are acquainted with, are Indian wheat, and a kind of little kidney-beans, called Ncasce.

Amongst many others they esteem, are the Mandois, which grow three or four together like vetches, but under-ground, and are about the bigness of an ordinary olive. From these milk is extracted, like to that drawn from almonds (in Italian Mandole), from whence, for aught I know, they had their name. There is another sort of ground pulse called Incumbe, which also grows under-ground, is like a musquet-ball, and very wholesome and well-tasted. Amongst these, I and others have often found nutmegs, perhaps fallen from the trees, the use of which is altogether unknown to these people. There are some wild ones found, which they call Neubanzampuni.

They also have a sort of roots called Bataras, which being roasted, taste much like chestnuts. Their Mandioca is a root, which being bruised as small as rice, is not made into bread, but is either eaten raw, or else softened in broth. This plant casts no seed, and, therefore, the way to propagate it, is by breaking off a branch and burying it in the ground, where it will soon spread and flourish.

This sort of food is more used by the Portuguese than Blacks, either because they have a better way of planting these roots, or by reason that they will last several years. There is another sort used instead of bread, made with sodden roots, which is called Gnamn, and is very different from the foregoing, both in form and kind.

The Ouuada, a sort of pulse not unlike rice, grows upon a shrub, and will last two or three years, and which, every six months, propagates itself in great abundance.

The pulse Ncanza brought from Brazil, is exceedingly white, and holds great similitude with the Indian beans, whence the Portuguese give it the name of Brazil beans.

Cangula, another sort of pulse, is greatly esteemed by the Blacks, but little valued by us Europeans. Mampunni, or maize, is much like Indian wheat.

Massa Mamballa shoots up in stalks about the height of our wheat; to which it is not unlike both in ears and whiteness: it yields a white flower, and is less offensive to some stomachs than others.

The seed of the herb Massango greatly resembles that of our hemp.

The plant Asely runs up as high as a halbert; its ears not unlike our millet: it gives the gripes or cholic to those that are not accustomed to eat of it.

The Luuo may be preserved many years: its ear is triangular; its grain like unto that of millet: its colour red, and its substance no way prejudicial to health.

Of those plants that grow but little above-ground, the most in esteem is the Ananas; its leaves are like those of aloes, and its fruit greatly resembles pine-apples, and differs from them only in that these are yellow, and, when ripe, all pulp: on the top of this fruit there grows a tuft of leaves, which being taken off and planted, produces a new plant. When this fruit is ripe, it exceeds the melon in lusciousness; but if you cut it green, it presently dries up and consumes.

Concerning fruit-trees, setting aside the Nicefi, Bonane, and Mamai, which I have already described when I spoke of Brazil; here are not a few of other kinds, whereof
the

the most valued is that which bears the name of the Count. The fruit of this tree is not unlike the giant-pear, and has but an ordinary out-side, though inwards it is as white as milk. Its seed is like to a bean, and its juice is so exceedingly pleasant, that it is commonly given to sick people to recover their tastes. About the mountains of Congo I have seen several of these trees that grow wild. The Calhiu fruit is much larger than an apple, and, when ripe, is plentifully beautified with yellow and crimson. From its core it throws out another fruit of a dusky-colour, which, being roasted in the fire, tastes like a chestnut; and is naturally hot, though the other be mild and refreshing.

The Guaiavas are a fruit not unlike pears: they have short stalks, are yellow without, and carnation within; and they would be more in request were their seeds, which stick close to the pulp, not quite so hard.

The Chichere are a sort of plums like to those the Italians call Cascavelle, which being a little eager, are given to people in fevers.

The plant Colas affords various kinds of fruit; which being inclosed, as it were, in a crimson purse (its husks), is much valued by the Portuguese, inasmuch that whenever they meet any lady in the street whom they design to honour, they presently offer her some of these fruit; they say that, chewing it, it makes water drink pleasant.

Palm-trees here are of different kinds: those esteemed the most, are such as produce both oil and wine. These are to be seen thinly planted up and down in the fields. The oil they have is got from the fruit which grows in clusters, but so close, that they seem to be all one piece. These clusters are so large, that a very strong man must not pretend to carry above one or two of them. In the language of the country they have the name of Chachij, and their seeds or stones, whereof they have a great number, are called Embe. From these, which are like a date, being pounded small with hot water, they extract an oiliness, which they make use of as we do of our oil.

At certain times of the year the natives ascend these palm-trees, by help of a hoop, to tap the wine: the manner of doing which is thus; wherever they perceive any flower blown, they presently whip it off with a knife, and thrust the stalk into a very large calabash called Capasso, which they cover and fasten to the tree. When this is done they leave it, and in a short time have their bottle full of liquor as white as whey. This they let stand to purge itself for about a day after they had taken it down, which it will always do to that degree, that its fermentation seems rather to be raised by a good fire, than any natural heat. When this is over, they rack it off the lee, and there remains a perfect taste of wine, called by them Melasso, which often makes the Blacks drunk. They are obliged to drink it soon after, for in three days time it will turn to vinegar, and in four coagulate and stink. The nature of this tree is principally hot, though it produces oil as well as wine, which is naturally cold, and every body knows will congeal like butter.

There is another sort of wine called Embetta, of a colder nature, drawn much after the same manner from another sort of palm-tree; but this tree generally yields a greater quantity, and is planted on the side of a river, and no where else. The tree is called Matome.

In those countries where these palm-trees that produce wine do not grow, the people have artificial ways of procuring it. For this end they let Indian wheat soak in water for some time, in like manner as we do wheat to make starch of. This they afterwards take out, and having well beaten and pressed it, they put the liquor into a pot, whence it is after a while drawn off into another, and then they drink it with a great deal of pleasure. This liquor they call by the name of Guallo.

These

There is another kind of palm called Tamgra, which bears a fruit like olives: but these having little or no taste, generally fall to the share of the apes and monkeys. Another sort there is, whose fruit are long strings of little balls extremely hard; which nevertheless, after they are pounded and mixed with the powder of the Engalla, or wild boars teeth, compose a wonderful cordial. These trees are called Mateba.

That palm which is very like the Matome, if it be not the same, affords a sort of thread from its leaves, whereof the natives weave cloth. Its smallest branches being both smooth and pliant, serve to make travelling nets of, and which the better sort of Blacks, but especially we Whites, use for that purpose. Of the greater branches, both they and we commonly build our houses.

The fruit of the tree called Mabocche is not unlike our oranges; they are exceedingly round, and have very tough rinds. Within they have several seeds like unto those in pomegranates, but placed more confusedly: the taste of them is so very pleasant and delightful, being somewhat inclined to the sharp, that they are commonly given to persons that lie sick of fevers to rectify and refresh their palates. Of these there are two sorts, the greater and the lesser; but by how much the latter must yield in bulk, by so much it for the most part gains in perfection.

The Donno tree has its bark only to boast of, being in virtue and fragrantcy not much unlike to our cinnamon. Although this country has not the plant garlic itself, yet has it nevertheless a tree, whose wood not only smells like it, but has its taste also, and moreover is commonly made use of after the same manner.

The Aliconde is a tree immeasurably great; within the cavity of whose trunk, it being generally hollow at the bottom, hogs are commonly kept from the sun. The fruit of it is very like to our pumpions, with a stalk about the bigness of a man's finger, and in length near two or three foot. The use of the shells of these fruit is commonly either for vessels or bottles. The inner rind of this tree being well soaked and beaten, yields a sort of matter to spin, much more durable and finer than our hemp, and which is made use of here for that purpose. Cotton here is to be gathered in great abundance, and the shrubs it grows on are so prolific, that they never almost leave sprouting.

Having thus spoken of divers plants and fruit-trees of the least note, I will proceed to describe others of both kinds, that have physical virtues ascribed to them.

Amongst these the tree Angariaria has the first place; either the wood or root of this tree is said to be good to drive away any pains in the side, occasioned by the stone, gravel, or the like; but however the most efficacious part of it is its fruit, which is not unlike to our acorn. Hence it comes to pass, that no disease of this kind was ever known to have continued long in these parts.

Another tree of medicinal virtue is the Chifecco, any part of which being reduced to powder, and mixed with water, is good against fevers; and being applied either to the forehead or temples of the sick person, infallibly prevents his fainting.

The Chicongo, a tree likewise, has a purgative power attributed to it.

What is most surprising, is the nature of the tree Mignamigna, which produces poison in one part, and its antidote in another; if any person be poisoned either by the wood or fruit, then the leaves serve to cure him; and if he be poisoned by the leaves of them, then he must have recourse either to the fruit or wood: the fruit of this tree is like a little lemon.

Our old lay-brother Leonard, whom I have had often occasion to mention in this relation, and who had lived in this country many and many years, told me he had seen

three plants of Storax, Gum-benjamin, and Cassia ; but that neither of them were held in any esteem by the Blacks.

As to pepper, what I have to say is only this ; being one day grievously tormented with wind, I asked a noble Negro, if he could help me to a remedy, he answered, " Yes," and immediately fetched me some pepper. I took it according to his prescriptions, and received relief. I afterwards demanded of him, whence that came ; he told me it was brought from a wood just out of the count's dominions. And doubtless there are many other excellent products in these parts, which for want of being sufficiently known, lose their esteem.

I should have told you before, that within the dominions of Sogno, there are many excellent lemons ; and wherewith one particular island so abounds, that there are no other trees to be found in it except here and there an orange-tree. In the way to Singa you meet with vast woods of orange-trees, which go by the name of Portugal, but rather deserve that of China, for their thin rinds and luscious pulps.

As to birds, this country has two sorts like ours, which are sparrows and turtles ; the first of which, in time of rain, change their colour to red, though they afterwards return to what they were of before, which is usual with other sorts of fowl. There are also eagles, but to say the truth, not so large as I have seen elsewhere. I have moreover observed divers kinds of parrots here, which were very different from those of Brazil. The crows of this country are white upon their breasts, and on the top of their wings, but black every-where else like ours of Europe.

Pelicans are often to be met with as you travel to Singa ; they are all over black, except on their breasts, which nature has adorned with a kind of flesh-colour like to that of the neck of a turkey. Whether this be the true pelican or not, which naturalists say feeds her young with her own blood, and at the expence of her life, I shall not undertake to determine.

Father Francis da Pavia, my companion into these parts, through his long experience has informed me, that whilst he was on a journey to Singa, he observed certain large white birds, with long beaks, necks, and feet, which, whenever they heard the least sound of an instrument, began immediately to dance and leap about in the rivers where they always resided, and whereof they were great lovers ; this, he said, he took great pleasure to contemplate, and continued often for some time upon the banks of the rivers to observe.

There is another sort of birds so exceedingly white and fine, especially in their tails, that the white ladies buy them up at any rate to adorn themselves with. There are divers other kinds of birds and fowl, which for brevity sake I omit speaking of.

Concerning these and other birds building their nests, I observed that sparrows, and such-like little birds, built them after the form of our swallows nests. The materials they make use of, are for the most part the thread of palm-leaves, which they draw out thence with their beaks, and afterwards carry to the place where they design to build. The manner of their building is round a slender bough, whereby when the wind blows, their young are rocked about in their nests, like children in their cradles.

The greater sort of birds build, either on the top, in the trunk, or on the thorny boughs of the tree called Mafuma. The prickles of this tree are exceedingly hard, and its fruit something resembles a green citron : and which when opened throws forth a wonderful fine wool (no silk finer, softer, nor cooler), whereof are commonly made pillows and bolsters for sick people.

Of wild hens I have spoken in another place, and here I again affirm, that they are in this country much better tasted, and more beautiful than the tame ones. The same

I have

I have to say of the partridges, which are much like to ours, but neither of which are any ways valued by the natives, and therefore they seldom or never look after them.

But among all the winged inhabitants of this climate, none pleased me so much as that little bird described by Father Cavazzi in his *Historical Descriptions*, b. 1. p. 50. no. 153. This bird, not much unlike a sparrow, at first sight seems wholly black, but upon a nearer view may be discovered to be of a kind of blue. As soon as day breaks, he sets up his notes and sings; but the excellency of his song is, that it harmoniously, and almost articulately pronounces the name of Jesus Christ; which repeated by many of them in concert, is a heavenly music worthy our special observation, seeing those heathen nations excited to own the true God by irrational creatures. They are excited by the heavens forming a cross of stars under the zone, which many have described, and I beheld; they are excited by the mountains, which have the crosses carved on them, as has been said, without knowing by whom; they are excited by the earth, which draws the crucifix on its fruit called Nicefo, as we have observed. In fine, these little angels excite them with their voices, yet all these things are of little force to move the hardened hearts of those Gentiles.

It is a wonderful bird mentioned by our Father Coprani, in his *Cambr. Illust.* whose song consists of these plain words, *Va Dritto*; that is, go right. Nor is there less to be admired in another bird in these parts, and particularly the kingdom of Matamba, which, as travellers are on their way, harmoniously sings, “*Vuichi, Vuichi*,” which in the language of the Blacks signifies, honey, honey; and skipping from one place to another, rests upon the tree where the honey is, that the passengers may take it, and the bird feed on what remains. But it sometimes falls out, that following the cry of the bird, the passenger falls into the clutches of some lion that lies hid, and so meets his death instead of honey; therefore when the bird cries, if he sees not the honey, they are aware of the hidden lion, and fly in time.

Among the variety of numerous quadrupeds, the most wonderful are the elephants, being, as it were, living and moving mines of most curious white ivory, whereof so great a trade is made; but these being vulgarly known to all persons, I will give no other account but only of the manner of killing them.

When these beasts are gathered together in a herd, the hunter anointing himself all over with their dung, gets in silyly with his lance in his hand among them; there does he creep about from one to the other, under their bellies, till he sees an opportunity to strike any of them under their ear, by which wound they are easily to be brought to the ground. After the stroke given, the hunter takes immediate care to escape, before the beast can well turn about to revenge himself; and the other beasts being deceived by the smell of their dung, take no notice of his crying out, and flouncing, supposing it to be only one of their young. By these means the rest of the herd walking on, and forsaking their falling companion, leave him a prey to the successful hunter. If the wounded elephant happens to pursue his assaulter, he can easily baffle him, by taking to many roads, for it is a very difficult thing for this beast to turn his body so often as such a dodging would require. The Negroes are wont to distil a water by the sun from the bones of this animal's legs, which is held to be good against astmas, sciaticas, or any cold humours. Some of the pagans of these parts, particularly the Giaghi, have a kind of devotion for the tail of this beast; for when any one of their captains or chief lords comes to die, they commonly preserve one of these tails in memory of him, and to which they pay a sort of adoration, out of an opinion they have of its great strength. For the sake of cutting off these tails only, they often

undertake this hunting; but which amputation must be performed at one blow, and from a living elephant, or their superstition will allow it no virtue.

In this country of Sogno there are no lions, tigers, nor wolves to be met with, which nevertheless other parts of this side of Africa are not exempt from. When any of these beasts, especially tigers, happen to enter the count's dominions, he that first discovers them is obliged to go immediately to a governor, or Mani, and acquaint him therewith; whereupon an alarm is presently beat to raise the country, and the people being so raised, forthwith apply all their endeavours, whether by shouts, drums, or instruments of war, to force the beast into the open field. After they have got him there, they single out one among them to assault him; which the person pitched upon performs with a sharp long knife in one hand, and a slight manageable shield in the other. As often as the beast leaps at him, the combatant receives his attempts on his shield, till at last, taking his opportunity, he whips off one or more of his legs with his knife, whereby the beast being disabled, easily becomes a victim to the conqueror's fury. The Royal Lions, so called for their generosity, carry themselves with majesty, and do not hurt unless provoked by some accident.

In Sogno there are a sort of wild dogs, who going out to hunt in great numbers, whenever they met with any lion, tiger, or elephant in their way, set upon him with that fury, that they commonly bring him to the ground, though they lose never so many of their company by the attempt. These dogs, notwithstanding their wildness, do little or no damage to the inhabitants. They are red-haired, have small slender bodies, and their tails turn up upon their backs like a greyhound's.

The wolves that sometimes infest these parts are so very subtle, that they will scratch through the walls of the houses built here with palm leaves, on purpose to come at the people, whom having found, they immediately devour or tear to pieces. A certain woman once happening to go a little further from her house than ordinary, left her child within asleep: whilst she was gone, a wolf broke in, and lay down close by the child that was asleep: The mother coming soon after, went in to feed her child, and spied the wolf, who seeing himself discovered, immediately fled.

At some huntings there have been taken in this country both wild men and women: which to confirm, Father Leonard once told me, that before my coming thither there had been one of that kind presented to a friar of our order, which was again bestowed by him on the Portuguese governor of Loanda.

Monkeys there are here of divers kinds, such as the baboons, which are the largest sort; another kind party-coloured, as big as a cat; and a third sort least of all, which nevertheless, like the others, have all tails longer than their bodies.

Here are likewise great numbers of wild goats, and many wild boars are to be found in the woods. The tame goats of this country are so exceedingly fertile, that they will bring forth three or four young ones at once.

The sheep here do not produce wool, but hair; neither are the rams furnished with horns as with us, nor are the ewes so fruitful as the goats before-named. Goats-flesh is in much greater esteem in these parts than mutton, and therefore the natives chuse rather to geld their young goats than their lambs.

Serpents are not in the least wanting here: those seen by me of greatest note were the Copras, a sort of serpents whose poison is in their foam, which though at a great distance they spit into the eyes, and cause such grievous pains, that unless there be some woman by at the same time, to assuage the pains with her milk, the party will become immediately blind. These climb about in the houses and trees night and day.

There

There is another sort of serpents, as I have been told, in this country which as soon as they are molested by any traveller, will leap upon him, and twining themselves round about his body, fix a sharp sting they have in their tails into his breast, whereby he soon bursts and expires. The name of this serpent is Embambe, and the way the natives have to cure themselves of his wound, and save their lives, is by cutting him in two with a knife, which they carry about them for that purpose, as soon as ever he has entered his sting.

But from hence let us proceed to give an account of more memorable matters. In the second year of my mission I was forced to do my duty for some time alone, by reason that our superior being dead, my companion, Father Joseph, was advanced to that dignity, and was gone to reside in the kingdom of Angola. At the same time the Most Reverend Cardinal Cibo writ us a letter in the name of the sacred college, complaining that the pernicious and abominable abuse of selling slaves was yet continued among us, and requiring us to use our power to remedy the said abuse; which, notwithstanding, we saw little hopes of accomplishing, by reason that the trade of this country lay wholly in slaves and ivory. Nevertheless, meeting together not long after, we joined our addresses to the King of Congo, and count of Sogno, and obtained the favour from them, that the heretics at least should be excluded from dealing in this merchandize; and that especially the English, who made it their chief business to buy slaves here, and to carry them to Barbadoes, an island of theirs in the West Indies, where they were to be brought up in the Protestant religion, so very contrary to ours. This letter was first read by me to the count, and afterwards on a feast-day I made the contents of it known to the people, earnestly recommending to them to have a compassionate regard to so many miserable creatures, their countrymen, that were daily suffered to come under the power of heretics, that would not only enslave them, but likewise pervert the good principles we had instilled into them. I moreover urged, that if there were a necessity for a trade of this kind, they should sooner have to do with the Hollanders, who were obliged to deliver so many slaves at Cadiz every year, whereby their countrymen might have still the happiness of continuing among Catholics, though in bonds.

I proposed likewise for them to trade in this nature with the Portuguese, rather than the Hollanders; which they would not hearken unto for several reasons.

First, Because they would by no means have that nation establish themselves in their country. Secondly, By reason that they would give them no opportunity to sell their arms and ammunition amongst them: and Thirdly, Because they always under-valued the slaves, and never offered so much as they were worth.

These, with some others, have been the reasons that the Portuguese have never yet been able to get any footing in Sogno.

A year almost past before there was any ship appeared in this country; at last an English vessel came to anchor there. This I immediately advised the count of, requiring at the same time, that if she were really English, she should not be suffered to land any person whatsoever. The count's answer was, that I should be obeyed: but which I observed to be spoke by him with such coldness, that I could easily discover in him a contrary intention; and which I was the more confirmed in, when I reflected upon the profit he was to make, both by the buyer and the seller. All this while the captain of the ship pretended that he would tarry only three days to take in fresh provisions; which being past, he scarcely shewed the least sign of being gone. While he was yet in the river, I happened to go down to the shore to speak with the Mafucca, or Receiver of the Whites. Being but just entered his house, I saw two Englishmen, who I thought had been no nearer than their usual station; they seeing me, drew in, and I turned my back

to go out again: but scarce had I reached the threshold, before I heard a brace of pistol-bullets whiz by my ear. At this being astonished, I looked about, but saw nobody. Then I fell on my knees, returned thanks to heaven for my escape; and afterwards went in again boldly to make my complaint to the master of the house of the villainy, which I suppose was designed me by these Englishmen: but to my great disappointment he returned me neither a compliment nor a resentment.

The day following the before-mentioned captain came to me, but that rather to affront than confer with me; demanding of me at first sight, "What I had to do to oppose the English trading in that port?" To which I replied, "That pursuant to an agreement between me and the count, all heretics were to be excluded from dealing in slaves throughout the dominions of Sogno, but as to all other matters of traffick they were at liberty." "What do you mean by heretics?" quoth he. "Is not our Duke of York a Roman Catholic, and chief of our company, from whom I have a full power to trade, where, and in what merchandize I please?" "Granted," said I; but then I alledged further, "That I was sure it was not the intention of that Duke, that Christians should be bought and sold for slaves, nor that such as he (meaning the captain) should be allowed not only to trade, but likewise to rob and infest the shores wherever they came, in like manner as another English captain had done there last year; who, as soon as he had taken in all his lading, fell to wasting the country, and forced away several of the natives into slavery, and killed many others that he could not get away. This (I told him) I would assuredly acquaint the Duchess of York, my country-woman, with, that the Duke her husband's reputation might not suffer, and such offenders might be punished as they well deserved." To this the captain began to reply with great heat, defending both himself and his countryman, the other captain, thinking to overcome reason with noise; and if some people had not come in to my assistance, I know not what might have come on it. I afterwards sent to let the count know, that I should not open the church-doors till those heretics, that were enemies both to our church and him, were gone. This message soon brought the count to our convent, where, when he entered to speak with me, there came in with him only one man, who had a long knife in his hand drawn about four inches out of the sheath: this knife, as he knelt on the ground, he held with one hand on the hilt, and the other on the sheath. For the better understanding of this, you must know that whenever the count comes to speak with us, nobody has leave to enter the room with him but the interpreter: and when any extraordinary case requires another's coming in, he must kneel all the while, in like manner as the interpreter is obliged to do. The count began with me very low, endeavouring to convince me, that, considering the many enemies that surrounded him on all sides, he ought to provide himself of arms and ammunition of war, and which he could best do from the European ships that came to trade in his dominions. This and the like he urged with a great deal of cunning, but at length perceiving by my answers that he gained but little upon me, he began to gather up his countenance, and to move his lips quick in order to thunder out some dreadful menaces against me; but which I timely perceiving, started up upon my feet, and prevented his fury with the following words: "The reason," said I to him resolutely, "of my coming into your dominions, was for the service of God, and the salvation of your souls; and in order to that duty incumbent on me, I cannot dispense with the hazarding even of my life, in withdrawing so many poor souls from out of the power of Lucifer," (meaning the slaves to be bought by heretics,) "which nevertheless you seem by your arguments to give wholly up to him. Think then, my lord count," continued I, "on your own case in so palpable an act of disobedience; for as for my part, I shall always

endeavour to persist in my duty." Having spoke these words, I immediately offered to go out of the room, but the repenting count catching me fast hold by the arm, and changing his countenance almost from black to yellow, would by no means suffer me so to do, crying out, "Hear my reasons first, Father; hear my reasons before you go." Then clapping himself down upon a bench, he fell into a long discourse, but in which I often interrupting him, he at last flew away in a great passion, muttering and mumbling to himself, "That he was the head of the church in his dominions, and that I without him could do nothing; no, not so much as baptize a child." By these and other such like speeches of his, I could easily perceive that he sided with the English, and I was thoroughly convinced thereof afterwards, when he caused proclamation to be made at three of the clock in the morning, to forbid all his subjects throughout the whole Banza to go any more to our church; but this he nevertheless did without laying any penalty on those that disobeyed him, and consequently his subjects being true servants of God, took no manner of notice of his proceeding, but continued to come to church as before. Notwithstanding their good dispositions, I thought myself obliged to excommunicate the count by fixing a schedule on the church-doors, and which I did by an authority sent me from the bishop of Angola. Hence it followed that our slaves that belonged to the offices of the church, as likewise those that served in the convent, immediately forsook me, and that I suppose by instigation of their prince who had withdrawn them, to cause me the sooner to comply. Whilst I yet continued firm in my resolutions, a Dutch ship appeared in the harbour: soon after her arrival the count's secretary brought her captain, according to custom, to me for my benediction, which nevertheless the English captain had neglected to ask; I gave it him, and by these means extinguished part of the fury instilled into the people's breasts by the magicians and wizard against me; for they had made it their business to make the people believe, that I purposely opposed the aforesaid contracts with the Europeans, that their nation might be unprovided of arms and ammunition when their enemies the Portuguese came against them, and which they likewise affirmed I by secret means encouraged. The anchoring this ship in the harbour occasioned the speedy departure of the other; for in less than thirteen days after she hoisted sail and put to sea, carrying away with her about fourteen or fifteen of the natives of Sogno, besides near a hundred more which the captain said had been sold him by the pagans.

Finding an opportunity to acquaint my superior, in the kingdom of Angola, with these matters, I immediately set about it, and dispatched away two letters, but which were both intercepted, by order from the count: this coming to my ears, I writ three more, one of which I confided to a faithful Black, promising him a considerable reward if he delivered it; the other two I sent publicly, which were intercepted, as before. About the same time the count likewise writ a letter to the bishop of Loanda, complaining, "That I would neither administer the sacraments, nor open the church;" and besides, "That I had condemned the wizards to death in an open congregation." To this the said bishop, well knowing both the treachery and hypocrisy of the Blacks, gave no answer; but however soon after sent my superior, accompanied with Father Benedict à Belvedere, to assist me. Here mark the providence of God! Whilst the count continued in his obstinacy, a certain disease that reigned in the neighbouring parts, called in the Portuguese Bexigas, but in ours the small-pox, had reached his dominions, and whereof great numbers died daily. The people being sensible that this must be sent as a judgment among them, gathered forthwith together, and addressed themselves with great earnestness to the count, advising him, "To retract and atone for the great error he had been guilty of, or, besides the just judgment of God both

both upon him and them, they would infallibly rise against him for redress." To this the count answered, "That it had never been his desire, that they should suffer any ways upon his account; and that what he had forbid by his proclamation, was only to frighten the missionary into obedience: but since they were of opinion that what had befallen them was occasioned by this injunction, he was willing, if he might thereby confirm their safety, to take it off." Though he soon after was as good as his word, yet were the people not wholly satisfied, affirming, "That they would not die like dogs, but like true Christians, as they had been bred, and therefore willed him to present himself before me, to ask forgiveness for his crime, to the end that the church-doors might be again set open to them." This he soon after accomplished, in the following manner, but whether through sincerity or hypocrisy I shall not pretend to determine:— Having clothed all his courtiers in like manner as they were wont to be when they go to receive ambassadors, he alone appeared in sackcloth, naked, with a crown of thorns on his head, a crucifix in his hand, and a large cable rope about his neck: in this manner, coming to our convent, he prostrated himself humbly at the gate, beseeching me to pardon him his crime, and only excusing himself, that what he did was done rashly and without consideration, but that he was now ready to make me all manner of satisfaction for his disobedience. He remembered me moreover of the presumption of David, and hoped, that like him having repented, he should likewise receive mercy. Having said thus much, he gave his crucifix to one of his attendants to hold, and afterwards kneeled and kissed my feet: hereupon I immediately raised him from the ground, took off the crown of thorns from his head, and rope from his neck, and then repeated to him those words which I formerly uttered to another person on the like occasion, "If you have sinned like David, imitate him likewise in your repentance." After this I waited upon him out as far as the street, and then left him.

He afterwards came a second time in the aforesaid manner to have his excommunication taken off: but I told him, "That I would willingly have complied with his desire, but that in about three days time my superior would come into those parts, and that it was more proper for him to absolve so great a person as he." I farther told him, "That as for his accomplices, I would undertake to give them absolution," which I soon after performed both to his and their satisfaction. At last the expected Father arrived, and I having acquainted him with what had been already done, he after a delay of a few days gave the penitent count absolution. Having received this great favour and assistance from the bishop, I thought myself obliged to return him my most humble thanks and acknowledgements, and withal to inform him of the cause, manner, and time of my shutting up the church, as likewise with the reasons I had to threaten the wizards with the punishment the count had writ to him about.

The Dutch all this while followed their trade close. A certain captain among them called Cornelius Clas, having acquired a reputation with the natives by his subtilties, went about sowing his heretical tares amidst the true corn of the gospel. Amongst other (damnable) doctrines, he maintained, that Baptism was alone necessary to salvation, because it took away original sin, as the blood of our Saviour did actual sin. The better to comply with the Blacks, whom he knew to be desirous of greater liberty in those matters, he affirmed, there was need of no other sacrament than that of baptism; and that if they had a mind to communicate, they should do it, but that confession was not necessary, being only to be understood figuratively. And he farther (impudently) disowned the real presence of Christ in the consecrated host. To procure himself with the greater credit, he often invoked the saints to his assistance, and especially St. Anthony, though his tribe generally deny the praying to saints to be of

any use to us. He afterwards repeated several expressions here and there out of our sermons in Lent, and then proceeded to ridicule them after the following manner : — “ O !” cried he, “ your father’s an able preacher and a great scholar, he hits the nail on the head, and talks to the purpose ; but if he would improve you thoroughly, he ought to advance such and such doctrines” (which by the way were most perniciously heretical). Thus he run on for above an hour together, exploding our opinions and recommending his own, till he had at last so far prevailed upon those miserable Negroes, that their hearts were become as black as their countenances. Although this person’s principles and designs came at length to be known, yet were the most ignorant nevertheless affected with his arguments and persuasions ; but notwithstanding these mischiefs came not to our knowledge till after the departure of their author.

Let us now come to other matters not unlike the foregoing. In the fifth year of my mission another English ship happened to come to an anchor in the river : as soon as I perceived it, I went to the count and said, “ Behold, my lord, another English ship appears in the harbour !” and at the same time begged of him not to permit any of the men to land, for fear of the like inconveniences that had before happened : he seemed to comply readily with my desires, and promised that none should ; nevertheless self-interest blinding him again, he received the accustomed presents, and suffered them to trade again within his dominions, which we would by no means agree to. The captain came with his commission to our convent, and endeavoured to find me out, but could not. In the mean-time, without any further delay, we published a manifesto, that upon pain of excommunication none should presume to sell any slaves to the English : but as to bartering ivory, ebony, or the like with them, they might freely do it. The captain hereupon could get but five negroes, and those he bought before the manifesto was published. He came a second time to my apartment accompanied by a Dutch captain, and with a great deal of submission said to me, “ Father, what reason have I given you to deny me, so much to my disadvantage, a free trade in this port, when I have suffered so many hardships, and undergone so great peril in my voyage hither ?” To which I courteously answered, “ That I would do any thing that lay in my power to serve any Christian, and him in particular, who appeared to be so very civil, but that in this matter I could do nothing without an order from my superior.” I told him further, “ That though I was against his trading ashore, as being an Englishman, and consequently a heretic, I could not prevent his doing it by sea, and therefore if he could find any to traffic with him he might freely do it :” “ That is what I would rather have,” replied the captain, “ for thereby I may trade custom-free. Now I perceive,” continued he, “ that these brutes,” meaning the Negroes, “ have always their hands open to receive presents, but when there is any favour to be returned, they immediately shrug up their shoulders and excuse themselves, pretending the missionaries will not let them grant it. But why,” added he, “ did they not explain themselves at first, that I might have saved my present, and sailed about my business elsewhere ? It shall go hard, but I will make them know whom they have to deal with.” Then turning to me, he said, “ Well, Father, I cannot but thank you heartily for acquainting me with the truth, and let them restore to me what I gave them, and I will be gone. But first,” quoth he, “ give me leave to present Your Reverence with a barrel of wheat-flour to make your Hosts of, a small vessel of Aqua-vitæ, and something else that may lie within the verge of my capacity.” I returned him a thousand thanks for his kind proffers, and told him, that though I had occasion for the wheat-flour I would by no means accept it of him, and afterwards having forced a basket of fruit upon him dismissed him. The count having disposed of

the present that was given him, could by no means restore it, and besides durst not for fear of excommunication provide him the slaves he had promised. This so vexed the captain, that taking only along with him two slaves, and a little ivory he had got before, he left his house in the night-time, and went immediately aboard his ship; his landlord soon missing him got up betimes, and went after him for his rent, but the captain having caused three Patereroes to be turned against the Negro's boat, dared him to come near him after the following manner: "Come hither, slave," quoth he, "and I will pay you in a certain coin that you very well deserve." After which, bestowing a great many curses on him, he set sail and departed. The count was again excommunicated for his disobedience, but not by a paper fixed up at the church-doors formally, which he took with much patience. Though a Black, he is an absolute prince, and not unworthy of a crown, though he were in Italy, considering the number of his subjects, and large dominions.

Before the Englishman had weighed anchor to be gone, another Dutch ship came into the river, which my companion Father Benedict da Belvedere perceiving, immediately opposed the landing of any of her men; his reason was that they were heretics, in like manner as the English, and which he confirmed by the heresies the above-mentioned Dutch captain had not long before spread amongst us. I could not well dissent from this opinion of his, nevertheless for quietness-sake I told him, that since we had so luckily got rid of the English, we must of necessity admit of the Dutch, or the people would be apt to rebel; for not caring to trade with the Portuguese for some reasons best known to themselves, they would have nobody else to utter their commodities to, which would prove no small detriment both to the church and the state. He understood me I don't question, but notwithstanding took little or no notice of what I said, being transported with too great a zeal for the church's good, which, had it not been so excessive, might have succeeded better than it did.

On Easter-Day there was a great feast held throughout the count's dominions, when the electors and governors were obliged to come to court to wish their lord a happy Easter, according to custom. He that voluntarily absented himself was looked upon as a rebel, and those that came were treated at the count's charge; the electors and governors dividing the provisions amongst their followers. My aforesaid companion hearing a confused sound of instruments, and many loud acclamations from the people gathered together in vast numbers, made what haste he could to them that he might prevent those festivals, which he looked upon as not proper to be celebrated in a place where the count assisted, who then stood excommunicated. For my part I could not well fathom his intentions, for he only came to me and demanded my blessing and leave to go out of the convent, which I could not refuse him. At his first coming the chief elector came up to him to salute him, which he coldly received and returned; after a few compliments they came to complaints. My companion began to blame them for having so courteously admitted of the Hollanders, as also for solemnising of this feast, which they ought not to presume to have done as matters went. This so exasperated the elector, that he cried out with a great passion, "What heretics! What Christians! What Catholics! Are we not all to be saved by baptism alone?" Father Benedict being out of patience at these words, and truly moved for the honour of God's service, though a little too exorbitantly, without any reply stepped up to him, and gave him a sound box on the ear by way of admonition. This affront the elector's people so greatly resented, that they immediately gathered about him to defend him, and those that were without the walls likewise made at the same time an attempt to get into the place. The count, captain-general, and great-captain being

soon informed of what had happened, presently interposed to prevent the missionary's receiving any damage from the fury of the multitude, and afterwards conducted him safe to our convent. The chief intent of this Father's extraordinary zeal, was to make known to so great a company of people got together, what danger their souls were in by conversing with heretics.

For my part I judged a speedy reconciliation with the elector highly necessary, and therefore some few days after I sent for him to our convent; he came, and after having courteously received him, I desired him to recant sincerely what he had said, and ask Father Benedict's pardon, and I would absolve him. To which he answered smiling, "That would be pleasant indeed; I am the sufferer, and yet I must be guilty; he was the aggressor, and yet I must beg pardon. Must I receive a blow, and notwithstanding be thought to have offended?" Then I replied, "That must not be taken for an injury, which was not so intended; the blow was not to offend, but defend you, being as it were a remembrance not to hearken to the errors of heretics. Besides you ought to consider that it was given out of paternal affection by your spiritual Father, and whom it did not misbecome to give it. Moreover you know among us the bishops do it in cases of confirmation, and the person that receives it takes it rather for an honour than affront. You ought to confess that you deserved correction for venting so dangerous an opinion in the presence of so many true Catholics." Being convinced by these reasons that he had been in the wrong, he consented to recant his error, which he did after mass at the church-door, confessing that what he had done was merely occasioned through passion, and not out of any disobedience to the doctrine of the church, for which he had a sincere veneration. Afterwards begging pardon of the aforesaid Father, and kissing his feet, he was again received into our communion. After all this he made his humble acknowledgments to the count, for having presumed to incline his people to a rebellion within his dominions.

To extirpate this heresy effectually out of the minds of the people, we took an occasion, after we had given absolution to the elector and his followers, to preach a sermon to them to this purpose: "That whereas paradise was allowed by all to be a place of the greatest purity and brightness, so ought to be the minds of those who are in election to be admitted inhabitants thereof. Lucifer the prince of light, for having suffered himself to be contaminated with pride, occasioned his being thrown headlong into hell, together with his adherents. Can it seem possible to you that so pure and peaceful a place should admit of the haughty and unclean? Some among you are like your own Maccacos, or monkeys amongst us, who keeping possession of any thing they have stolen, will sooner suffer themselves to be taken and killed than to let go their prey. So impure swine wallow in their filth, and care not to be cleansed. To remedy this, our Saviour instituted the sacrament of repentance, to the end that when man had sinned, he might come and purify himself from his transgressions." These and many other spiritual memorandums were given by us, proving at the same time, that God being all goodness, could not possibly be the occasion of any evil. We then demanded of them, "If they were not convinced that this was true by the light of their natural reason?" They all answered with a common consent, "That it was, and that they had been deceived by the heretical seducer, who had imposed doctrines upon them which were contrary to the word of God. We hope therefore that for the future these heresies will be totally extinguished, since we have taken so much pains to decry them both in the pulpit and elsewhere." The same night that the count had been made acquainted with his falling again under the sentence of excommunication, for having designed to furnish the English with slaves, contrary to the manifesto published by us,

his

his countess was seized with a fainting fit, occasioned either by her being with child or else through the disgust she had conceived at her husband's proceedings. Being thus ill, she immediately dispatched her son to me to desire me to come to her, who doubting whether I would comply or not, thought himself obliged to swear, that his mother was at death's door. Being moved by charity, I went accompanied by Father Stephen de Romano, who had some small skill in physic. By his means, and through God's grace, she soon recovered, and was confessed. This lady was, to give her her due, a very religious woman, and a great frequenter of the blessed sacrament; and besides, one that upon many occasions, when the count her husband and we were at variance, would send us divers refreshments of oranges and lemons, and the like. The count having observed at a distance the civility and kindness we shewed to his wife, seemed to be mightily pleased with it. Thinking to take him in this good humour, I went up to him, and desired him to excuse what I had ordered him to be made acquainted with, having been thereto obliged by the duty of my function, and was for that end come into his country. I likewise told him, that if he would needs follow his own inclinations, he must be a pagan, and could not deserve the title of a Christian; and moreover informed him what a strict account I had to give not only to my superiors, but also to my own conscience, and therefore exhorted him to submit himself to the censures of the church. I desired him to remember likewise how I had exposed my life for his good, and that I could not but have a particular kindness for him, being my spiritual pupil. This I spoke to prevent his flying out into passions and disdain, as he was wont to do upon occasions of reproof.

From mid Lent to Whitsuntide the count had not been within the church-doors, except sometimes incognito; but generally stood at a distance, whence he might see the priest at the altar, and where he heard mass. On Ascension-eve he sent to beg of me for the love of God to absolve him. I would have willingly complied with his request, but was prevented by Father Benedict, who alledged that it was by no means proper to take him again into our communion, till the Hollanders had weighed anchor, and were gone. On Whitsunday he sent a messenger to me again, giving me to understand, that his subjects not seeing him appear in the church as formerly might probably rise in a tumult; to prevent which he proposed to agree to all I had required of him, provided I would absolve him. My answer was, that he should appear next morning at the second mass, dressed in mourning like a penitent, and should moreover bring along with him all the electors, together with the two captains, the general, and great-captain. As I had commanded, so it was performed. Those others that ought to have been present, and could not come, were excused upon sending proxies. Being all met, I addressed myself to the count, and endeavoured to make him sensible what damage he might do to so many poor souls as he was master of, by encouraging them to have commerce with heretics. I remembered him also of the late affronts received from the English, and indulged by him. Upon hearing this and a great deal more, which I do not think necessary to repeat here, both the count and all the rest took an oath upon the holy Missal, that they would sooner lose their lives than suffer any English ship to enter any of their ports again, which is observed and performed even to this day. The penance I imposed upon the count was that he by his authority should oblige three hundred of those that lived in unlawful wedlock to marry. He gladly accepted the proposal, and afterwards entered the church with great pomp and universal joy, and never in the least offended after.

The reconciled count not only performed what had been enjoined him, but brought over four hundred to the holy state of matrimony. Amongst the rest there was one Mani, who not only married himself, but also caused two sons, and as many daughters

of

of his to do the like at the same time. My companion Father Benedict observing and wondering at the great care and diligence the count employed in reducing so many strayed souls to matrimony, cried out, "As long as all is secure here, I will go on in my mission, and try what I can do with others abroad, by urging these good examples to them." As he hoped, so it came to pass; for in less than six weeks he had caused above six hundred to marry. This was a very laborious work, and put him into a violent fit of sickness two days journey from our house. As soon as I heard of his being ill, I sent for him home; but he would by no means comply with me, affirming, "That a good soldier ought to die with his sword in his hand:" and further, "That if he lost that opportunity of recovering so many poor souls from perdition, he knew not when he might have the like again offered him." His death not long after, together with my being sick, put a stop to so great and so good a work but just begun.

It is necessary here to inform you, that in the dominions of Sogno, those that are lawfully married live with all manner of love and amity together, and particularly the women, who are constant to their husbands, whether Blacks or Whites. The many years that the Europeans have traded here, there has not been found one bastard among them, which are nevertheless so frequent to be met with in other countries. These women have a particular aversion to heretics, as may be perceived by what follows. A Dutch captain walking one day in this country, and observing a married woman taking a pipe of tobacco after the custom of the country, sent his slave to her to desire her to let him have a whiff. The good woman hearing the message, took her pipe out of her mouth, and hugged it in her arms, and without answering a word proceeded on in her way. The slave nevertheless prosecuted his master's request, and followed her, repeating often what he had before required, till at length perceiving her obstinate and fixed in a refusal, the better to incline her to resign the pipe to him, he gave her a box on the ear, threatening her with worse, if she persisted in a denial. The woman notwithstanding bore all patiently, and would not consent to gratify him, whatever he could do to her. I should have told you, for the better understanding of this, that it is a custom in this country, that when any one obtains a pipe out of a woman's mouth, it is a probable earnest of further favours. From hence may be learnt what a propensity the women have to chastity in these parts, many of whom meet together on the first day of Lent, and oblige themselves to a strict continence till Easter; insomuch that if any one among them should happen to deviate from the vow they had jointly engaged in, she would immediately think herself guilty of a great fault, and consequently undergo voluntarily some severe penance. They are likewise most rigid observers of all fasts enjoined by the church, and which they will not transgress even where necessity requires they should, and in which cases we are obliged to command them to do it to save their lives.

At length my companion Father Benedict finding himself worse and worse, sent a messenger to me to desire me to afford him some succour. I thereupon immediately dispatched four slaves belonging to the church, to bring him in a net to the convent, that being the easiest way I could propose to have him brought. The better to insure the performance of my commands, I threatened the slaves with transportation, a thing they are more than ordinarily afraid of, in case of disobedience or treachery. They brought him soon after, and being arrived, he immediately entered upon a general confession of his sins, even from his youth upwards to that day. The malady he was afflicted with was the gout, which, getting not long after into his stomach, at once ended both his life and his good actions, which were many. His funeral obsequies were performed suitable to his character, at which assisted the count with a vast number of people, I myself saying mass, though I languished at that time under a violent fever. Fa-
ther

ther Benedict was a native of our kingdom of Naples, though he first received the habit of the order of St. Francis in the Roman province. He was a public preacher in the city of Rome, as likewise a confessor to the nuns. The death of this good man may well be said to be lamented by all, since the very birds and beasts had their share of concern at it: for it was to be observed, that whilst the corps was upon the bier, it was attended by several parrots and wild hens, which hovered about waiting till it should be interred. A dog likewise that had belonged to the deceased Father, missing his master after he was buried, would neither eat nor drink, but lay howling after an extraordinary manner at the church-door. I gave him afterwards to the captain-general to be transported into some distant island: but this availed little, for in less than a month's time he returned, and placing himself at the door of the deceased Father's cell, continued to howl as before, till at length, having eat nor drank nothing for many days, and being thereby quite famished, he groaned out a dismal farewell to his loving master, and so died.

It may not be here amiss to insert a certain quarrel that happened among the Negroes in the fourth year of my mission, and whilst the aforesaid Father was living; but wherein nobody was killed through the timely orders sent to prevent it. The difference was this:—The captain-general, son to the count's brother, being at variance with the count's other nephew, son to his sister, while they were mutually provoking each other with ill language, the latter happened to throw down the former, and falling a-top of him, began to belabour him lustily with his fists, which nevertheless nobody saw. The person aggrieved complained of this usage to the count, who having heard him patiently, at length said to him, "What justice would you have me to do between you two that are so nearly allied?" The captain-general having received the like affront once before from the countess's brother, briskly replied, "What, would your excellency have me put up this affront too? No, it is not in my power, and I would have my enemies to know that I am not so much to be despised." This said, he withdrew, and taking up arms together with his other three brothers, he beat an alarm to challenge the count's other two nephews to battle, who nevertheless were not able to appear against him without the assistance of their uncle's troops that were already gone all over to the captain-general's side; and this caused them not to appear at all.

The better to understand the manner of challenging in this country, I must acquaint you that the Negroes, when they have any private quarrels among them, do not care to decide the matter singly, but each gets as many of his friends as he can together to do it for him. When they are come to the appointed place, and drawn up in fight of their adversaries, they begin to argue the case coolly; then proceed to abusing each other with invectives, till at length, their blood being fired by injurious language, they fall to it helter-skelter. Then their drums begin to beat confusedly, which are made of thin wood all of a piece, and in form like our great earthen jars. These being covered with a beast's skin, are sounded, not with little sticks, but with the hand, and which make a much greater noise than our drums do. They that have the use of guns, after the first onset throw them away, having them more to fright than offend the enemy. They set them against their breast, without taking any aim, by which means the balls generally fly over their enemies' heads, without doing them any harm; for they perceiving the flash in the pan, are likewise accustomed to squat down, and after having so received the firing, rise up of a sudden, and run forwards. After they have thus thrown away their fire-arms, they betake themselves to their bows and arrows. When they are at a distance they send their arrows up into the air, that by their falling they may do their enemies the greater mischief; but when they are nearer, they shoot them

them in a direct line. They are wont sometimes to poison their arrows, the wounds made by which they recover by pifs. When the arrows fall, the adverse party immediately gathers them up to make use of them again. The short arms they employ are great and small knives, axes, and the like, which they buy of the Europeans. When they come to engage, the persons that are conquered become slaves to the conquerors, if they are taken; and if not, they often kill themselves for anger. In Congo, when there are no priests there, Christians make slaves of Christians, which they often do upon very flight quarrels.

But to return from whence we have strayed, let us go on with our story. After a little while two electors, whereof one was the Mani Enguella, the count's cousin, came up to the captain-general, who together with his friends stood with their arms in their hands, and endeavoured to pacify him. They found him sitting majestically under an umbrella, as it were a canopy; when with a more than kingly gravity, he broke forth into these words: "He that has a mind to speak with me, let him do it prostrate on the ground." This the two electors would by no means condescend to do, since that would be to make him no less than count. Whereupon the haughty general leaped up in a passion, and disposed himself to a rebellion, marching with his followers two days journey off from the city. His three brothers posted away immediately to his government, which was a country given him by the count, in gratitude for having suppressed a dangerous rebel, who called himself Duke of Bamba of Sogno. Hither he was soon after to follow, but was happily prevented by our interposing; for had he gone, the consequence might have been no small prejudice to the count. The arms and ammunition he carried along with him were several small field-pieces, three hundred musquets, thirty barrels of powder, a great number of bows, arrows, and the like, with great quantities of provisions. The manner of our interposing was this:—On All-Saints' day, after the first mass, the count came to me with concern in his countenance, and told me what a rebellion was raised against him. I answered, that as soon as I observed the first motions amongst the people, I leaped forth of my cell, and went to enquire what was the matter. I was acquainted that the Baretti (so the family of these rebels was called) were got together to divert themselves. To which I replied, that their exercise did not at all seem to me to be tending that way; but I rather supposed it to be occasioned by some contentions among them. Having then the chalice in my hand to say the second mass, and being somewhat mistrustful that this might arise from the captain-general's influence, I caused it to be enquired into when he had been at church, and was informed that he was present at the first mass. Now if this had been true, I had soon prevented all future miscarriages; but being imposed upon, I could not. I then offered the count to do what in me lay to quiet the disturbance, and promised to go find out the captain-general for that purpose. Hereupon my net was speedily got ready, and I set forth, but had not gone above three or four miles before I was stopped by a guard of soldiers, who told me I should go no farther. This caused me to come out of the net to know the reason, thinking when they saw me they would let me pass; but I found it quite otherwise. I asked their commander if he knew me, he answered, "This post was assigned me to let nobody pass whatsoever, and Your Reverence never yet baptized me, nor have I confessed to you." Then I went to go on, but this captain fell down on his knees, and hindered me. I believed positively that this was an act of humiliation and submission, it being the Blacks' custom always to speak upon their knees to the priests and their lords. But see how I was mistaken, for as I offered to go forward, he clapped the butt-end of his musquet to his shoulder, and was about to fire at me, which I perceiving, retired,
and

and giving a small crucifix to one of the soldiers, bid him to carry it to the captain-general, as a token that I was coming to speak with him. In the mean-time I took to another road, which although it was three miles about, yet by the grace of God I got to Chitomba before midnight. In our way we passed through several villages, whose inhabitants were all fled to the sea-shore; therefore not finding any-body to relieve my poor net-men, as they expected, they were forced to carry me patiently, without resting a minute, for fear of losing time. Manichitombo sent me word that he would have me come on no forwarder, lest I should lose my way in a huge wood, which I must necessarily pass through, and which I might very well do in the night-time: and moreover that if I continued at Chitombo, he would come and wait on me there. My answer was, that if he had a mind to show himself an obedient spiritual son to me, he should continue where I was till I had known the count's farther pleasure in the matter; and I withal requested of him, that the letters I should send for that purpose might not be intercepted by any of his faction; and to the end they might be able to distinguish which they were, I let him know that I would order them to be carried aloft upon a pole. Whilst I was in expectation of an answer from the count, Manichitombo's brother and secretary sent me my crucifix again, and withal gave me to understand that his brother would not have me by any means to give myself the trouble to come to him, for that he would comply with me in all I desired and came about; and therefore begged of me to pray for him and his friends. Having this answer from the captain-general, I thought it to no purpose to stay any longer at Chitombo; and therefore I immediately set out for Sogno again, and arrived there about midnight. Next morning I ordered my interpreter to go and acquaint the count what I had done; but though, he seemed to comply with my commands, yet did he not nevertheless obey them, fearing to fall under disgrace thereby; for it is common among the Blacks to suspect what the interpreters tell them, if there be not a priest by to confirm it, and sometimes such messengers have been taken and punished barely upon suspicion. When I came to understand this, I went to the count myself, and having informed him of all that had happened, he seemed in some measure to be pacified; however desired to be satisfied in two questions. The first was, why I had not excommunicated the captain for having so impudently set up his standard against his sovereign; and the second was, that he desired to know of me what punishment so great an offender deserved. As to the first, I answered, that I could not have excommunicated him for two reasons:—first, because he had not rebelled against the church; and secondly, in that he complied with my demands, which I presumed were for His Excellency's benefit. As to the count's second question, I plainly perceived that it was both designing and politic; for could he have procured me to declare the captain-general a rebel, he would have soon had him caught, and struck off his head. But I thank God, being aware of his intentions, I prudently avoided them, telling His Excellency in a jesting way, that I would send the little boy (a youth that had been brought up in our convent, and whom the count dearly loved) to satisfy him in that question. This caused all the standers-by to laugh, and I myself was not a little pleased that I had avoided answering to so ensnaring a demand. The third or fourth day after, the governor of Chioua, the count's eldest son, appeared with a powerful army which he had raised to defend his father. This person at his first coming was indeed extremely courteous and humble; but he afterwards soon became proud and haughty. How much pains we took to reconcile these two disagreeing parties, need not be expressed. In a word, we happily composed the dissensions between them, and we thought the captain-general had agreed to appear only with his three brothers. But wherever the mistake was, he came at the time appointed,

attended

attended by his whole army, which having drawn up before our church, in sight of that of the Mani of Chioua, he waited for the count's coming to give him a remission of his crime. I fixed my eyes upon the multitude, and could not imagine what the event of this interview would be. I told the count's second son, that was then in our convent, that in my opinion it was not at all proper for his father to appear in any passion at this juncture. He answered, that the way to meet one that came to ask pardon after this manner, was to come with bullet in mouth, and the musquet ready to receive it. "Not so fast, sir," quoth I, "perhaps I may find a remedy." Then I went and spoke to the captain-general's secretary, who of all his brothers was the wisest and most prudent. I told him my sentiments concerning the hostile appearance of so great a number of men, and his answer was, that they should be all sent home to their houses, which was the same day performed. Of all this I immediately informed the count, and he appointed the four brothers to appear before him next morning, without any attendants. They accordingly came, and three leathern chairs being set out before our church, one for the count, another for me, and a third for the captain-general, the count after his wonted humble manner, took the left hand. After a little while the captain-general, making three low bows to the count, humbly acknowledged his offence, and received pardon. When this was done, the count started up, and nodding his head with a fierce countenance, to show he was not altogether pleased with what had passed, and turning towards me said, "Is there any thing more, Father, that you desire of me? are you satisfied? are you contented?" Which having spoke, he in a kind of passion left us. Happy was it for these four that I had interposed; for otherwise they would not have recovered their former posts, as they did. Nor was it a matter of small labour to get the captain, the secretary, and the other lieutenants restored. Yet I observed with admiration that the count laid hold of this opportunity to put several Manis from their governments, who depended on the captain-general, and among the rest, those that had commands nearest his Banza, putting into their places such as he most confided in, retrenching by degrees his exorbitant power: and thus the general was humbled, his master satisfied, and the people quieted.

Having given an account of this rebellion of a nephew against his uncle, I will conclude this first part with that of a son against his father a Portuguese, and the dreadful punishment God inflicted upon him for his disrespect to his parents: a passage no less dreadful than memorable, and which may serve for a warning to unruly persons to be more respectful to those, nature and the law of God have placed over them. Some few days before the arrival of the Fathers-missioners, F. Andrew da Pavia and F. Angelo Francisco of Milan, at the mission of Sogno, as shall appear hereafter, a run-away soldier embarked at Loanda for this place aboard a Dutch ship, in order to pass into the kingdom of Loango, and thence into Europe. He, though he arrived at Sogno, succeeded not in his designs, as he projected; for being often rejected by the Dutch, he was left forsaken upon that point of the river called El Padron, the landing-place of the aforesaid earldom. This place being on one side hemmed in by the river, and on the other by the waves of the vast ocean, and the land being covered with a thick wood of Mango trees, he durst not stir one step in that intricate labyrinth. He often desired the heathen fishers resorting thither from the kingdom of Angoij, and the Sognese Christians to carry him into their countries; but both of them excused themselves, alledging they could not do it without their masters leave. He having nothing but his sword, thought to prevail by force, which they perceiving, forsook the place, for fear of embroiling themselves with the Portuguese, and to shun him that took their fish away, and abused them. The wretch being in this condition, surrounded with misfortunes, saw the two aforementioned

Fathers coming from Angola, and conceived hopes they would relieve and conduct him to their house, hunger oppressing him. Coming out to meet them, and perceiving they did not so much as look at him, but went away without speaking a word, he cried out, "Fathers, I fly to your compassion, and desire to be received by you." "We cannot," replied they, "banish that charity from our hearts which is due to all men like ourselves; but God forbid that at our first appearance among these new converted Christian Blacks, we should introduce with us the example of a most enormous wicked action committed by a white Christian as you are." Thus they left him forsaken in that place. The case was thus:—This wretch had give a full loose to all his lewd inclinations, and being often reprimanded by his father, he never took the least notice. On the contrary, to remove all obstacles that hindered his proceeding in his wicked courses, he resolved to destroy him of whom he had received his being. Accordingly he inhumanly fired a pistol at his father, the bullet whereof hitting him on the forehead without any hurt, rebounded back upon the son, and wounded him sorely, who, as he was, took sanctuary in a church; but fearing the punishment he deserved, endeavoured to make his escape with the Hollanders, as has been said. The most remarkable thing in this cursed action was, that the ablest surgeons could never heal his wound, the flesh ever remaining raw, as a brand on his forehead for so barbarous an action, and an example to all others to dread committing the like inhumanity. As I was going by water to the kingdom of Angoij, I saw him walking with a sword in his hand instead of a staff; and he called to the seamen, who were his countrymen, but durst not come near because the governor of Angolo would have punished them severely, had they presumed to transport a run-away soldier.

To the former I will add one passage more, well known to all this carldom, where the witnesses to it are still living; it was thus:—A certain Christian being often admonished by one of our missionaries to leave his wicked course of life, he was so far from it, that running on in his lewd courses, he scoffed at him. This man being one day to pass a river with two companions, he was visibly taken up by an invisible hand into the air. One of his companions going to take hold of him by the feet, had such a cuff given him, that he fell down in the boat, and the offender was seen no more, the two companions being left to proclaim what had happened all the country about.

But since I have spoken of a son that was so ill a liver, I will conclude with other children born in this black Ethiopia, to the astonishment of those that beheld and gave an account of them. One of these came from his mother's womb with a beard and all his teeth; perhaps to shew he was born into the world grown old in vice. A white and a black child were also born at one birth; and a black woman brought forth a child quite white. Thus I conclude this first part with three wonderful births.

PART II.

ETHIOPIA, so called either from Ethiops the son of Vulcan, or from the Greek word *aitho*, I burn, according to Pliny's opinion, who expresses it thus, *Nam solis vicinitate ejus regionis incolæ torrentur*. Ap. Diction. 7 Lingu.: and which either by means of its scorching sands, the nature of the climate, the oddness of the food, and variety of the daily diet, produces nothing but blackness among its own native inhabitants,

may with good reason be termed the dark and dismal tomb of Europeans, and the fatal grave of white people. The blackness of these sooty nations, some will have to be caused by the climate, or nearness to the sun; but others, with more reason, derive it from their original, family and descent: for Sevil being in about 38 degrees of north latitude, produces white people. Near the river of Plate, in the same latitude southward, the men are of a chestnut, and rusty iron colour; and near the Cape of Good Hope, which though more eastward, is in the same latitude, the natives are quite black as pitch. And therefore with Cardan we may say, the blackness does not proceed from the temper of the climate, but from the race. *Ut videantur, stirpe potius quam aeris natura tales evadere.* Card. de Variet. lib. ii. c. iv. Which the poet confirms thus:

Sanguine tum credunt in corpora summa vocato,
Æthiopum populos nigrum traxisse colorem.

OVID. MET. lib. ii. v. 235.

S. Isidorus, quoted by the most illustrious and most learned Monfigneur Paolo Aresi in his Essays, is of opinion, that the Ethiopians are descended from Chush the son of Ham, cursed by Noah for his unbecoming curiosity in looking upon his father's nakedness. *Certissimum est originem ingredi non a regione, ut hactenus existimatum est ob solis ardore, sed a stirpe et sanguine Chus provenire.*

In the second year of my mission, I fell sick of a violent fever in Ethiopia, inasmuch that I found my strength to fail me so fast, that I thought it but prudence to prepare for my last mission into another world. The remedy we Europeans make use of here upon these occasions, is, to let almost all our blood out of our veins, and to replenish them with such as the food of the country produces, which being more connatural to the climate, agrees best with us. And if it pleases God to spare life, it is no less painful, or requires any shorter time to recover; for days and months pass away in accustoming the body to the unusual food, but it is the work of two or three years, with continual care and application, to re-establish health. If the probability of this be questioned, I appeal for confirmation of it to Father Cavazzi da Montecuccolo in his Historical Descriptions before-mentioned, where he speaks of it in many places, viz. in his first book, p. 146, in his third, p. 330, &c.

If the torments this fever occasioned my body were so grievous, much more must they needs be to my soul, since I had only the poor lay-brother Leonard to administer the sacraments to me: who nevertheless in temporals was as serviceable as I could expect or wish, but in spirituals could only sprinkle me now and then with holy water, and call sometimes for me on the names of Jesus and Mary.

Whilst I was thus labouring under an uncertainty, whether I should live or die, an envoy was introduced to me from the King of Caçonga, who writ me word, that both he and his whole kingdom were disposed to receive our holy faith, and therefore desired I would make what haste I could to him to have those good intentions accomplished. At that time I was ignorant that the count of Sogno had married his sister to this King, on condition that he should embrace the Christian communion, but which not long after I was acquainted with by the said count himself. This good news I must own was no small relief to my malady, though it did not absolutely recover me. I therefore entreated His Excellency the count, that he would please to supply the want of ability in me, and give the envoy an answer which might demonstrate my gratitude, and great obligations to his master for his proposal.

This King sent afterwards to our count to offer him the island of Zariacacongo, which being nearest to his dominions might be better governed by him, and continued in the Christian religion when once planted there. With the messenger that brought this

this offer, I dispatched another to the King, to let him know that for the present I was extremely ill; and besides that there was no other missionary throughout the count's dominions besides myself, but that if God in his infinite mercy should please to spare my life, I would take such care that he should be served in his request, either by me or some other. I desired His Majesty moreover to order the governor of the island, that whenever any of my interpreters should come there, to set up a cross as an original sign of Christianity, he would permit them to do it without molestation. I likewise begged of His Majesty to assign some place in his dominions for a church to be built. All I had so desired, was punctually granted not long after by this good King, who testified a more than ordinary inclination to see me; but which my weakness, occasioned through the great loss of blood I had undergone, hindered me from obeying him in. One of our Fathers being come to me, set forward immediately to forward so good a work, as the conversion of a whole kingdom; who coming to Bomancoij, a city on the other side of the river Zaire, and metropolis of the kingdom of Angoij, heard that the King was dead, and a new one elected. This caused him immediately to return homewards, employing himself by the way in other missions among the islands belonging to Sogno: he thought it not amiss to touch at the island of Zariacaongo, to pry into the dispositions of that people; and finding a cross erected amongst them, he took thence an occasion to ask them, "If they desired to be Christians?" The governors answered, "That they could not receive any new law without leave from the present King; which if he would grant, they were most ready to embrace it." There were not wanting some among them that said scoffingly, "When we are sick forsooth, the wood of this cross will recover us!" This they spoke, I suppose, by the instigation of the wizards, who knew well enough that the Christian religion should be no sooner established there, but they would be persecuted; and therefore, no doubt, thought it adviseable to oppose it. The Father having done all he could to please them, and finding his endeavours ineffectual, left them till a more favourable opportunity offered itself. The count finding these islanders to oppose the commands of their late King, resolved to compel them by force to perform them, and consequently set out against them with an army for that purpose; and we seeing it involved in troubles, thought fit to put off our going thither till another time.

This island is none of the smallest, and situate in the midst of the river Zaire. It abounds with all sorts of provisions, and great numbers of inhabitants. It is plain, raised eight fathom above the water, and is divided from the kingdom of Congo by a river, over which there is a bridge.

About the end of the fifth year of my mission, arrived at our convent the two Milanese Fathers formerly mentioned, viz. Father Andrew da Pavia (who was appointed superior in my stead) and Father Angelo Francisco da Milano; together with a lay-brother, one Giulio d'Orta. They brought along with them several refreshments from Europe, whereby having greatly comforted me, I began to recover my strength, inso-much that I resolved speedily to set forth in my mission, but knew not well whither to go. If I went to Chiovachianza, I was afraid I should not succeed there, by reason, as Father Leonard told me, they had not seen the face of a priest for many years; and moreover, since they had had any among them, they had been subdued, as I told you before, by Simatamba. And if I went to the new King of Cacongo, I distrusted my security there, because he had never invited me. At length it was the advice of all, rather to repair and support what had been already built, than to think of laying a new foundation in another place, and the rather, because there was no extraordinary understanding between the count of Sogno and the new King of Cacongo, although
the

the count had given him his vote as one of his electors. I was nevertheless not yet resolved to go for Chiovachianza, having heard what happened there to one of our order, who coming thither from Sogno, and being for that reason ill-looking upon, did little or no good; and besides, happening to take a small quantity of Talk, wherewith that country greatly abounds, he was taken and clapped up into prison, besides other ill-usage offered him; and was at length released, more out of covetousness than either charity or justice. Notwithstanding this consideration, I was at last prevailed upon to go: for this purpose I resolved to carry with me interpreters of the best quality I could get; and therefore procured, though with some difficulty, the Count don Stephano's son, a person extremely beloved throughout these dominions, together with the secretary and his brother, both nephews to the present count, and who have been mentioned by me before. Having got all things in readiness for so long and dangerous a journey, taking up four or five days at least, the interpreters thought themselves obliged, according to the custom of the country, to go and ask their lord and master's benediction: which he gave them with a pleasing countenance; but nevertheless could not help saying, "What, will you leave your prince to hunt after Bonghi (the money of that country)?" to which they readily answered, that they were going in the service of God, and not in search after Bonghi. This did not pass so secretly but it came to my ears, and which I observed to have had that effect upon the before-mentioned persons, that I resolved to alter my resolutions, and instead of Chiovachianza, to embark for Angoij, and thence to go to Cacongo.

If it was not my good fortune to go to Chiovachianza myself, give me leave to tell you who did. We had a certain native of Congo, whom we had bred up in our convent from a youth. This person being very virtuous, and of a more than ordinary capacity, our friars caused him to be made a priest for the benefit of Christianity, to the end that being naturally more proper to bear fatigue and labour than they, he might be sent out on a mission where they could not go. Him we forthwith dispatched to the above-mentioned country, where in a few days he baptized above five thousand children. Having remained there for some time, and worked like a faithful labourer in his Lord's vineyard, at the request of our Fathers, he obtained a canonship in the bishopric of Loanda in the kingdom of Angola, where he now resides, with a great deal of honour due to his behaviour and character.

I went to wait on the count to take leave of him, telling him, that I had in some measure been hindered from making my mission by land, and therefore I was resolved to perform it speedily by sea. His answer was little to the purpose, which nevertheless favoured more of craft than any thing else. He told me, that since my departure was so sudden, he could only furnish me with a brace of goats, and some pulse.

I embarked, and the first port I touched at was Capinda in the kingdom of Angoij, where the Portuguese trade all the year, as do the Dutch. I was no sooner landed, but I set about my spiritual employment; yet whatever pains I took, and however I inculcated the truth, I could gain over but one single person, whom I baptized. I confessed several Christians that came thither about business, together with some Flemish Catholics that lived there. I continued ashore all the day to say mass; at which assisted not only the Roman Catholics, but the Pagans, especially the women of these last, who were so well pleased with the picture of the Virgin Mary, that they clapped their hands after their manner of devotion, and cried out in their language, "Eguandi Ziambiabungù magotti, benchì, benchì!" that is, "This is mother of God, O how beautiful she is!" Which said, they all fell on their knees and worshipped her. This
act

act of tenderness so wrought upon me, that it quickly brought tears of joy into my eyes, to see so much devotion and acknowledgment in so ignorant a people.

Angoij is a kingdom rather in name than in dominions, being but a very small territory. Here formerly a certain Mani happening to marry a Mulatta, daughter to a very rich Portuguese, his father-in-law would needs make him King of Angoij; and for that purpose caused him to rebel against the King of Cacongo his lawful sovereign. The manner in short was thus:—The King of Congo having sent a governor, or viceroy, to govern the kingdom of Loango; that person being rather ambitious to reign absolutely, than rule under another, got himself to be proclaimed King of all that country; and moreover, took in so much more land belonging to his master, that his dominions are at present extremely large, and wholly independent of Congo. Cacongo lying in the middle between Congo and Loango, that Mani declared himself neuter, and set himself up for King of Angoij, rebelling against his lawful sovereign the King of Cacongo.

The kingdom of Loango lies in five degrees and a half of south latitude. The Christian religion was first planted there in the year 1663, by the labour and diligence of one Father Ungaro a friar of our order. This pious Father had run through divers countries and kingdoms, when at last coming to Sogno, and lodging in our convent, a Portuguese traveller happening to come that way, was very courteously received and relieved by him, insomuch that in a little while they had contracted a great friendship together. After some time the Portuguese went his way, and coming to Loango, related to that King the great integrity and honesty he had found in this Capuchin missionary. The King giving credit to what he told him, was easily induced to send two of his younger sons to Sogno, to be instructed by this person in the principles of the Christian religion; which, after they had well been, and baptized, they were sent back to the King their father.

These princes confirming the character the Portuguese had given of Bernardino Ungaro, the King had a great desire to see so good a man, and keep him always with him; and therefore wrote forthwith to the governor of Angola to send him to him. This governor having obtained leave of the then superior, Father John Maria da Pavia, dispatched him accordingly to Loango, without any manner of delay: where arriving soon after, and having instructed the King and Queen for some few days, he proceeded to baptize them both, and then to marry them after the manner of our church. His next business was to baptize the King's eldest son, and after him successively the whole court, which consisted of above three hundred persons. In a word, within the space of a year that he lived there, he had baptized upwards of twelve thousand people. At last this zealous missionary finding himself oppressed with a grievous indisposition, and believing that he should not live long, sent for our lay-brother Leonard; who coming not long after to him, the pious Father died the same morning he arrived, well provided, as we may imagine, of merits for another world. The good King hearing this, and being desirous to keep up what he had so happily begun, sent brother Leonard to the aforesaid superior to acquaint him with Ungaro's death, and to desire of him to send him speedily another missionary; but however, these his good intentions were afterwards disappointed by a rebellion raised against him by a kinsman, who being ambitious of his crown, and having been assisted by some apostate Catholics, deprived the good King of his life. This King's extraordinary zeal for propagating of the Christian religion, appears, in that he has been often heard to say, "that he would shed his dearest blood in the defence of it."

The tyrant and usurper that dispossessed him, lived not long after to enjoy his ill-gotten throne, but was snatched away from it by a sudden death. This wicked person being dead, another Christian King arose, who, though he did all he could, by the help of one Capuchin, to promote what had been begun by Father Ungaro, yet was he not able to bring his intentions about, and that for want of more missionaries; wherefore this kingdom remains at present, as formerly, buried in idolatry. In my time were several attempts made to recover our interest there, though to no purpose; yet there is now a greater probability of succeeding in it than ever, the present King having prohibited the heretics to traffic within his dominions, by reason that they had sold his subjects fire-arms, which he imagined might in time prove prejudicial to him.

I never heard there was any Christian prince that reigned in the kingdom of Angoij, that country having been always inhabited by a sort of people extremely given to sorcery and magic, and who have likewise ever been professed enemies to the people of Sogno and Cacongo. Before I left those countries, those missionaries I had left behind me in Sogno, writ me word that the count had declared war against Angoij; and having conquered that King, had taken all his guns, arms, and ammunition from him, vowing withal never to suffer any person to enjoy any office or dignity in that kingdom, unless he were a Christian. This put me in mind of the saying of the Christian poet Claudian,

Asperius nihil est humili cum furgit in altum. EUTROP. lib. i. v. 181.

And I believe the chiefest motive of the King of Cacongo's seeking the count's friendship, was to have the people of Angoij kept under, he being a kind of check upon them.

Whilst I continued at Capinda, I observed a sort of fishing which I never saw elsewhere. The fishermen threw into the sea a large net with weights, which having long canes fixed to it at equal distances from each other, by their bobbing down shew when there is any fish taken; this net has large meshes only to detain the great fish. It is made of thread of a certain root, which being beaten, becomes like unto our hemp*.

I saw all along these shores oyster-shells lie in great numbers; and being desirous to find those with oysters in them, although the Negroes would not direct us, we soon loaded our boat. We found them lying one upon another in great heaps, and resembling a rock: it requires no great strength to loose them, but only a little shaking.

I had here an opportunity to see the civet-cats, called by the natives Nzime, and by the Portuguese, Gatte d'Angelia. This country abounds with them, and they are sold in great numbers to the Whites. They are white and black, and of about the bigness and make of a large cat. The civet is taken from the male, when shut up in a cage, by catching him by the tail that he may not turn; and then skimming the sweat off from his limbs with a kind of spoon. There are other sorts of wild cats, which are called by the natives Nzfusi.

The most civilized habit here is a piece of cotton thrown over their shoulders, and another girt about their loins; which they purchase in exchange for slaves and ivory: others content themselves with a short apron, only to shew they are Gentiles. They wear a little horn about their necks, hanging like a jewel; and which they anoint every full moon with an oil that their wizards give them, and afterwards bind them about with divers spells. They wear their hair according to their quality: the Queen that I

* What our author tells for a wonder, is now very common, for all draw-nets have corks fixed at an equal distance to do the same office.

saw, had hers shaved close on the crown, and little tufts left all round on the sides. Others have it left in a circle like that of a monk, and others have theirs plaited down in points towards their foreheads and their necks, inasmuch that if there were the least straggling hairs, they would be cut away, and the rest shaved close to the head.

The houses for the most part are of reeds, whereof some are built round, and others square; they are generally such miserable huts that they are rather fit to receive insects, wherewith this country abounds, than to afford a tolerable habitation for men. The house of the Mafucca, receiver of the Whites, though it was built with the same materials, yet was it nevertheless very large and well-contrived, having several arched rooms, within each of which were two small brass-cannons, which, together with two great ones at the gate, made in all eighteen. These cannons they had got in exchange for Negroes, ivory, and the like, from the Whites. The King's palace seemed to me not unlike the foregoing. What moved my wonder most was, the governor of Boman-goi's house, which at a distance seemed to be a well-fortified citadel encompassed with walls, and unlike the workmanship of the Blacks; but as you come nearer you find its walls to be only composed of large stakes (palisadoes) stuck into the ground, five thick, and then raddled up to the top with others of the same bigness; within there were two large ways, which subdivided into several lesser paths. The rooms are all hung within with a delicate sort of mats, made of oziers of divers colours. It seemed to me a ridiculous thing nevertheless, that their houses should be but of straw, stakes, and oziers, and yet defended with brass guns.

The people here, for want of laws to prevent it, take as many wives as they please; and she commands the rest who best pleases her husband, but he has always a power to put her away as well as the rest. The ladies of the blood-royal have a liberty to chuse for themselves what man [they please, whether noble or a plebeian; but woe be to that man that happens to disappoint them in their expectations, for they have likewise absolute power of life or death. Whilst I was in this city, one of these ladies sent a young woman to be sold to the Portuguese, strictly commanding her guardian to let her go at any price, but not to dispose of her to any but Whites. Her crime it seems was a bare suspicion of being too familiar with the said lady's husband. Those women that receive strangers into their houses are obliged by a barbarous custom to admit them to their embraces for a night or two, depriving their husbands of that right in the mean-time. Where we Capuchin missionaries come, our interpreters immediately give notice, that no woman may come within our doors.

These people abound so in superstition, that it would scarce be believed by any but those who saw it; and to go about to prevent it would be to little purpose, since the chief among them are such as encourage it. I declined seeing the King although I had made him presents, and he had returned the favour, by reason I had been told that he wore enchanted bracelets on his arms, and had divers other magic charms about his body, resolving at my return both to visit and make him sensible, if possible, of the cursed state he was in without repentance. Whilst I was here I heard several proclamations made publicly by the wizards, that all thieves and robbers should speedily make restitution, or they would have recourse to their arts to discover them. I saw likewise at a distance an oath administered, which, that it might be done with the greater efficacy, it was proposed to be taken in the presence of their idol; this hobgoblin resembled in some measure a mountebank's merry-andrew, having a divers-coloured vest on, and a red cap on its head, and standing on a little table. As soon as the company that stood round in a ring saw me, they immediately dispersed and hid their idol. This they did not out of any fear of us, by reason that being pagans we

had no jurisdiction over them, but because (said they) the presence of a priest deprives them of the power of acting. Before the gates of their houses almost all have one of these idols, whereof I have seen some five or six foot high, others are smaller, but both are generally clouterly carved; they place them likewise in the fields where they are never worshipped but on account of finding out some theft, for which the thief when discovered must die. They that keep idols in their houses, every first day of the moon are obliged to anoint them with a sort of red wood powdered, as was said above. At the appearance of every new moon, these people fall on their knees, or else cry out, standing and clapping their hands, "So may I renew my life as thou art renewed." If it happen that the air is cloudy at that time, then they do nothing, alledging that that planet has lost his virtue. This sort of devotion is observed mostly by women. As I was travelling over hills and valleys to transport myself to Congo, I chanced to light upon a place where they were invoking of evil spirits; the place was a poor, wretched, despicable hut built on a small rising ground; on one side hung two coarse nasty aprons which stunk so that they were enough to strike any one down that came near them. In the middle of this hut was a wall raised about two foot with mud and dirt, behind which stood the wizard to pronounce his fallacious oracles on account of the prince of darkness. He had on his head a tuft of feathers variously woven, and in his hand two long knives without sheaths. Having a mind to enter "this temple of the devil's," I perceived a very large fire before me, but nevertheless found so insupportable a stench that all my senses were in a manner taken from me. I resolved notwithstanding to proceed, arming myself frequently with the sign of the cross, and recommending my protection to the Almighty. Whilst I was endeavouring to go forward, for you must imagine the stink was no small obstacle, I heard a great number of the poor deluded pagans come murmuring and muttering behind me, exclaiming against my rude attempt to enter their hellish tabernacle. This prevented my going any further, fearing I might otherwise provoke their blind rage to do me a mischief. But to return to my subject.

When I had continued some time at Capinda, the Mafucca told me he had orders from the King of Congo, that whenever any Capuchin friars appeared in those parts, he should send them to him. I answered, that coming from Sogno I knew not if I should be well received or not. The Mafucca replied, "I will write to know His Majesty's pleasure, and I advise Your Reverence to write likewise." I asked him how many days journey the King was off from thence; he answered me, "three by water, and four by land." "If it be so," added I, "I will write." Then I considered with myself, that if I did go I might lose opportunity of the return of my boat from Loango to transport me further, according to my intentions, and therefore I resolved not to go. To this purpose I writ to His Majesty, humbly supposing, that he was indifferent whether I came to him or not; and therefore having set out from Sogno with no other design but to go to the kingdom of Caongo, I was preparing speedily to go thither. Coming to an anchor not long after in a port of that kingdom, I dispatched a letter to the King, acquainting him that I was the person that had received so many favours from his predecessor, having been sent for by him to Sogno to preach the gospel, and that then being greatly indisposed I could not possibly wait upon him according to his commands. This letter was contrived by me to be presented him by two persons, the one a White, namely, one Ferdinando Gomez, a Portuguese, whom I did not care to trust wholly, by reason I knew him to be covetous, and therefore sent another with him who was a Black, and a relation to the said King. To him I assigned a present to His Majesty, which was a crystal crown, and another of blue glass

for the Queen. This present was so well received by the King, that as a token of his being pleased, he took it and put it on his head, which not a little surprized the standers-by, they having a law amongst them that prohibits their King wearing any thing that comes from the Whites, which law they call Chegilla; His Majesty nevertheless dispensed with this law, telling the people that this crown had been sent him by his Capuchin Father, and that therefore he highly prized it, and commanded his Queen to do the like by hers; he then ordered my messengers to be treated with all the civility imaginable, and after eight days stay dismissed them with a letter to me, wherein he thanked me heartily for my kind intentions towards him, and proffered me, that if I would come and see him I should be very honourably received, advising me to bring some rich Portuguese merchant along with me to be my conductor, with some considerable merchandizes to please the people. This answer of his was to the purpose, and had three serviceable consequences, first to himself, secondly to me, and thirdly to the Portuguese.

As to the first, it was commonly reported among the missionaries, and remained fresh in the memories of the Negroes, that some years since a certain King of this kingdom having been baptized by a religious person, and afterwards causing a proclamation to be made, that within such a time all wizards should depart his dominions, or suffer death for their neglect; these wicked wretches incited his subjects to a rebellion against him, which at length increased to that degree, that they ran like madmen to the palace with weapons in their hands to assault their prince. The prudent King having timely notice of their motions, retired in great haste to a son's of his, who was at that time governor of an adjoining territory, thinking he could be no where so safe as under his protection, who was indebted to him for his being. The son seeing his father hotly pursued by his mutinous subjects, I know not whether through fear of death, or out of policy, soon discovered, and delivered him up to their mercy. What could the afflicted father do upon this occasion, but have recourse to the holy crucifix which he always wore about him, and which had been given him at the font by the priest that baptized him, kissing it over and over, and crying out, "If I must die through the treachery of a son, ought I not to do the same on account of my Saviour, who was betrayed and died for me? yes, if I had a thousand lives I would lay them down all for his sake." This said, hugging the crucifix close in his arms and kissing it, he yielded down his head to the fatal steel, which at one stroke deprived him both of head and life. His perfidious son did not remain long unpunished, for soon after, being first deprived of his government, he died miserably. The same happened to that wicked kinsman, and infamous conspirer against the King of Loango, who in like manner by a commendable death resigned his breath on account of his endeavours to propagate the Christian faith within his dominions.

The cause of my going to Caongo, was principally the spiritual comfort of those poor souls, and the performance of my duty, but I had likewise a desire to see the body of the former of the two before-mentioned Kings, which was not much revered by the said people, but highly respected by me, and which was not difficult for me to find it, having been the custom there, as with us, to bury their Kings by themselves. That strange accident having left so indelible an impression on the mind of the present King, he had good reason to desire a trade with the Portuguese in expectation of their assistance both spiritual and temporal, which he also expected from his good friend and ally the count of Sogno.

To confirm as much as in me lay the good intentions of this King, I had signified to him among other things, that to lay the surer foundation of the Christian religion in his

his country, I must desire the favour of him, that either all, or at least the chief of the magicians and wizards of this kingdom would meet me to defend their opinions, and oppose mine; and if they declined coming on account of ignorance, I desired I might exercise my sacerdotal power on their charms, and disprove and annul all their devices, and thereby shew that the performances of Christ's ministers are always above those of the devil's.

The second consequence to me and all true Catholics was, that by the introducing of Christianity into that kingdom, the heretics that traded there would be discountenanced and confuted, and not suffered for the future to make the port of Capinda their way to the kingdom of Loango.

The third good consequence was to the Portuguese, to whom we have been so much obliged not only in trade, but likewise in matters of religion.

Ferdinand Gomez pressed me extremely to give the King of Cacongo an answer, and therein to signify to him that if His Majesty pleased he would wait upon him as a merchant, and had prepared great variety of merchandize for that purpose. My answer was, that if the King spent some days in considering on his answer, I had reason to study mine many more. His design, it seems, was to vend his commodities aboard, and then sail away without leaving any thing ashore. This the Negroes nevertheless discovered, and thereupon told him, that if he had a mind to trade for slaves in their country, he must first land all his merchandize. This honest man hoped to have had his rogueries authorized by me, though he knew it to be my business to preach nothing but truth and sincerity. I thought it proper to go and speak with the King, who resided about eight miles off, to the end he might not think either himself or his subjects imposed upon by me or my acquaintance. Gomez would needs accompany me; we found the journey extremely troublesome, especially I who had been sick. From the sea we had a very steep ascent to make, which obliged me to come out of my net, and to walk afoot, but at length through extreme weakness I fainted; whereupon I was lifted again into the net, and with much ado dragged up the hill. This fainting was occasioned by my indisposition, which never left me, and by the slender provisions we had in the ship, which consisted of nothing but horse-beans, Indian-wheat, and flower made of the root of an herb; and yet this man told me before our Fathers of Sogno, that his bark was well-provided, especially with sweet-meats, though indeed I found nothing but big words, and had like to have paid for it with my life.

When we came to the Mafucca's house, who was the King's relation, and lived about a mile from court, I called him aside, and told him what Gomez had designed; he seemed very angry, but was nevertheless soon appeased by my intermediation. I afterwards asked him seriously, if I should go to the Banza where the King resided, whether he thought His Majesty would be baptized or not. To which he, though a pagan, civilly answered, that he was certain he would, according to his promise, provided that trade were settled within his dominions with the Whites pursuant to their contract; but if that were neglected, the performance of his promise would be accordingly procrastinated. "Away then," replied I; "go tell your master, that by the help of God I would transport myself to Loanda in the kingdom of Angola, on purpose to settle that matter with the Portuguese governor; and afterwards, if not prevented, I will return hither myself, but if I cannot, my Father superior shall come and baptize your King." Then turning to Ferdinand Gomez, who stood by me all the while, I spoke to him thus in the presence of the Mafucca, "You see I have ended my business, go you and make an end of yours, and do not endeavour to put tricks upon these

these poor people." Hereupon he contented himself with six slaves in exchange for his goods, and so prepared for his departure.

I nevertheless remained in the Mafucca's house, and towards night an ambassador, with five others, came to me from the King of Congo. Before their coming I had two messengers from the Mafucca of Angoij, to signify their master's concern for my departure from Capinda without his knowledge. I acquainted them that the reason of my so doing was, because I had no house near the sea to reside in, his being above a day's journey off. I afterwards opened the King of Congo's letter, wherein he entreated me for God's sake to come and comfort him, many years having passed since he had any Capuchin within his dominions; and his mother Donna Potentiana was desirous to see me, having several things to communicate to me for the benefit of Christianity. Together with the embassy the King sent a present of two slaves, one for me, and the other for the Mafucca, for services done him. Mine I refused, and yet I never saw him; but afterwards considering that if I did not accept of him, the Mafucca would have both to sell to the heretics, I gave him to Ferdinand Gomez, for having given me a flask of wine for the sacrament, and some other small things. Then I took leave of the Mafucca of Cacongo, thanking him for his civilities, and bidding him to acquaint the King his master that I was gone to Loanda to accomplish what His Majesty had commanded. I desired the captain of the ship or smack, that if he did not meet with me at Capinda, he should do his best to come to the port of Sogni, which he did faithfully, being a Venetian, and my countryman, notwithstanding both the wind and tide were against him. For the civilities I had received from the Mafucca, I presented him with several small things, in all to the value of about a slave; this I did that he might be the more willing to furnish me with provisions for my voyage. I punctually observed his orders in satisfying the people that were to carry me over the river, which obliged him so much, that he procured me several companions besides the Congolans, which made us in all thirteen.

On the 7th of March 1688, without any farther delay, we set forth towards Congo, and having gone about two days' journey by land, arrived at the Banza of Bomangoij, where, by a correspondent of the Mafucca, a well-bred man, I was very courteously received and welcomed, as I was by the governor, who received me with sincerity, and procured a boat to carry me farther up the river. This voyage was extremely irksome to me through the excessive heat, the sun being then in Leo, which is the time of the rains; and I believe I could never have endured it, had I not been particularly assisted by Almighty God. A-nights I was obliged to lie ashore on the wet ground, continually tormented with a multitude of gnats called Melgos, which rather deserved the name of horse-leeches, for they would never quit their holds till they dropped off and burst, and so rather chose to lose their lives than baulk their appetites. Or else I lay exposed to the air in the canoe, which was a much greater plague. All this was nothing to what follows. The Mafucca's servant having received his money beforehand, would not allow me enough to subsist for four days, having agreed with the rest of the Blacks, who took their turns, to go by land and divert themselves, meeting the boat at the turn of the river, till we came to Boma. As for my interpreter, they gave him now and then a little, but I was fain to owe all my support to a little wine I had by me. The Congheles sent to me by the King, bid me to have patience, for it would not be long before I was in their master's dominions, and then I might have an opportunity to revenge myself on those wicked infidels.

The island of Boma is well situated, pretty large, extremely populous, and abounds with all manner of sustenance proper for the climate. It is tributary to the King of Congo,

Congo, and has several small islands about it belonging to the count of Sogno. The inhabitants do not use circumcision like some pagans their neighbours, whose wizards circumcise them on the eighth day, not out of any regard to the Mosaic law, but for some wicked ends and purposes of their own. When our missionaries came to exercise their function in the islands of Sogno, these people carry their children to them to baptize. In this they do well, but as to other matters they observe little or no religion, and that I believe chiefly for want of priests to instruct them. As soon as they perceived my arrival, the mothers ran like mad women with their children in their arms to get them baptized. This the Mani would not nevertheless permit me to perform, till he had known his lord and master's pleasure therein. As we rowed up the canal, the lord of the island sent to speak with me, being ready to receive me not far off, but first let me know that I must not pretend to touch him, for that he was a true gentile; his arms were all covered with great numbers of enchanted iron and brass hoops, and he superstitiously avoided my touching him, for fear they should lose their virtue. When I came to him, I found him sitting in a sort of leathern chair under an umbrella; he had a sort of linen apron about his middle, and the rest of his body was wrapped about in a kind of scarlet cloak, which having lost both its colour and nap plainly shewed its antiquity. I also sat myself down in a little leathern chair, which I carried always about with me to hear confessions. After a little discourse I presented him with something after the custom of his country; for if something of this kind be not done to the prince, a mission will not be very like to succeed. Afterwards this prince having assigned me a house near to his, I began to baptize the children.

The prince gave me to understand, that he had a mind I should baptize a *she-slave* of his, which I told him I could not do till I had catechized her; and moreover, that after baptism there were several things to be done by her, among which one was, that she must be forthwith married according to our law, which we enjoined on all the converted pagans in other parts. I was answered by one of the standers-by, that this woman was not only a slave, but likewise mistress to their lord, and therefore I ought not to insist on the same from her as another. I told him her being a mistress was so much the worse, and bid him acquaint his lord, that I could by no means comply with his desires: the prince seemed very much displeased at my refusal to baptize his slave, but I nevertheless persisted in my resolutions.

I baptized many at that time, and thereby not only reaped a spiritual benefit, but likewise a temporal one; for almost every one brought me something or other as a present. Being scarcely able to stand on my feet, I turned about to the Masucca's servant, and said to him, "See what difference there is between your religion and ours; for, where yours allows you to be ungrateful, ours enjoins us to give even to those that have used us ill: take, therefore, you, all these presents, and leave me only sufficient to support me to-night." According as I had bid him, so he did; what was left for me being only a pot-full of pullet-broth, and a few pease. Here the custom is to have the kitchen without doors for fear of firing the house, which is but of straw. My interpreter only remained with me, the rest of my companions being gone, some one way, and some another. As soon as we had prepared my supper with an addition of two eggs, I fell to it heartily: my broth I supped up, and tasted my pease, but I had not so done half an hour before I felt those pains that people are wont to do with the twisting of the guts: I thereupon lighted a candle, and threw myself upon the bed, which seemed much farther from me by reason of my torments than it really was. What I suffered is only possible for them to express that have experienced the torture. Providence, which seldom fails the wretched in extremity, at last directed me to a little basket

basket I had by my bed-side, wherein I had preserved some antidotes, for I now began to think I was poisoned: amongst the rest there was an elk's hoot, which I took and applied, but it did me no good, finding myself rather worse than before; for my teeth began to be set, and my sight to be lost; then I had recourse to a sort of little lemon, which I would willingly have put into my mouth at once, but could not by reason of the too strait passage: at last I found I must break it, which I did; the first drop that came into my mouth gave me some ease; but when I had got the rest of the juice into my stomach, I began immediately to grow drowsy, inasmuch that I quickly fell asleep with the lemon in my mouth, and hand upon my cheek. How long I continued in that condition I cannot tell. My companions coming, and perceiving me to lie in that posture, thought verily I had been dead, but at length, through the only intercession of the Virgin, I came to myself. Then turning about to the Congolans, I cried, "God forgive ye," and was going to say more, but found my tongue unable to express any thing but broken tones. The occasion of my breaking forth into that expression, was on account of the poisoning of six of my order near Bamba, as they were travelling through Congo, being the common road from the kingdom of Angola. This way I resolved to avoid, for fear the like fate might have happened to me. As for my distemper, it began to work off by vomits, which continued upon me for eight days and nights together; in four of which, I had little or no rest, and, besides, brought up whatever I eat. Being tolerably recovered, some short time after I was impatient to be gone: for that purpose, I sent to know if my people were in readiness, but had for answer, that the chest wherein the altar and its furniture were kept, was left on the shore and the canoe gone. It seems the lord of that country had sent the night before to the watermen, that if they offered to carry me off they should lose their heads. I hereupon sent civilly to that prince to suffer me to procure another boat: his answer was, that if I wanted a boat, he also wanted a cloak, my present which I formerly made him not having been sufficient. I happened to have two pieces of cotton-cloth by me, which it seems he had been informed of; they were woven in divers colours, and came from Guinea, being a present to me from Father Francisca da Montelione: one of these I immediately sent to this prince to obtain his favour, which I heard he would not nevertheless afford me, unless I sent the other also: this I was unwilling to do, alleging I kept it for the service of God, to which he replied, that the boat was kept for God's service likewise, and, therefore, I should not have it. Finding myself thus indispensably obliged to let him have it, I sent it him, and, three days after, he returned me a boat and men.

Before I continue my voyage on the river, give me leave to acquaint you with some other passages of this nature which happened in this island, and were told me by Father Thomas da Sestola our superior, which may serve to confirm what has been related before. A certain missionary coming to this island, the Mani or lord seized upon some of the goods belonging to his mission; the friar, hereupon, acquainted the count of Sogno from whence he came therewith, who immediately sent orders to have the things restored again to the Capuchin, or he would proclaim war against the Mani: this had so good an effect, that the goods were forthwith restored, and the missionary highly treated and presented. Nevertheless, to prevent any misunderstanding between these two princes, the before-mentioned black priest, called Don Francisco, was sent hither, who being of the same colour and country with these islanders, made a good beginning in his holy function. Whilst he was one day celebrating mass, the Mani, who was much more devoted to riches than religion, instead of assisting at those divine mysteries, did nothing but gaze upon the priest's Chasuble and silver patten; of one he had a fancy to make a coat, and of the other a breast-plate. As soon as mass was ended, he very boldly

asked for them: the prudent priest hereupon answered him, that he would very willingly let him have them, the Capuchins abounding in those things, provided he would let him have them to officiate with during his stay there, but he stole away that very night. Whether it was the Mani himself, or any other, that designed me harm, I am not able to determine; but I am certain, that if I had known the foregoing story, I had walked more warily, and given nobody an opportunity to make me undergo so great a danger as I did.

It may not be here amiss to take notice of two things more relating to the foregoing: first, as to the small sort of lemon which I made use of as an antidote, it is to be noted, that the poison of these parts, which lies chiefly in certain herbs, is not to be expelled any other way than by the juice of this fruit, and this is a secret known to very few. As to the poison in wood, or the like, nought can prevail against it, but the bark of the tree called Mignamigna, as has been hinted at before in the description of the plants and trees of these countries.

Over and above the six Capuchin missionaries that were poisoned at the time of my being in Congo, I must add the like sad fate which had happened to Father Joseph Maria da Sestri, a Genoese, who, in his way to Sogno, where I then resided, being accompanied with about thirty-five persons sent with him by the count, he went aside to a Congheze city called Incusso: at the time of his departure, he told me that six had been poisoned before him, and he should be the seventh. Staying at Incusso about a year, he took what care he could to get into his hands all the implements that had belonged to the deceased missionaries, and which he was commanded to do by the then Father superior. Whilst he was doing this, he was earnestly requested by the Vicar-general Don Michael de Castro, a Mulatto, to come to him, professing himself desirous to fulfil the Easter-duty of receiving the sacrament and confessing, being then an old man, and wanting one to assist him in administering the sacraments. The pious Father went innocently to wait on him according to his request, carrying along with him what things he had recovered, proposing to send them to the superior: about four o'clock he got safe to the vicar-general's house, but, before night, he was taken with fainting fits, and died not without a reasonable suspicion of being poisoned. He was no sooner dead, but the vicar-general caused all the people to depart the room where he lay, and then proceeding to rip up his bundles, took thence, as we are credibly informed, four silver chalices, two censers, with their boats, and two pixs, all of the same metal, with several other things, part of which he pretended were given him by the dying missionary, and the rest he promised he would send to our superior at Loanda, but did not.

I report this from the people that were with Father Sestri, when he died, and who told me moreover, that he took a great quantity of treacle without any relief. This action of the vicar-general hindered his son from being admitted into sacred orders when he solicited for it. As soon as the old vicar was dead, the chapter of Loanda thundered out one excommunication against the son, then deacon, and the new bishop another, to the end that he might thereby be obliged to restore what his father had so unjustly got; all which served to little or no purpose. The old vicar had six thousand slaves at his command, besides subjects, with which he designed to have forced his son's promotion to the priesthood, to the end that he might crown him King of Congo, without considering whether he could get himself to be elected, and at that time he was decrepit. But I must return to give an account of the further progress of my journey.

The first day after I was got over the river, I had a very steep mountain to go up; which being impossible to do in my net, I was fain to perform it on foot, being supported all the way by two men, by reason of my weakness. We came at length to a village, where

where I observed coleworts planted like ours in Europe, brought thither it may be by some missionaries. There are of them in the kingdom of Angola, but they produce no seed, and are multiplied by planting the sprouts, growing to a great height. This village was called Bungù, where I baptised fifteen children.

The morning of my departure hence, those that had the care of me being gone back again, as it is the custom in these countries to do, being assigned fresh conductors by the Mani of the place, they would not stir a foot forwards till they were paid, though it be our privilege to travel always at the charge of the town where we came last. In answer to their demands I told them, that I was going to wait on their King upon this account, and therefore if he would have me to come, he must bear my charges. They replied, in great fury, "We will be paid," clapping their hands, and stamping with their feet as if they had been mad. This action I confess made me smile, whereupon I told them, that if they would repeat the same three times over they should be paid. This made them to laugh too, when shrugging up their shoulders, and performing what I required, they stooped and took me up. It seems this ridiculous action of theirs was to have frightened me into a compliance; but however they were disappointed in the manner of procuring it, though they succeeded in what they expected.

In my second day's journey I was carried to the city of Norchie, where I baptised one hundred and twenty-six persons. This place is the best situated of any I had hitherto seen in Ethiopia. Here the King's son met me, being come for that purpose, and I staid a day and a half to baptise the people.

Here, as I understood, had never yet been any priest, and that because this town was somewhat out of the road, the people having been used to carry their children about six days journey off, to a place where the missionaries commonly resided. The crowd that gathered here about me was very great, and the court of the house where I was but very little, so that I determined for my greater ease, to perform my office in the market. This the Mani observing, told me, that if I pleased I might go to the church, which was not far off. I was glad to hear there was one, and therefore immediately went to it. When I came near it, I perceived it was a pretty large one, and had a great wooden cross standing before it, which I was glad to see. Fixing my eyes upon the door of the church, I found it was quite different from what others had; whereupon calling to the Mani with a great deal of concern, I desired him to cause it to be opened. But he, instead of gratifying me in my request, immediately fled, together with all the rest of the company, which were very numerous. Being thus left to my resentments, I clapped my foot against the door, and broke it open, when I saw what I could never have believed, had it been barely related to me: instead of an altar there was a great heap of sand, wherein was stuck a straight horn about five spans long, and on one side another of a lesser size. On one part of the wall hung two coarse shirts, such as I had before seen in the kingdom of Angoj. Being astonished at this sight, my hair stood an end, my tongue cleaved to the roof of my mouth, and I began to cry out aloud, enhancing the offence as much as possible, "Are these the effects of the instructions ye have learned from our missionaries? Is this the fruit of so much toil and anguish as has been undergone in your conversion?" with several more expressions of the like nature. I deferred administering the sacrament of baptism for some time, giving for reason, that it was by no means proper to baptise the children of those parents that had rejected the worship of the true God, for that of an abominable idol, such as their execrable Caria-bemba was, for so they called their devil. I afterwards told them that I would not stir a foot from their town till they had utterly thrown down and destroyed that temple of idolatry.

Retiring

Retiring to recommend myself to God, and to pray for the illumination of his Spirit, I said to myself, "If I should now clap fire to this building, and burn it down, what damage may it not do to the inhabitants, whose houses are all adjoining, and moreover built with reeds?" I concluded therefore to execute my purpose more mildly at my return, after I had been secure of the King's favour; for should I now have done it, I might have incurred the same damage or danger as others have done. Amongst the rest, Father Bernard da Savona, a few days before he came to Sogno, was left with his baggage, by his conductors, in a large forest, where, for fear of being torn to pieces by wild beasts, he was forced to leave his bundles, and wander alone in great haste; till at last coming near the sea, he was discovered by fishermen, who giving us at the convent notice of it, we sent speedily out for him, and had him conducted safe to us. He was travelling, on account of his mission, to Emcaflu in Congo.

The like misfortune befel Father John Baptist da Malta, as he travelled through Bamba; who perceiving himself forsaken by the persons that were to attend him, had recourse to the Father of miracles, the glorious St. Anthony of Padua, for assistance. When he had watched in a tree almost a whole night for fear of becoming a prey to the wild beasts, he heard himself all of a sudden called by his name. The poor Father thinking some of his companions had called him, begged for the love of God to be conducted to some road. A little while after two gentlemen coming by that way with servants, and observing the Father alone, and so much misused, took him upon their own backs, and carried him to the city of Bamba, not suffering any of their servants to take turns with them, for fear of being deprived of the entire benefit of so charitable an action. The poor Father coming to the vicar of Bamba's house, and being kindly entertained by him, after some time enquired after his companions; and meeting with them not long after, he demanded of them how they could be so cruel as to leave him alone in such a forest. Also, why they did not come to assist him when he called to them, and they heard him. Their answer was, that as for hearing him they took care not to do that from their first leaving him, flying from him as fast as they could, and had not been near him since till then. By their answer the Maltese easily perceived that it was the faint to whom he had recourse, that had both called and delivered him. This was told me by the said Father himself in our convent at Loanda, in the kingdom of Angola.

I was likewise afraid such an accident might have befallen me, as happened to one of our order, Father Philip da Salesia, a missionary into the kingdom of Congo. The story is this:—After the death of the pious Don Alvaro King of Congo, a new King was chosen, who was no less zealous and devout than his predecessor. This prince putting out a proclamation to have all the wizards that should be found within his dominions burnt, those wicked wretches gathering together in the dukedom of Sundi, still persisted to exercise their damnable callings in their huts, notwithstanding the prohibition. To prevent this, the duke's forces marched thither in great haste, carrying along with them the aforesaid Father. Being arrived at the place, they began to set fire to the huts: as soon as the wizards perceived the flames about their ears, they came out in great fury; whereat the duke's people immediately fled, leaving the poor Father to shift for himself. The wizards perceiving him alone, soon seized, and murdered, and devoured him, both to satisfy their revenge and appetite. The truth of this was attested and told us by the persons that fled, who said, they had observed it by the light of the blaze of the houses. We were then at our convent in the city of St. Salvador.

The young prince of Congo, who was about eighteen years old, perceiving I shewed him little respect, especially after what I had discovered in the church, having drawn

up his men in order, departed. I was told I had not done well, to shew so little regard to their King's son, and was therefore desired to send for him back again. My answer was, that since his departure was voluntarily, so should be his return, for me; but withal, that if he would come back he should be well received. In short, he did come back, and at length both he and his were well satisfied, and tarried with me till next day at noon, when we went all away together.

Having travelled another day's journey and a half with the aforesaid prince, we met with the King's uncle, and a relation of his, who had drums, trumpets, and a great train of followers. When we came within half a mile of the Banza of Lemba, where the King was, I was told I must not go any nearer till farther order, and therefore was forced to remain behind alone with my interpreter. At last the order came, attended with several persons, to bring me to court. When I came near the city, I was stopped again to wait for the secretary, who was to receive me there. He presently came and conducted me into the market-place, where the people, almost innumerable, and divided into two choirs, were singing of the Rosary in the Conghese tongue. At the upper end sat the King with a long cloak upon his shoulders, a fatin waistcoat striped with silver on his back, and his lower parts from the middle were cloathed with a fine vest after the mode of the country. Being led up into His Majesty's presence, he reached out an ivory crucifix a span and a half long, on an ebony cross of a proportionable length, for me to kiss. When I had done it, and he had delivered it to a favourite, he would needs kiss my crucifix; which he did, and afterwards falling on his knees, received benediction. In the mean-time the people were marching in great order towards the church, whilst the King and I brought up the rear. When I came into the church, after a short prayer, I went up to the altar, and preached a sermon to them upon these words of the apostle to the Corinthians, *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis*; declaring, that I came amongst them for no other end, than to revive in their hearts the love and fear of God, and of his Son Christ.

My sermon being ended, I waited on the King back to his palace, where he entertained me lovingly, and gave me a hearty welcome into his dominions. After we had spent some time together, I took my leave, but His Majesty would needs see me out of the street. His nobles had orders to accompany me farther, for they conducted me to a house belonging to the King's uncle, where I was to reside. I must needs say I was not a little surprized to observe how punctually those lords would come every morning wrapped up in their long cloaks, and walking two by two, to receive and conduct me to church, and after mass march back again with me in the same order as they came.

After the reciprocal visits between the King and me were pretty well over, I one day asked His Majesty for what reason he had so earnestly and so often sent for me from Sogno. He answered, that he might have a priest and preacher of the holy Gospel within his dominions. "That I believe," replied I, "but I presume Your Majesty had some other end." Though he made me no answer to this, yet I could easily perceive he had some thought thereupon that pleased him, and that by his smiling. "Your Majesty must give me leave to guess at it," replied I, "and therefore I fancy you sent for me to put the crown of Congo upon your head." These words were scarce out of my mouth, but I heard a great clapping of hands, and humming (which are tokens of great joy among these people), together with a confused noise of prating among the courtiers, and drums beating, trumpets sounding, and other noisy instruments playing; all which were only grateful to my ears, as they proceeded from pleasure conceived at what I had said.

The Kings of Congo have a bull from Pope Urban VIII., which gives them leave to be crowned by the Capuchin missionaries after the Catholic manner, and which in former times their first King was by the said authority. And afterwards the missionary, Father Januario da Nola, did the same office for Don Garcia Alphonso, who was crowned in the time of Pope Innocent X. The like were others down to this present King. I told His Majesty that his election having been by votes, and that in writing, by reason the electors lived so far off, I desired to see them. He readily complied with my request, and among the rest I found the count of Sogno's name, which I was glad to see, there having been some difference formerly between those two princes.

Having gone thus far, my next business was to procure the regal crown of Congo, which had been formerly sent hither by the aforesaid Pope Urban, and remained at present in the custody of the Portuguese. It may not be amiss to tell how they came by it; the manner in short was this:—Don Garcia II. and seventeenth Christian King of this country, being desirous to establish the succession of his throne to his children, amongst other tyrannous actions, extirpated several of the chief families of his kingdom; and at last, to shew that he was resolved to die as wickedly as he had lived, instead of invoking the assistance of heaven in his sickness, he had recourse only to wizards, necromancers, and such kind of ill-people. These wretches bearing a more than ordinary hatred to the then prince Don Alphonso, as well knowing and fearing that if they suffered him to come to the crown, he would not only persecute, but banish them, possessed the mind of his sick father, that to make his way the sooner to his dominions, he had designed to poison him.

Garcia thereupon blinded by their subtilities, immediately declared his son unworthy of his throne, and consequently got him murdered, recommending for his successor Don Antonio I. his second son. Not long after Garcia died, in the twenty-first year of his reign, leaving his son Antonio to succeed him: but nobody can imagine the wickedness of his reign; besides the murder of his brother, wherein he was not a little concerned, he put to death all his relations. He caused his wife to be murdered, giving out, though falsely, that she was guilty of adultery; and afterwards married a near kinswoman, whom he had formerly been in love with, against all law and reason. Then he proceeded to extend his cruelty towards her relations, as unjustly as he had done towards his own. Thus began the reign of that monstrous tyrant Don Antonio, who having scarce wrapped himself in his purple, dyed it in scarlet, and became abhorred and hated by the Portuguese and Whites, who having signified their dislike to his practices, and which coming to his ears, he vowed he would speedily have them beat and whipt out of his dominions.

To effect this, confiding more in his multitudes, than their knowledge in military affairs, he raised a prodigious army of nine hundred thousand men; the truth whereof I know not whether it may be questioned by the reader; but besides my own, I have the authority of Father Cavazzi for it, who in his second book, p. 286, and eighth book, p. 868, affirms the same thing. Moreover it may appear credible, if we consider the excessive largeness and populousness of these countries, as likewise that all this King's subjects are not only obliged, but accustomed voluntarily to follow him to the wars at his least command.

Before this army marched, the King was advised by Father Francis de St. Salvador, his chaplain and relation, not to hazard the lives of so many poor slaves, against so warlike a people as the Portuguese. This friar had received the habit of our order from Father Giacinto da Vetralla; he was a learned man, and was admitted by order of the sacred college.

The King not caring to hearken to his chaplain's advice, the army marched against the Portuguese. On the very first day of their march, the heavens let down such a deluge, as one would have thought sufficient to have drowned all Æthiopia, and mourned in thunder for the dreadful slaughter that was to ensue. The good friar perceiving the displeasure of heaven, renewed his former petition and advice to the King. "Observe," quoth he to the King, "these drops are as so many tongues, that exhort you not to fight against the Whites; and these claps of thunder are so many groans, that good heaven sends forth for the woeful effects of your obstinacy." The haughty King nevertheless persisted in his resolution and marched forwards: when at length, stepping aside a little way from his army, with a few followers, to repose himself, behold a dreadful tiger, as it were for a second warning, leaped suddenly out of a forest, and ran full drive at him. Father Francis, who never went from the King's side, seeing this, drew out a scymitar he had at his girdle, and opposing the furious beast, at one stroke cleft him in two. The King, little moved at this action of his preserver, rather attributed his safety to magic, than to his kinsman's valour.

The Portuguese being resolved to find those mines of gold which the Moci-Congolans had so long promised, and still delayed to discover to them, got together about four hundred brave Europeans, with near two thousand Blacks their slaves, and lodged themselves in the marquise of Pemba, where they not long after were assaulted by above eighty thousand Æthiopians. The Portuguese, though they saw their enemies march as thick as locusts, and though they themselves were but a handful in comparison of them, and had but two pieces of cannon, yet were they not disheartened, even when they saw them encompass and surround them. The Capuchin placed himself in his vestments between the two armies, endeavouring to make peace, which was approved of by the Portuguese. But the obstinate King would not hearken to his mediation, but forthwith gave the signal of battle, and seeing a woman with a child in her arms, supposed to be the Virgin Mary, standing by the Portuguese general, he shewed her to his men, assuring them of victory, because the Portuguese had the impediment of their women with them. Then began the shot to fly like hail from the Portuguese guns, especially from two pieces of cannon they had, which made such a dreadful slaughter among the Blacks, that one part of the army giving way, the other was not long before it followed. In short, the Portuguese got the victory; which the proud King perceiving, he thought to secure himself behind a huge rock; which being overthrown by a cannon ball, buried and killed both the King and his chaplain, the good friar. Those few that saved themselves by flight, left nevertheless behind them all the baggage, with the King's utensils of pure gold. Now because this memorable slaughter was chiefly occasioned by gold, the natives have never since cared to dig it for fear of losing their country and becoming slaves thereby.

The head of the dead King was immediately lopped off by the conquerors, who carried it to Loanda, together with the crown and sceptre. There they buried it, the whole chapter assisting at the obsequies. This battle, commonly looked upon to have been miraculous, I myself have seen painted upon the wall of the church of Our Lady of Nazareth, where the head is buried; and have also had it related to me, after the manner as I have told it, by a Portuguese captain that was present at it. He also told me, that after the battle, while they were in pursuit of the enemy, he happened to come into a house where he saw two breasts of meat roasting by the fire. Having driven out the people, according to the military custom, and being exceedingly hungry, he fell to taking them off the spit, but had no sooner touched them than he perceived them to be man's flesh. By this may be seen, that though generally speaking there be

no Anthropophagi (man-eaters) in Congo, yet the necessities of war drove the people to great shifts in this marquisate.

The Portuguese did not pretend to any right to the crown of Congo, having been sent by the pope, though they had taken it in war, but said, they were ready to resign it whenever they should be so required. Now, because by the death of Don Antonio, so many disorders arose, and every one thought it his right to command rather than duty to obey; thence ensued innumerable slaughters and great destruction. I proposed to the King to go with his army and take possession of St. Salvador, a city where formerly his ancestors resided, whence he might send an ambassador for the crown and sceptre to the governor of Loanda, without a letter, and through the province of Pemba, for otherwise he might be hindered by the duke of Bamba his enemy: and if he happened to be stopped by those people, he should have orders not to tell them he was an ambassador, lest they should detain and put him to death, which, instead of preventing mischief, would cause more. The King hearkening attentively to all I said, after I had ended my proposition, turned about to his relations and friends, and spoke after this manner: "The Father," says he to them, "knows all;" meaning, that I had discovered the designs of the Æthiopians; and adding moreover, that he approved of my proposal, but that it could not be well put in execution till the corn was off the ground; but as soon as harvest was in, he promised that he would march with his troops to St. Salvador, to grub up the woods, and take possession thereof, together with the lands and habitations thereabouts. In times past, that city had been the metropolis and capital of Congo, where the King resided with his court. There also lived a bishop and his chapter, a college of Jesuits, and a monastery of our order, all maintained at the cost of the King of Portugal. In our convent always resided the Father-superior of our order in these parts. But since, through frequent wars, both this city, and the country about it, was become a den of thieves and robbers.

Without this city is the Pombo, or great market, built by the Giaghi, where man's flesh was accustomed to be sold like to that of sheep and oxen. The Portugal merchants, who resided here in great numbers on account of traffic, refused to buy this flesh, and rather chose to have the slaves alive, whereby to fill their purses with gold, than to have their bellies stuffed with such barbarous food; and, on this account, they pretend they have a licence to buy slaves, which however they could never produce to this day. The Giaghi above-mentioned are the most barbarous people in nature, of whom, or of the conversion of the Queen of Singa, I shall not treat, because that subject is handled at large by Father Francis Moria Gioja of Naples.

I told the King likewise, I would go to Sogno, and expect the return of the smack from Loango, and therein transport myself to Loanda. I advised him not to let August pass before he dispatched his ambassador, assuring him he should no sooner arrive at Loanda, but have all the respect paid him which was due to his minister; and the present Portuguese governor being almost out of his time, would deliver the crown for a small present, which perhaps another would not; and that the Father superior and I would crown him, which being done with the Portuguese consent, none would dare to question it.

I then asked two favours of His Majesty; first, that he would please to pardon a certain rebel that had caused himself to be proclaimed King of Congo, but was now a fugitive in the dominions of Sogno, and that ever since his army had been routed by that of His Majesty; I requested him likewise not only to forgive him, but also to afford him the government of some city, passing my word that he should prove an obedient and loyal subject for the future. The King gave his word presently that he would do

all I desired ; but I not caring to trust altogether to that, caused him to give me his oath upon the crucifix to perform it, to the end the criminal might not afterwards be disappointed and punished. My other request was, that His Majesty would restore to the count the country of Chiovachianza, to the end that having that prince for his friend, as well as the Portuguese, he might reign secure for many years. This, likewise, without any scruple, he consented to.

How little reason I had to ask any favour on behalf of the aforesaid rebel, may appear by what follows :—This mock-king, Don Garcia (for so was his name), coming to visit a missionary of our order, one Francis Michael da Torino, then in the city of Cussu in Congo, after he had been very courteously received by him, and whilst the Father and he were talking together, a fire suddenly broke out in the church : the mock-king soon perceiving it, immediately ordered all his followers to do what they could to extinguish it, which yet gained so far upon them, that in a short time not only the church was burnt to the ground, but the sacristy or vestry. Don Garcia seemed extremely concerned, which nevertheless was all but feigned, he having been the contriver of all, as I was afterwards told by Father Michael, who by a stratagem got it out of one of the followers, that Don Garcia made the wisp of straw himself, and giving it to one of the Negroes, ordered him to fire the church. This he did to make his zeal appear the more by his endeavours to quench the fire, not thinking the flames would have increased as they did. As a reward for this great diligence of his, he was forthwith excommunicated by the said missionary, who soon after departed that country. Don Garcia not long afterwards coming to Sogno, was absolved of his fault by my companion F. Benedict, upon his repentance.

Whilst I continued in Lemba, which was about twenty days, the church was very much frequented : at day-break, the third part of the Rosary was sung by those that were going journeys, especially by the women who went to work in the fields : three hours after, the same was performed by the better sort of people, adding moreover the saints' Litany ; and sometimes, as often as ever I could, I said mass : at night was sung the other part of the Rosary, together with the Litany of our Lady. This present year they kept Lent fifteen days before ours, by reason they regulated it according to the course of the moon, but which they did not let me know for fear I should put it off fifteen days longer ; they nevertheless observed the ordinary course of forty days. To prevent my coming to know the conclusion of it, the Saturday before they came to me with an amusement, saying, " If Your Reverence hears a great shooting and shouting to-morrow morning, you must know it is on account of some new acquisition added to our King's dominions." I could not but believe them, though I knew what they spoke of happened the night I came into the city ; for then the Marquis of Mattari entered in triumph for having subdued two princes, whose dominions bordered on the kingdom of Micocco ; and the same night the said marquis came to give me welcome, looking upon my arrival as a good omen. The next morning, according to my information, whilst we were in the saints' Litany, I heard a great firing of muskets, beating of drums, sounding of trumpets, and other noises of various instruments. " God forgive you," cried I, " for having thus imposed upon me : if I had but known that your Lent was at an end, I could have blessed the palms last Sunday, and all should now have been done that was necessary for a preparation for Easter : nevertheless, I have that charity as to dispense my blessings to all such as have observed this holy time faithfully."

The mentioning of Micocco puts me in mind of a memorable story told me by the superior Father Thomas de Sestola, concerning a certain missionary who travelled into
this

this country, and, after having baptized about fifty thousand souls, died there. His name I have forgot, but the particulars of his labours are known to all.

This person would needs go to wait on the King of Micocco, by whom having been courteously and kindly received, he began to treat with him about introducing the Christian religion into his dominions. At the very first proposal, the King shewed an inclination to believe that was the true faith which the missionary proposed, and, consequently, offered to be baptized; the priest told him, that before he could admit him to the font, he must submit to be catechised: he seemed very willing to comply with what was required, and, after having been well instructed, prepared himself to receive baptism; when all of a sudden a thought came into his head, suggested no doubt by the devil, which he delivered after this manner: "Father, before I am baptized, I would beg two favours of you, which you must not deny me; and they are, first, to grant me half of your beard; and, secondly, to afford me a successor from your loins, for which purpose I will cause all my women to be brought before you, to the end you may choose her you like best: we are all mortal you know," proceeded he, "and, therefore, if you should either die, or take a fancy to leave us, who shall support or maintain the new religion which you have planted among us? To what purpose should I submit to entertain a new law, if I have no prospect of its continuance; grant therefore that I may have a son of your body, who, possessing his father's rare qualities, may be a means to transmit this doctrine more securely to posterity. I must beg of you not to refuse me, for I cannot consent to be baptized, if you do. The modest Father was much surprized, and smiling, answered, "That the strangeness of his request was so extraordinary, that he could neither gratify him in one nor the other of his desires." The King's reason for his first request was, only that he might lay up the hair, and shew it upon occasion to have belonged to the introducer of the Christian religion into his country; and who knows but his subjects, out of blind zeal, might have worshipped it? The second needs no explaining. It is certain we have been always exceeding cautious how we let the Negroes have any thing from us, that they might probably pay adoration to. As concerning the before-mentioned bull, called by the Congheles of the blessed sacrament, and their lighting candles when they open it, the Portuguese nuncio was acquainted with it, and answered, that that venerable effigies being on it, the people might be permitted in their simplicity to worship it.

When I had been about eight days at Lemba, I was seized with a double tertian ague, and moreover broke out from the navel upwards in so many boils and scabs, that I had not the least rest either night or day. But my greatest trouble was, the want of an interpreter to administer the sacrament of penance, which I had not provided, because the letters sent me were well writ, and the language good. The secretary was old, and a boy I had with me too young to be trusted with confessions. Whilst I was thus sick, I was not only frequently visited by the King himself, but he would likewise send every six hours to know how I did; the Queen also, and the infanta Donna Monica sent often to enquire after my health, and withal presented me with several refreshments. Having a mind to be let blood, the King's uncle would needs do that office for me, not caring to trust any body else, which he performed with that niceness that I scarce felt the lance enter my vein; this, with the help of a certain purge I brought from Venice, did me a great deal of good. Being somewhat recovered of my indisposition, I forthwith resolved to be gone, and in order thereto made the King acquainted with my intentions: he seemed much displeased, but notwithstanding, perceiving my resolutions, was fain to acquiesce. I told him I did not intend to go by the way of Boma for several reasons, but designed to go by Sôgnô, to the end I might meet with
the

the smack if I could possibly; I begged of him he would send some of his people along with me to conduct me as far as Chiova, a country belonging to Sogno, or to Zariam-bala, an island of the same dominions. His answer was, that he would willingly comply with any reasonable request of mine, but much wondered at my so sudden departure, especially if I designed to go without taking leave of his mother. I told His Majesty, that the reason I had not hitherto done it, was on account of my indisposition, of which I was but just then recovered, but that I designed to wait on her, God willing, that very night. Pursuant to my promise I went not long after towards Her Majesty's court, and at my first entrance I met two servants with torches, in the second room two more with four servants, and two in the third with more attendants, it being night: they introduced me into the Queen's presence, whom I found sitting wrapped up in a cloak, which was likewise thrown under her arm, having nothing but her smock under it, and her daughter sitting on a carpet by her. After having addressed myself briefly to her by way of taking leave, she started up in a passion, and setting her hands to her sides, said, "What will the world say, if, after having obtained a minister of the Gospel with so great difficulty, we should part with him so easily? No, no, it must not be; I will speak to the King my son, that he by no means shall suffer you to go." "Madam," replied I smilingly, "if Your Majesty has done me the honour to buy me, I desire to know in what Pombo or market it was, and what you gave for me, that I may restore the price to you, with thanks, for begone I must." The hearing of this caused no small laughter in the company, especially in the Queen herself. I added further, "If I am not suffered to transport myself to Loanda, how can I pretend to bring about what I have promised, and you so earnestly desire?" This said, I was immediately dismissed. The name of this Queen was Donna Potentiana, her nature agreeing therewith, having always endeavoured to be powerful, and a great enemy to the Queen-dowager Donna Anna, and to Donna Agnes another Queen. These three women have often put this poor kingdom into a flame, each having desired to have her husband crowned, and for that purpose did all separately endeavour to get a Capuchin missionary among them, which has occasioned the death of so many priests, and made our superior not very ready to let any missionaries go to Congo.

Being just upon setting out on my journey, the King offered me a present of slaves, which I refused, telling His Majesty that we had more than sufficient in our convent at Sogno; I nevertheless accepted one to wait on me during my journey, though I had thirteen at home whom I employed in the service of the church, and in that of those that came to visit us. His Majesty seeing I had refused his offer of slaves, resolved to send some people to accompany me, which indeed I desired, among whom were two of his relations, to the end that I might be the better received wherever I came. Over and above the two things formerly mentioned, I requested two favours more of the King, and they were, first, that I might have leave to level that obscene and sacrilegious place before-mentioned, if it were yet in being, where so many forceries and villainies had been practised. And secondly, that I might take away the banners from the burial-places in the fields, being both superstitious and blameable. Having obtained these my demands, I took my leave of His Majesty and departed.

When we were got as far as the river which bounds the kingdom of Congo that way, my companions and followers being many, some armed with guns, and others with long pikes, after the manner of the country, by reason we had no boats on that side, we made signs to the inhabitants of the other to come and fetch us over in their canoes. When this was done, our people called three assemblies among themselves, I not being able to guess at the conclusions of either, though I partly thought that the reason must have

have been, either that they were afraid of being rendered suspected by coming armed, or else that they did not care to venture themselves in the dominions of Sogno, out of a distrust they had of the people. At last three canoes came over, but not near sufficient to transport all of us; into one of these having put me with my interpreter, they promised they would soon follow, but were worse than their words; for leaving me to the mercy of the winds and tide, they went their ways; and having reached the other side of the river, the Mani of the place proposed to me to stay there all night to baptise some children, and next morning I should be going as early as I pleased onwards of my journey. This proposal was not at all displeasing to me, especially since I had a more than ordinary desire to see whether the Conghele people would follow me or not; those two that were of the King's relations having promised me that they would conduct me as far as our convent in the Banza of Sogno. As soon as morning came, the Mani thundered in my ears, that if I would needs be gone I must unloose my purse-strings before I entered the boat again. "With all my heart," quoth I, although I had already satisfied those watermen that brought me over. "Tell me," said I, "how much you demand, and you shall have it." "Fifteen Libonchi," replied he, which are about ten Roman Giulios. When I was about to pay him what he demanded, he cried he must have thirty Libonchi, having been mistaken before. "There are thirty for you," answered I, which having laid down, up starts a fellow and cries, "It is a sign the Mani has not been very conversant in waterage, since he takes thirty for what he should have three score." "Be they ten times as much I will pay them," replied I, "since once paying goes for all." This said, I laid down the full of what they demanded, and went into the boat. Towards night, when I thought we were got near the land of Sogno, I discovered an island where the watermen immediately run ashore. I was not landed when a monstrous fellow, with a countenance like to a great ugly wizard, came up to me, and told me in a haughty tone, that he had orders from the secretary of Congo to bring me ashore. "How can that be," replied I, "when I left the secretary of Congo in Congo myself; how then should he come here?" "I say," replied he, "the secretary of the kingdom of Congo requires your presence." Now it seems the Mani of this place laid claim to that title. I answered then this proud messenger, "Pray tell the secretary your master, that I desire to be excused from waiting on him, being not well, and besides going to Sogno for recovery of my health." He came a second time, and more importunately than before commanded me to come ashore; whereupon I desired him with that meekness that became me to acquaint his lord that I was a missionary, and, though unworthy, superior of the mission into Sogno, being just come from Congo, where I had three hundred armed men assigned me by the King Simantamba for safe conduct, all whom I had nevertheless some time since parted with, for the truth whereof I appeal to the watermen that brought me. The Mani or secretary hearing this, called for the watermen to inform himself of the truth, who attesting what I said, he then sent for a Sognese to see if he knew me, who confirming what he had heard before, he immediately dispatched away this Muscilongo or Sognese to me, to beg of me for God's sake that I would come to him; or that if I so pleased, he would come in person to fetch me, excusing himself for having sent so saucy and ill-bred a messenger at first, who having exceeded his orders should be surely punished. "This language is something like," quoth I, "and since he entreats me for God's sake, in God's name will I go to him." Then after having recommended myself to the protection of the Almighty, I went ashore. The Mani gave me to understand that he would come forthwith to pay me a visit, but I desired the person that brought me the message, to

acquaint his master that betimes in the morning I would wait on him without giving him the trouble of incommoding himself by a night-visit to me. He treated me with a goat, fruit, and a pot of the country-wine, together with a flask of brandy, mixed like a julep, which I could not imagine how he could get, and for the thirty Libonchis I had paid his subjects, he restored me sixty. The same hour of my arrival I began to baptize near a house where the mistress was a-bed. In the court of this house were planted several gourds with leaves like unto ours, but the fruit was green and pulpy, and of an excellent taste. This court being not well able to contain the great concourse of people that thronged thither, they must necessarily exceedingly trample the woman's ground; she began to bawl out therefore as if she were mad, but the people taking little or no notice of her, crowded rather the closer. Whilst I was administering the holy sacrament of baptism, this woman cried out with greater vehemence than before, which caused me to hold out my staff to her, wherewith I supported myself, being scarce able to stand, to make her quiet, not knowing at that time that she was the real mistress of the house: when she, either taking that sign for a threat, a thing always abhorred by me, or else moved by some other wicked design, caught up a spade angrily, and fell to digging round her ground where the people were (an action always superstitiously observed by them), without any body so much as speaking a word against it: after she had so done, she began to bawl out again as if she had been bewitched. I perceiving her to persist in her obstinacy, made the same sign to her as before to be quiet, whereupon she immediately run as hard as she could drive to call a witch to bewitch me: as she ran along, she cried to herself, "What, shall a stranger thus abuse a native? Must I be drove out of my own house by I know not who? No, no, if I cannot get him away by fair means, I will have his soul out of his body by foul." She soon after appeared again, bringing along with her a witch and a scholar of hers. As soon as the people were gone, these two laid themselves down on the ground, leaning against a wall. I knew them well enough to be what they were by the fashion of their clothes: on their heads they had a piece of cloth folded round like a turban, so that one eye was only to be seen; with this the old witch looked stedfastly upon me for some time, grumbling after a brutish manner to herself all the while: then with her hand she proceeded to scrape a small hole in the ground; at the sight of this I immediately ordered my interpreter to be gone, being more concerned for him than myself; for as a priest that had always trusted in God, I doubted not but to render her charms ineffectual as to myself. I commanded the devil that he should not come near, but she little regarding what I did, went on with her forceries. I ordered the evil spirits a second time to be gone, which she perceiving, giving her scholar a lusty slap on the face, she bid her be gone and leave her alone: at my third command she departed also, but returned next morning betimes, practising over her devilish arts as before. I resolved not to stand long in one place, thereby to avoid the design she had upon me to bewitch me to death, that having been the reason of her making a hole in the earth. It seems their custom is, that when they have a mind to bewitch any one mortally, they put a certain herb or plant into the hole they have so dug; which, as it perishes and decays, so the vigour and spirits of the person they have a design upon will fail and decay. I proposed to myself to spend my time in baptizing, till the watermen that belonged to my boat returned to me; but it so happened that I had done all that I had to do before any one of them came. I then went down to the river-side a little way distant, whither the witch followed me: when I had gone down thrice, endeavouring all along to avoid her, and finding I could not, I sat me down by the water-side in expectation of the watermen's coming: this the hag perceiving, she likewise squatted herself down over against me.

The

The people being curious to know what would be the event of this contest, had hid themselves in an adjoining field of millet, which grew about ten or twelve hands high, which I knew nothing of. Whilst I was thus sitting, and observing that vile wretch so near me, it put me in mind of the saying of the wise man, *Mulier nequam plaga mortis*: a wicked woman is a deadly wound. Then I addressed myself to God, saying, "O Lord, the cause is thine, thy honour lies at stake, and so much the rather by reason that the inhabitants of this island are but very little acquainted with thee! As for me, I am but a poor worm in respect of thy majesty: do thou work in me, for without thee I can do nothing." This said, I commanded her once more, in the name of the blessed Trinity and the holy Virgin, to be gone, and withal blowing gently towards her, she all of a sudden giving three leaps, and howling thrice, fled away in a trice. The swiftness of her motions were so extraordinary, that they were wondered at by all that saw them, and thought impossible to be performed by any human power. When the witch began to fly, the people came forth of their holes, and, running after her with several reproachful exclamations, cried out, "The devil is fled and the priest not moved: the devil take all witches and witchcraft." I being surprised at the hearing of so great a number of voices in my favour, gave immediate thanks to the supreme Disposer of all things, and more especially when I heard them cry further, "God prosper Christianity! God prosper Christianity!"

Soon after the watermen appeared, whom I thought to have hid themselves likewise as the others had done, but it seems they had not: I gave them all the good words I could, that they might go off presently, which they did not long after. The second night after our leaving this place, we came to the island of Zariambola belonging to Sogno, where I thought myself secure: as I went up the canal, before I landed, I met with a nephew of the count's, whom I acquainted that I was just come from Congo with good news for the country of Sogno. This was not spoken to a deaf person, for it was immediately carried to the count's ears. Next morning the Mani of the place pretended that he would provide me another boat to transport me farther, but, after a good deal of time lost, none appeared. It was my good fortune that the aforesaid relation of the count's happened to return again that way, who perceiving that I had been made a fool of and abused by the Mani, fell into a great passion, and, kicking against the ground, began to reprove him after this manner; "Is it thus that you behave yourself in my uncle's business? I will take care that, as soon as I get to Sogno, you shall be sure to be deprived of your government." The Mani began to excuse himself, affirming that he had assigned me a sufficient number of watermen, and that, if I were not gone, it must have been their fault. Coming to an anchor afterwards about midnight in the port of Pinda, my boat's crew fled, not giving me an opportunity to return their kindness. I then landed, and went straightway to our convent. Next morning the count, with a greater attendance than ordinary, came to see and welcome me home. As soon as I saw him, I broke forth into these words, "Did not I tell Your Excellency, that if I could not well accomplish my mission by land, I would do it by water?" When he, without answering me a word, fell down immediately on the ground to kiss my feet, which he would needs do, though I hindered him all I could, and my brethren that were then present much wondered at it. Being much ashamed of what he had done, I presently lifted him up, and we afterwards stepped aside to discourse of the particulars of my expedition. I acquainted His Excellency with what had passed between me and Don John Simantamba, concerning the restoring of Chiovachianza. He seemed very well pleased with the news, and said, that was what he had most desired. He then advised him to re-establish Don Garcia, who at that time lived within his domi-

nions.

nions. Which counsel of mine he readily agreed with, having been all along hitherto forced to maintain him at his own charge, and contrary to his inclinations, only through policy. As soon as our private discourse was at an end, Father Andrew da Pavia, one of the two missionaries that I had left behind me, told me, that there was a Dutch ship ready to set sail for Loanda, and that, if I thought fit, I might take that opportunity to carry so much good news to our superior there, and the governor. To which I answered, that I did not much care to go so quickly to sea again, desiring rather to repose myself till the return of the smack from Loango, according to my promise given the commander thereof. Hereupon Father Andrew undertook himself what I refused, and in order thereto took leave of the count that very minute. Making this voyage in a Dutch ship, which are commonly pretty good sailors, he returned to us again in less than a month's time. Having brought the news to the governor, he said, he embraced him heartily, and told him, he could never have wished for any thing better, since the way would probably be now opened to Congo, to the great benefit of the Portuguese.

In confirmation of this I must further add, that when I was going a second time to Sogno from Loanda, as I was taking leave of the governor, he earnestly recommended to me to procure leave from the count for the Portuguese to trade with his dominions. When the farmers of the King's revenue that stood by, answered, "A free trade with Sogno can signify little or nothing to us, that country being like a large tree, where nothing is to be met with but branches and leaves; when a voyage to Congo would furnish us not only with leaves, but fruit.

Lobo, the late governor of Loanda, whilst he was in office, acquainted the royal chamber, that he desired to have the crown of Congo in his possession; but whatever diligence was made use of for that purpose, it could by no means be found. Then he commanded a new one to be made of silver gilt, to the end that when the Conghese ambassador came for it, he might have it ready to give him. The King of Portugal coming to the knowledge of the crown's being lost, writ both to the bishop and governor, that they should make it their business to find out in whose hands it was lost, and punish him as if he had stolen it. Father Andrew, through the short warning he had of his journey, was not able to give any account when the Conghese ambassador was to arrive; but afterwards, at the return of the smack from Loango, I going to Loanda in it, acquainted the governor that it would be in the month of August. August came, yet no ambassador appeared, which made us missionaries not a little concerned, having given out every where that he would certainly come then.

A little after, meeting with some Negroes newly come from Congo to this city, they informed us that they had met the ambassador on the road with a great retinue. The Sognese ambassador being likewise in this city at that time, to congratulate the bishop's access to the bishopric, had information that he was stopped by the Duke of Bamba's orders, as he came through his dominions, that prince having been always an enemy to Congo, on account of his pretences to that crown, founded on his descent from Donna Anna, one of the before-mentioned rival-queens. The Portuguese were satisfied with his sending, and all things had taken effect, but for some troubles that ensued: for the new governor was about making war on the Queen of Singa, who had destroyed a territory belonging to the Portuguese with fire and sword, and carried away the Sova, or lord of it, and his wife into slavery.

Amongst other services done the King of Portugal, by Lewis Lobo the former governor of Loanda, one was, that he laid the first foundation of a communication with
Congo,

Congo, and rendered that kingdom dependent upon Portugal, as likewise made a crown for the King thereof at his own proper costs. The crowning of this King we did not doubt shortly to effect, notwithstanding what had happened, especially since Father Andrew da Pavia was negotiating earnestly about it.

Whilst this was in agitation, the Father superior, with the rest of us, did all that in us lay to promote the replanting of Christianity in Cacongo, calling in to our assistance the governor himself, and the Royal Chamber, who were so well affected to our proposals, that they told us, that whatever small benefit they could propose to themselves by traffic with this kingdom, yet would they assist us to their power in the introducing of Christianity there; and that the first ships they had at liberty should be employed in that mission. The new governor was extremely diligent in furthering this affair, and the bishop rather more than he. I told them that not only Portuguese but likewise Italian priests would be necessary to alienate the minds of that people from jealousies and suspicions. To the same purpose I had formerly writ to the then vice-superior, Father Joseph Maria da Bufetto, when I was sent for by the King of Cacongo, and he had sent my said letter to the sacred college. Our Father superior likewise had dispatched my second letters to the same college, which I sent to him on the same account.

Matters being thus disposed, a certain head of a convent in this city, having been fully informed by Ferdinand Gomez of the King of Cacongo's inclinations to embrace the Christian faith, resolved to take the task of preaching it to him upon himself. For this end he gave out, that he had received orders from his superiors to transport himself to Capinda, well knowing that I could not go by reason of an infirmity I then laboured under. He also procured letters from our superior, to recommend him to our convent at Sogno where he was consequently very courteously received. Thence he sent a Portuguese priest, his companion to Cacongo, enjoining him to speak with the King. Without this person he could never have had any hopes of the success of his mission, being not at all skilled in the Conghese language, which this priest spoke very well. He nevertheless could not obtain the speech of the King, which caused him to write to him in his superior's name; but getting no answer, he began to despair: whereupon returning back, they both came again with shame to Loanda.

Afterwards Father Andrew da Pavia took upon him to write to the said King, signifying to him that he would come and baptize His Majesty, whenever he should please to appoint him. It was reported about this time that all foreign missionaries were to depart by order of the King of Portugal, and that all our convents were to be surrendered to those (a bad report for us Capuchins, as you shall hear more hereafter) of the aforesaid order. Whereupon the aforesaid superior, though he did not well care that Pavia should go, yet that he might prepare the way for him, and build a convent there, he earnestly pressed him to it. At Pavia's arrival the King sent him word, that he could not consent to see him, having formerly given his promise to me whom he expected; and that with me he looked not only for an exercise of the sacred ministry, but likewise for trade and commerce, by means of a merchant I was to bring along with me to settle in his dominions for that purpose.

Among all the kingdoms which I have seen in this part of Ethiopia, none pleased me so much, either for commodiousness or profit, as this of Cacongo; which good qualities inclined not a few besides myself to be desirous of going thither. The commodiousness of it consists in its lying between three ports much frequented by strangers. The first and most famous of these is that of Loango, the second that of Capinda, and the third and last that of Cacongo itself, but which is not very secure. This kingdom for the most part is flat, with an air indifferently wholesome, and a soil not unfruitful, by reason
of

of frequent showers, and the mould being generally black, whereas in other parts of Ethiopia it is either sandy or chalky. The inhabitants of this country, considering they have been born pagans, are more courteous and humane than ordinary; and though they are infidels, they cherish and respect our priests. Whilst the plague was amongst them, they burnt their idols, saying, "If they will not help us in such a misfortune as this, when can we expect they should?" This passage I heard whilst I was in Soguo: and it grieved me extremely that I had not opportunity to go, and further such good motions in them for their souls' sakes. Thus much for Cacongo, and its inhabitants.

I must now give some short account of the kingdom of Angola, though I have been only perfectly acquainted with the provinces of Dante and Bengo.

Before we proceed, let us stop awhile in the city of Loanda, where I have been three times, once upon business, and the other two times I lay there a great while sick. To speak only of what I know, Loanda is the metropolis, not only of this, but of all other neighbouring kingdoms that belong to the Portuguese. Here resides the bishop of Congo and Angola, together with a chapter of about eight or nine canons. The governor of this city precedes all others in any of the Portuguese conquests in Ethiopia. Here are three convents of religious persons, viz. one of Jesuits, another of bare-foot Carmelites, and a third of friars of the third order of St. Francis. As to these two last, the Carmelites have a mission out of the city in the said kingdom, where at present lives a secular priest, through the great scarcity of regulars. Among the Jesuits there was a famous missionary, adorned with many good qualities, and a virtuous life, who travelling about indefatigably into all parts of the kingdom, to throw down and grub up the idols and trees that the pagans worshipped, was thought to have been made away by some of those people. Here is likewise a house of our order, where our Father superior resides, who is thence to support the missions by the charity of the good people there. Our church here is more than ordinarily frequented on account of its being dedicated to the glorious St. Anthony of Lisbon, so called by the Portuguese; as likewise that there are several martyrs bodies kept in it, which have been transported hither from Rome. It is a royal chapel, and has two congregations of the Rosary, allowed by the Dominicans who have no abode here. Here three times a week is sung a third part of the Rosary, and three times more throughout the year discipline is used. The brotherhood has built a chapel eight square, with a large cupola of an extraordinary height; which being a thing uncommon here, is extremely admired. Under it there is a vault for burial, which is not customary in the other churches. This vault was first built for the body of Father Francis Licodia, a bare-foot friar of the province of Syracuse, who died some time before my arrival here. A great concourse of people assisted at his burial, his death having been proclaimed throughout the city by boys. The people's devotion was so remarkable at his funeral, that though a prodigious whale was cast ashore at that time, yet did it not in the least raise their curiosity. The Jesuits, with whom we entertain an affectionate correspondence, put him under-ground, and Father Ribera of the same convent preached his funeral sermon. This Father was zealous in breeding up children in the fear of God; for he had got a great company of white boys, whom he habited like Capuchins, teaching them the principles of the Christian religion a-days, which they repeated and sung over a-nights. Of those in my time I found to the number of sixty, though Father Francis was dead. While I was here, this good person's body was discovered on account of burying our superior, Father John da Romano, in his vault. His corpse was entire in the coffin; on the lid of which his picture was painted to the life. When it was opened, some body out of zeal took out two of his

teeth, and the point of his hood. How extremely devout these citizens are towards our blessed patron St. Francis, is fitter for another pen to express than mine.

All I can say is, that without carrying our wallet at our back, which is not here the custom, we rather abound with necessaries than want them, in such manner, that he that has a mind to bestow his charity upon us, must send it betimes or he will have it back again. These good citizens not only support our convent in this city, but likewise several other missions into divers kingdoms, otherwise we could not be able to subsist. True it is, we endeavour to make some return of what is rare in those places.

To give farther instances of the goodness of this people, I will add a word of the governor. When we came hither, we found Don John di Sylva in possession of the government of this kingdom, who shewed so entire an affection towards us, that whatever memorials and petitions we presented to him, he forthwith granted and signed, scarce reading them. It happened that a certain priest of his own nation coming to ask a favour of him on account of a friend, the governor would by no means grant it. Whereupon the priest broke out into these words: "You scarce read the petitions of the Capuchins who are strangers, but bestow favours on them; and to us your countrymen you deny all we ask." To which Sylva replied, "I do neither open nor read the Capuchins petitions, because I am well assured they will ask nothing but what is fit for me to grant; and besides, what they require of me on other people's accounts, I know well to be done merely out of charity, and without any expectation of a return from those they oblige." The same favour we found with the late bishop, and the present. And to conclude with this matter, I will here tell you a story of the aforesaid Father Francis: Two fellows going to be hanged, Father Francis moved by mere charity, told the governor, that in case he would pardon one of them, he would suffer death in his stead. The governor answered, that if he would be as good as his word, one of them should presently be unloosed and sent away; and if he could find another would do the like good office for the other, they should both be freed though they were great offenders. But though this proffer was made on Father Francis's side, none would appear on the other; so that one must unavoidably die for want of a friar to release them. When they came to the place of execution, the governor sent to take the halter off from Father Francis's neck, when he was disposed to die, and knew nothing of any mercy designed him; and if Father Leonard de Nardo his companion would have done the same, they had both escaped, but for want of it one was hanged.

Let us now come to the customs and manners both of the Portuguese and strangers that live in this city. They are of three sorts: First, those that come merely on account of God's service, and for no worldly interest, though these are but few. The second sort are such as come to command or trade there, who are many. The third kind are likewise no small number, though nothing comparable to the foregoing, and they are those condemned persons that are sent hither by courts of justice, amongst which the spiritual courts send several descended from the Jewish race, which are named by the citizens New Christians; these are kept from coming to the sacred functions for several reasons, amongst which one is for a crime frequently practised by them, which I shall forbear to name for fear of offending chaste ears. Notwithstanding this, these people are the greatest frequenters of churches, and give the most liberally to our convents and poor.

The women being bred among Blacks, suffer themselves to be so much perverted, that they scarce retain any thing white about them except their skins; but be this spoken with a reservation of the good of that sex, whereof there are some few. The worse sort take upon them to lord it over their husbands, insomuch that if they will not live according

according to their fancies, they do all they can to drive them out of their houses, or else humble them so far, as never to go out nor take their pleasure in their net, and under their umbrella, according to custom. But still the worst is, that while they are under this confinement, they choke for want of water, this city having none fresh but what comes from an island about two days journey distant. This makes good the saying of the wise man, *Melius est habitare in deserto, quam cum muliere rixosa*; "It is better to live in a desert than with a scolding wife." Likewise in eating the wife and the the Black generally starve the husband; upon which occasion I hear him, methinks, to cry out with the poet,

O conjux, male grata seni, male grata marito,
Sola tuis, conjux, dedita deliciis.

Some of these women keep their husband's clothes from them, out of a pretence that they do not belong to them alone, but to their family in general. The law here is that what comes by the mother descends to the daughters, and that because the sons have wherewithal to maintain them by marriage. When the maids are marriageable, if their mothers carry them to church, they are said to do so to sell them, and therefore for the most part they keep them close. When they are married, they also generally keep themselves up for one reason or other, either on account of being big with child, heat, wet-weather, or the like. When they come to be old, they do not care for being seen for fear of discovering their wrinkles. The better sort go to take the air in their nets, with a carpet thrown over them, and attended at least by twelve persons: two of these carry the net, and two more bear umbrellas on each side, and eight Mocamas (Negro waiting-maids), four of which hold each a corner of the carpet, and four walk before to spread the carpet to kneel on when their mistress goes into the church. Whenever there is any stage-play, or tilting, the women, all without exception, go to it even though they were sick. On Holy-Thursdaiy they always walk on foot, and without attendance, which they never do at any other time. To obviate such disorders, Father Paul da Verefe, and our superior, obtained of the bishop that mass should be said in three different churches, viz. in the cathedral, the parish by the sea-side, and thirdly in our church, two hours before day; at which great numbers assisted, which was continued in my time. At last a certain person happening to be killed coming out of a suspicious house, some ill people took thence an occasion to get this pious and good custom suppressed.

Of the Mulattoes, born of a White and a Black, whereof there are great numbers here, I can never say enough. They hate the Negroes mortally, nay even their own mothers that bore them, and do all they can to equal themselves with the Whites; which is not allowed them, they being not permitted to sit in their presence.

The Mulatto women wear no smocks nor petticoats, and have only a piece of cloth girt under their arms; but this is nevertheless to be meant of such as have no known fathers. The Mulattoes wear stockings and breeches, and become commonly either priests or soldiers, above which condition they never rise. It was no small trouble to me to observe, that wherever these Mulattoes were born, they were presently designed for priests. There are great numbers of them, who not knowing how they came into the world, or whether they are descended from Jews, cannot be expected to be able to instruct others. To remedy this disorder therefore, the new bishop brought orders from Rome, that none should be dispensed with as to their irregularity. Of this these Mulattoes believing us Capuchins to have been authors, by reason that we had frequently

quently preached against these abuses, they bore us a mortal ill-will, nevertheless it has never hitherto been in their power to do us any harm.

Those among these people that are foldiers, and travel about the kingdom, exact as much service and respect from the Negroes as the Whites, causing themselves to be carried in nets; and if it so happened that the Sova or Mani (governor) be not immediately ready to provide them with people for their service, or do not treat them as they require, they will presently draw their swords, and take whatever they can find in this governor's house, though they are going, not about their King's, but their own business. If perchance they have occasion to eat on the road, they take whatever eatables they can meet with, without thanking the Negro they have them from; and if he should happen to murmur but in the least at their injustice, instead of making him satisfaction, they will pay him with bastinadoes and blows.

Others that turn Pomberos (buyers of slaves), and go up and down in the country for that purpose, commit a great many unjustifiable actions, amongst which this one seems to me most unpardonable: they will lie with the Negro-women, and get them with child; and some years afterwards returning that way, will take those very children they have so got from their mothers, under pretence of better educating them in the city of Loanda; but instead thereof, at a certain age, do sell or barter them away for such commodities as slaves are wont to be exchanged for, and thereby grow rich by trading in their own flesh and blood. A barbarous custom in truth, and not suffered amongst Christians, especially where Christianity is in its infancy, as it is in these parts. This is the reason likewise why the pagans do not come in faster to be converted, because they observe how many ill actions the Mulattoes are guilty of, and yet go unpunished.

To prevent in some measure this bad custom, the governor in my time forbade the Mulattoes to trade any more this way, and ordered, that if they had a mind to travel any whither, they should pay for the carriage, both of themselves and their baggage, affirming, that if they went on the King's business, they would infallibly be paid again; but if on their own, they ought to rest satisfied with the expence. By these means this mischief was for a while discontinued.

But this abuse would not have been so much if it had lain only among the Mulattoes; the Whites also had their share in it, and traded like the others in their own flesh. This comes to pass when their black mistress brings them forth a child, and being of that hue it is naturally a slave, which coming afterwards accidentally to offend, is forthwith sold according to custom: but the worst is, this is done upon the smallest offence, and without any regard to nature or relation.

A father had two daughters, the one a widow, the other a marriageable Mulatto; having a mind to marry the latter, he took away the other's goods, and all she had to give with this Mulatto: the widow in my hearing said, "I will not displease my father, let him do what he pleases, I will never oppose him; but when he dies I will sell his daughter, because she is born of my slave, and thus without trouble or contest will recover what is taken from me," giving her father to understand as much in a civil way. In short, unless the father declare one of these to be his lawful son or daughter, they are ever looked upon as slaves.

As to the Negroes which inhabit this city and kingdom, except some few that are free as being natives, they are all slaves to the Whites: some are sent to the Arimi (farms) about one or two days journey off from the city, as to Bengo and Dante, which are well watered with rivers, when the other provinces are almost parched up for want of rain, and consequently not fit for tillage. The way of manuring the ground here is this: they cast up the earth with spades into a ridge, leaving thereby a furrow

on either side, into which, when the rivers are well filled by rain from the mountains, they cut their banks and let in the water: after it has remained there some time, and the earth is pretty well moistened, they let it out again into their canals, and close up their banks. When this is done, after a little while the earth becomes proper for their seed, which, when sown, after three months time is fit to be reaped. Others of these slaves are sent to fishing, whereby their master maintains his family, and sells what he has more than sufficient for that purpose. It is not to be imagined what a great quantity of fish they have in these seas, and how cheap they are to be bought. A great Providence truly! for otherwise it would be almost impossible to subsist here, especially in this city. I must confess in all my travels I never met with the like, though I have read in Peter Cobero's voyages, written in Spanish, that he had been in a country bordering upon a river wherein there were such great abundance of fish, that the inhabitants dried and made bread of them, bones and all. Upon these fish the Blacks generally live altogether, whereof the Whites eat sometimes, especially at nights, affirming they are much easier to be digested than flesh. Although these fish have not that pleasant taste which ours in Italy have, yet are they nevertheless well enough liked by the inhabitants for want of knowing better.

These slaves are likewise employed in building, which is commonly very slow. Whenever any of their masters have a child born, a house is begun, and goes on no faster than that child grows. I speak this of those Whites that are able to build a house for every child they have. The plaister here is made of sea-shells, whereof there are great quantities on these shores. They have furnaces of much the same make with ours, wherein they burn the said shells, which make as white and good lime as ours.

Many of these slaves do the office of barbers, wherein they are more expert than the Whites, and that not only in the use of the scissars and razor, but likewise in that of the lancet to open a vein. In short, some follow one trade, and some another; and when they have no business to do for their masters, they are hired out at so much a week or month, the profit whereof goes to their masters; so that he that has most slaves here is always accounted the richest man.

The current coins here are the Maccutas, being certain pieces of straw-cloth of about the largeness of a sheet of paste-board each, and which are equivalent to our brass money in Europe. Those that correspond to our silver are the Intagas, being pieces of thick cotton-cloth, and of about the bigness of two large handkerchiefs, and worth about eighteen-pence of our money. They have another sort of money called Polingas, of cotton likewise, but of a finer sort, and like that which seamen use to tie about their waists: these are worth three shillings and sixpence each. Those coins that are of greater value, and answer to our gold, are the Birami, made of fine linen, whereof each parcel goes for seven shillings and sixpence or eight shillings. No brass, silver or gold coins, are made use of either by foreign merchants or others in these countries.

From the great variety of slaves of different nations in these countries must needs proceed the like variety and difference in humours and customs; and, although they are all Christians, yet I observed that the law of God was not so religiously observed amongst them as it ought to be; for that they seemed to me to perform the duties of their religion more out of fear of their masters that had instructed them, than out of any value they had for divine worship. The she-slaves are commonly guilty of a fault, which is partly occasioned by the white women, who, not caring to be deprived of their Moccasas, will not suffer them to marry, and therefore they steal from their mistresses to maintain men to satisfy their brutal appetites. If they happen to become with child, no shame is imputed either to them or their mistresses. For our parts, we do all we can to prevent it, and some ladies say upon this occasion, that they cannot

be always a looking after their she-blacks; and if any of them chanced to be now and then with child, they conceived it no great matter of harm: nevertheless we often have them chastised both in public and private for these and the like faults, and afterwards force them to marry the person that had debauched them. But O what pains do we take to bring them to it, and how many ridiculous arguments and reasons do they bring to excuse themselves from this duty and restraint!

There are those among these slaves that, after they are thus married, will exchange their wives with each other for a certain time, alledging, in case of reproof, that they are not able to eat always of the same dish. Those of the women likewise, that live out in the country in their master's farms, will hire each of them a man, upon condition that he shall not leave them till they have a child by him, though they are to maintain him all the while he is with them. It is mighty ridiculous to observe that the women here, contrary to the custom of other nations, buy and sell, and do all other things which the men ought to do, whilst their husbands stay at home and spin or weave cotton, or busy themselves in such other effeminate actions. These women also are so jealous of their husbands, that if they see them but speak to any other women they are presently in a flame, and make the place ring where they so discover them. The bishop ordered, that all masters of Blacks should oblige them to perform the Easter-duty under pain of forfeiting a certain quantity of wax for every one, obliging them to bring the certificate of their receiving and confessing to their masters, and then all together to the curate. These, because they are often involved in the immediate occasion of sin, make use of a crafty deceit to extort absolution from their Father-confessor: which is, that the first day of Lent the men part from the women, leading a chaste life for the present, and then appearing before the priest, tell him they have left off their lewd courses, and promise never to return to them. A week or a fortnight after Easter they go about till they are provided with one to satisfy their lust all the year, without having any more to do with those they forsook before confession.

Let us come now to the death and burial of these people, who being of so many different nations, and the remains of the pagans, differ likewise in their rites and ceremonies. As to the manner of their deaths, that may be guessed at by their lives, according to the proverb, *Qualis vita, finis ita*. As for what relates to their burials, I have been an eye-witness, that in the kingdoms of Cacongo and Angoij they do not bury any of their relations, till all the rest of the kindred be gathered together, though that be sometimes many days in accomplishing: being once met, they begin the ceremony with several superstitious actions, as killing of hens, with the blood of which they besprinkle the house of the deceased both within and without, and afterwards throw the carcases of the said fowl upon the top of the house, affirming, that thereby they prevent the soul of the dead person from coming to give the Zumbi to any of the future inhabitants. The word Zumbi, in the language of the country, signifies an apparition of the deceased person, they being of opinion, that to whomsoever it shall appear, that person will presently die. This persuasion has been so deeply rooted in the minds of these poor ignorant people, that the imagination alone oftentimes brings them to their ends. We have seen several accidents of this kind, insomuch that a person that was before very well in health, shall of a sudden die miserably through the impression of these vain delusions. Those that survive affirm, that the dead person had summoned him that died, especially where there had been any difference betwixt them whilst both were living.

The ceremony of the hens being ended, they proceed to lamenting over the dead person; and if it so happens, that any amongst them be not able to weep naturally, they have recourse to art by holding Siliquaastro, or Indian pepper to their noses, which

causes the tears to flow plentifully, which, without weeping, they suffer to trickle down their cheeks as fast as they please. When they have howled and wept for some time, they all of a sudden pass from sorrow to mirth, feasting heartily at the expence of the person that is nearest akin to the deceased, who all that while lies unburied in the house. When they have fully satisfied their ungodly guts, they soon forget their deceased friend, and never think of him more: then the drum beats, and they go from the table to dancing, and so the ball begins: when one company is weary, another begins, and not only the kindred, but likewise any others are admitted to dance. After they have done dancing, they retire into appointed places, where, being locked up together in the dark, they practise all manner of abominable pleasures, alledging, that at such a time it is lawful for them to intermix with each other at liberty. This sound of the drum seems to be the devil's summons to assist at these execrable ceremonies, and which these people run to with a more than ordinary inclination. It is almost impossible for the mothers to hinder their daughters, and less possible for masters to prevent their slaves, who will break down walls, or force iron-bars to come at them. As soon as this is done, they apply themselves to superstitious and idolatrous practices, and so from one to the other for some time. When any master of a family dies, his principal wife exposes herself to all that have a mind to enjoy her; on this condition nevertheless, that none offer to speak the least word in her chamber.

That these abominations are practised among pagans is not to be wondered at; but would to God that these Tumbi (funeral ceremonies) were not used among some depraved Christians, not only in the kingdom of Angola, but even in Loanda itself. At the time of my residing here I was told, that not far out of this city such enormities were committed. Our superior, accompanied with one only companion and some trusty persons, immediately ran to prevent them; but being by night (the properest time for these hellish practices) he met with the guards, who, well knowing that it was not our custom to go out of the city at that time, unless upon account of doing God some service, presently offered themselves to accompany them, which, being refused by our superior, they persisted in their resolutions, alledging that otherwise some hurt might happen to him, and therefore they went along with him. Being arrived at the place where these ceremonies were performing, the soldiers, to the end they might the better take the offenders, ranged themselves about the walls, which consisting only of mud and flakes, they easily broke down, hooping and hollowing like mad while they were doing it. The wicked wretches, that were not few in number, perceiving their walls broke down, and their house surrounded, immediately betook themselves to flight, leaving only the wife of the deceased behind, who, being obliged by her infernal priest not to stir nor speak, was easily taken, and by the governor afterwards, who very well knew what she and her company had been doing, ordered to be publicly whipped through the city.

In Massangano, a garrison of this kingdom, so many stones were hurled at a companion of mine for endeavouring to oppose these people in their wicked ceremonies, that he very narrowly escaped having his brains beat out by them.

When any great lord, or considerable person dies, the pagans are accustomed to spread the way where the corpse passes with leaves and branches. He must likewise be carried in a straight line to his grave; and therefore if any house or wall happened to hinder his passage, it is immediately pulled down. To shew themselves kind to the dead, they are commonly very cruel to the living, shutting up both together in a tomb with meat and drink, to the end (say they) that the dead lord may want for nothing in his grave: in this they imitate the tyrant Mezentius King of the Tyrrhenians, who in Virgil is said to join dead and living people together, till the stench has brought them to one condition.

The Giaghi offer up human sacrifices to the dead, as they do likewise oftentimes to the living, when they can suppose the person they intend to honour to have occasion for assistance either in war, or any other urgency.

One of our fathers having understood that within a certain sepulchre of a great person among these pagans, there were two people immured alive, went thither in great haste to free them from their infernal and noisome dungeon, but found to his great grief that they had some time before perished. But the wickedness of these people sometimes goes further; for at the death of any of their friends they have been accustomed to kill one of their slaves, to the end that he may go and serve them in the other world: to this sin they will moreover add a lie; for when we accuse them and get them corrected for so doing, they will excuse themselves and pretend innocence, affirming they know nothing of the matter, even though we had never so plain proof of it. An instance of this follows:—One of our order having been advised that a poor Negro was just going to be sacrificed as a victim to his dead master, this father immediately ran to the wife of the deceased person to prevent it, who perceiving her villany was discovered, though she at first denied it, yet afterwards confessed it, and gave orders to have those inhuman proceedings stopt. In my time also there were several of these wicked actions done, but the persons concerned in them always found so many shifts and subtle evasions to conceal their offences, that we could never proceed methodically against them in order to bring them to punishment. Now if these things are practised among Christians, how can we expect they should be omitted among those Negroes that have scarce heard of the name of Christianity.

The burial-places among the Pagans are for the most part in the fields, with something or other placed over them, according to the quality of the person that is buried: some have a long and straight horn of I know not what beast fixed over them; others have a large heap of earth raised upon them; some have an earthen platter or pipkin, or any other vessel made of earth, set over them; others make harbours over their graves, with a thousand superstitious interlacings and interweavings that are performed by their wizards: they do not make use of a coffin, chest, or any other wooden thing to put the corpse in, but wrap it up in good cotton linen sewed close together, and adorned without-side with several superstitious fooleries, being at an expence suitable to the quality of the person deceased. As for the poorer sort, they make use only of a sort of straw-mats, after the mode of the country, to wrap their dead bodies in.

Within the dominions of Sogno every city and province has a certain peculiar place with a cross in the middle, where those that have not satisfied the Easter-command, or that die before they are confessed, are buried by themselves, without the missionaries concerning themselves therein. But as for those who have received all the sacraments before their deaths, and have been found to have religiously observed the last Lent, they are allowed Christian burial, without its being any manner of charge to them. Also during their sickness, and after they are confessed, we frequently furnish them with refreshments out of charity, such as confections of tamarinds, a fruit of the country, and the like, both cooling and cordial juleps. Besides this, we have several slaves belonging to our church which are skilled in phlebotomy, surgery, physic, and what not, who all do what lies in their power to recover these people when sick, or out of order: this we take care is done for them gratis, to the end they may have no occasion to run to the wizards for help. For those that are poor and old, fatherless, lame, blind, or the like, there is an hospital built near to our convent, where both their spiritual and temporal wants are supplied by us as often as there is found occasion,

or that it consists with our abilities. This is a charity which has not a little promoted the increase of Christianity in these parts.

Let us conclude speaking any farther of the Tambi, or funeral rites among the pagans, with a passage that happened some years since in Benin, a kingdom lying on the back coasts of Africa, and towards Guinea, being very near the equinoctial line. Father Francis da Roman, superior in the kingdom of Ouveri, and Father Philip da Figuar, being both here on a mission, they endeavoured to disturb a certain abominable sacrifice accustomed to be performed every year to the devil, for the benefit, as they alledged, of their dead ancestors. This sacrifice sometimes consisted of above three hundred men, but at present there were only five to die, yet those all of the better sort. These missionaries, under the conduct of a certain Negro their friend, came to the third inclosure capable of holding many hundreds of people: here perceiving a great multitude gathered together dancing and singing to divers instruments of their music, they clapped themselves down in a private place, the better to observe what they were going to do. This place happened to be that where they kept the knives designed to perform so inhuman an action. Not being able to conceal themselves long, they were quickly discovered by these wicked wretches, who, coming towards them leaping with great indignation, they soon drove the poor fathers out of the place they had so taken possession of. Father Francis hereupon was so little dismayed, that crowding boldly through the thickest of the Negroes, he was not afraid to reproach their King of unheard-of cruelty: some courtiers hearing this, immediately flew upon him, and beating and using him very unmercifully, tore him out of the crowd; when closing up their ranks again, they performed their inhuman sacrifice. Afterwards they gave their fathers to understand, that it was their King's pleasure that they should forthwith depart his kingdom. Which command they being not very ready to comply with, the next morning they set upon them again, with intention to have killed them; which they nevertheless did not do, by reason they were informed by two of the courtiers there present, that the King would have them brought alive before him. Going therefore courageously to the palace, they were notwithstanding admitted to no other audience but stripes and reproaches in great plenty; and afterwards told, in reviling terms, that it was the King's express order that they should forthwith be gone out of his dominions. Notwithstanding which, great numbers of these insolent Negroes flew upon them like so many hornets, and hurried them away to a noisome prison. Here they remained no less than three months, being buffeted, scoffed, and scorned at all the while. At last, not contented with this ill usage, they sold them for slaves to the Hollanders; who, taking more pity upon them than these infidels had done, set them ashore not long afterwards, safe and sound, in the Prince's Island. Hence they writ to the sacred college to inform them of what had happened to them; but were answered, that the church had already martyrs enough, and but two missionaries in that kingdom, and therefore they should not for the future expose themselves so much in its service, but proceed warily among those new converts.

Another persecution was undergone with cheerful countenances, and undisturbed souls, by two other friars in the island of St. Thomas, in their journey to the kingdom of Ouveri, contiguous with that of Benin, in both of which there were new missions established, and the Father-superior, at that time Father Francis da Monteleone, lived in the aforesaid island. The vice-superior, Father Angelo Maria d'Alaccio, of the province of Corsica, together with Father Bonaventura da Firenze, having but just set footing in the kingdom of Ouveri, they were very courteously received by that King. This prince was better bred than ordinary, having been brought up amongst the Portuguese,

tuguese, whose language he was an absolute master of, and could besides write and read, a qualification unusual among these Ethiopian princes. Almost at the first sight of the King, the vice-superior broke out into these words: "If Your Majesty does desire to have me to continue within your dominions, you must lay your injunctions on your subjects, that they embrace the holy state of matrimony, according to our rites and ceremonies; and moreover, that whereas now the young men and women go naked till they are marriageable, I desire Your Majesty to command that they may all go covered." To which the King answered, that as to what related to his subjects, he would take care they should comply with his request; but as for himself, he could never consent to do it, unless he were married to a White, as some of his predecessors had been. But what White would care to marry with a Black, even though he were a crowned head, especially among the Portuguese, who naturally despise them? Nevertheless the pious Father, trusting in God's providence to promote his own glory, gave no repulse to the obstinate monarch, but seemed to approve of all he said. To bring this good work to effect, he immediately departed, taking his way towards the island of St. Thomas, situate under the equinoctial line, and reckoned one of the nine countries conquered by the Portuguese in Africa. There he made it his business to enquire after a White woman that would marry a Black that was a crowned head. Whereupon he was informed that there was one in that island, though of mean condition, whose poverty and meanness were nevertheless ennobled by a virtuous education, and a comely personage. Notwithstanding he was told that this woman was proper for the purpose, yet had he not the courage to speak to her uncle about her, under whose care and protection she was; but contriving how to bring about his design, with a lively faith in God, one day while he was saying mass, he turned himself about to the aforesaid person, conjuring him, in the presence of all the people, in the name and for the service of the most high God, not to deny him one request, which was, that he would let his niece marry the King of Ouveri, which would greatly contribute to, if not totally effect, the conversion of that kingdom. At the hearing of this, the good man being wrought upon by the pious missionary's reasons, could not prevent weeping, and bowing down his head, as a token of his consent.

The young lady, not long afterwards, having first taken leave of her relations, set out with some few Portuguese, and the missionary, for the aforesaid kingdom.

Being just entered the confines, she was joyfully and universally saluted by the people for their Queen, having triumphal arches raised to her, and several other demonstrations of joy paid her by the inhabitants.

Being arrived at the King's palace, she was received by that monarch like another Rachel by Jacob, Esther by Ahasuerus, or Artemisia by Mausolus; and afterwards married by him, after the Christian manner, thereby giving a good example to his subjects, who soon forsook their former licentious principles, and submitted to be restrained by the rules of the gospel, that is, were all married according to the rites and ceremonies of the church.

After four years mission into these parts, the aforesaid two Fathers transported themselves into the island of St. Thomas, partly to proceed further in the duties of their office, and partly to oblige the King, who commanded it. This good intention of theirs, it seems, the devil envied, for he raised up a certain ecclesiastical person there against them, who extremely envied our two missionaries. This person had been accustomed, before their arrival, to go every six months to the kingdom of Ouveri to baptize that people, which brought him in the profit of a slave a month, and another from the King, in consideration of his charge and trouble; but now finding himself
deprived

deprived of this gain for four years, he, together with others not well affected to religion, raised the cruellest persecution against these poor Fathers that could possibly have been thought on. He accused them to the governor of the island for enemies to the crown of Portugal, and that they travelled about those countries with false passes; and moreover, that to his knowledge, and in his hearing, they had debauched the minds of the King and Queen of Ouueri, and besides held correspondence with the enemies of the Portuguese dominions. All this the governor heard patiently, yet did not immediately resolve to have these innocent Fathers seized; whereupon one of those that had accompanied the Queen to Ouueri, said to him, "Take care, my lord, of what you do, lest, apprehending these apostolical missionaries, you create a difference between the crown of Portugal and the see of Rome. We are much obliged to these holy men for raising our country-woman to a crown." The governor would not meddle with these holy men, but ordered them to be sent to Loanda, where there were likewise great complaints made against them by the aforesaid priest and his adherents.

Hence they were sent to the tribunal at Lisbon, where, being declared innocent, in that they had sufficient authority from the crown for what they had acted, their accusers were cited to appear to make good, if they could, their allegations; which not being able to do, the chief calumniator, the ecclesiastic, fled to Brazil, and the others to other places for protection.

Father Bonaventura da Firenze, on account of his great indispositions, returned to Italy; but Father Angelo Maria directed his course anew towards the island of St. Thomas, where, having performed the part of a good missionary, and a good Christian, teaching by his exemplary life what his tongue omitted, he returned after some time to Lisbon, and died there. Until our coming into this part of Ethiopia, these kingdoms had not seen the face of any other missionary; and every time any ship came to anchor in their harbours, the natives would ask the seamen if they had any Capuchin on board. And if they were answered that they had not, then would they fly into a passion, and cry out, "Must we then always lead our lives thus like beasts, and never have any priests come to teach us better?"

Whilst I was at Loanda, they writ to our superior, Father John da Romano, to send them some spiritual labourer. He sent their letter to the sacred college, who writ back, that for the present Father Monteleone should go to the island of St. Thomas, and build a convent there, to the end that whenever any missionaries came thither, they might the easier transport themselves into these kingdoms. If there were missionaries sufficient sent, especially from the sacred college, and the apostolic see, I dare be positive they would find the conversion of this part of Ethiopia easy enough, the people thereof confessing already, that they believe the successor of St. Peter to be a most holy person, and one that cannot err; and consequently those that are sent by him are like him, and therefore they have no suspicion of the Italians, which would not be in respect of other nations, in regard to their political state. This happiness, peculiar to our nation, gives us authority to go in our habits into their innermost recesses, which priests of other countries would not be permitted to do. Nevertheless the devil, the author of all ill, does oftentimes work so by his ministers, that he gives us some disturbance, which, notwithstanding, signifies little or nothing, great numbers having been in few years converted here. If I should say myself, that I have done that good office for thousands and thousands, I am sure I should not lie; for I can be positive, that of men, women, and children, I have baptized no less than thirteen thousand, and caused very many to marry. The short time I did this in, will be the less wondered at, if the great numbers of people here be considered; and that, as I have said before

before in another place, one of our order alone baptized upwards of fifty thousand. Also, Father Jerom da Montefarchio, of our province of Naples, (whose painful travels and good qualities have already been made known to the world by another hand,) told me himself, before his death, that within the space of twenty years continuance in these parts, he baptized above one hundred thousand persons, and amongst the rest, the King, or rather Duke of Congobella, tributary to the King of Micocco, together with his nephew, and several other persons of quality.

That these sort of people have been given to idolatry, and the eating of man's flesh, I cannot deny; but then I must affirm, that they readily embrace Christianity, and reap the fruit of it, as may appear by what happened to me. Our interpreter had a certain black slave, a very strong fellow, but blind and obstinate to the good advice was given him by his master to abjure paganism, and embrace the Christian faith. His answer, in defence of his principles, was, That the elephant never eats salt, (so they call baptism in their language,) and yet he became fat and large, and lived a long while. It seems the holy baptism, in their dialect, is called *Minemungù*, which is as much as to say, to season the blessed salt. If any one should ask, if such a one were a Christian or a Pagan; if a Christian, they would answer, He is a Christian, for he has tasted of the salt that has been blessed by the priest. You must observe, that if any of these had been baptized with water alone, he would not have been very well satisfied. Now this slave spoken of before, happening to be grievously sick, I went to visit him, and using a great many spiritual arguments to him, found it not difficult to convert him. He yielded to my proposals, and was baptized, to the great satisfaction of his master, as well as himself, and afterwards married to a Christian woman there present. The third day after, he died, changing his slavery in this life for a glorious liberty in the other.

To say that the Negroes, and especially *Giaghi*, are always obstinate and perverse, and man-eaters, is not to be made an objection against them, because our Saviour says, "Those that are well do not stand in need of a physician;" and the worse the distemper, the more need of cure. This will appear by the only instance of the conversion of the Queen of Singa: this Queen, with the greatest part of her people, was converted by the great pains of Father Anthony Laudati da Gaeta of our order; the manner whereof was told me by a Portuguese captain that was present when it was done. He said, the Queen and the aforesaid Father Anthony were standing together discoursing, when all of a sudden the friar thus bespoke the Queen: "Madam, when I behold so many large and fruitful valleys, enriched and adorned with so many crystal streams, and defended from the injuries of weather by such high and pleasant hills, all under Your Majesty's command, I cannot forbear being so bold, as to ask you who was the author of all these? Who fecundated the ground, and afterwards ripens the fruit?" To which the Queen, without the least hesitation, readily answered, "My ancestors." "Then," replied the Capuchin, "does Your Majesty enjoy the whole power of your ancestors?" "Yes," answered she, "and much more, for over and above what they had, I am absolute mistress of the kingdom of Matamba." The pious friar hearing this, stooped to reach a slender straw that lay upon the ground, and having taken it up, cried to the Queen, "Madam, pray do me the favour to cause this to hang without holding in the air." The Queen turned away her face, and looked scornfully at a request so insignificant and inconsiderable. The friar reinforced his petition, earnestly entreating Her Majesty to comply with his desires; whereupon proffering to put it into her hand, she let it fall. Father Anthony stooped again to take it up, but the Queen being the more nimble of the two, got hold of it before him: "The rea-

son,"

son," quoth the friar, "why the straw fell was, because Your Majesty did not command it not to fall; but now be pleased to order it to hang of itself, without help, in the air." She did so, but it would not obey. Whereupon the zealous friar broke out into the following expressions: "Be it known to Your Majesty, O Queen, that your ancestors have no otherwise been authors of these fair fields and springs, than you are of the support of this straw; but that the great Creator of heaven and earth, Christ Jesus, the only Son of God, and the second Person of the Trinity, whose image you have here upon this crucifix, made those and all things else, that is, was the first cause of all." Then the Queen humbled herself, and bowing her royal head, submitted to own the truth, embracing the holy faith, wherein she not long after died; and which she had before received in her younger days, but apostatized from it.

The Ethiopians are not so dull and stupid as is commonly imagined, but rather more subtle and cunning than ordinary, as may appear by what happened to a certain French sea-captain at Mina, on the coast of Africa, which he told me himself, and was confirmed to me by a Portuguese of the island of St. Thomas, who was an eye-witness of it. This captain sailing along the coasts where the mines are, and thinking to exchange his merchandize for gold, was unfortunately made a prize by a Hollander, who seizing his ship, and putting the seamen in irons, carried their captain, under a strong guard, ashore before the governor, who for a welcome ordered him to a close prison, loaded with irons, and to be looked after by about thirty strong Blacks, where he expected nothing but death. The chief of these Negroes perceiving the prisoner to bear so manfully what was so wrongfully offered him, by an earnest and stedfast look on him, discovered both his pity and concern for so great injustice done him. At last, being encouraged by the gravity and modesty of his countenance, which promised a great deal of prudence and discretion, he approached him, and said to him, "Since you have done nobody any harm, and your enemies have behaved themselves immoderately rigorous towards you, not only in imprisoning, but likewise in depriving you of your goods and life, I offer myself, led thereunto by a principle of abhorrence of such actions, to free you." The captain taking heart at this proffer of the Negro's, answered him; "If thou hast courage sufficient to deliver me from death, and conduct me in safety to my ship, I will in recompence reward thee with whatever thou canst ask. But how," continued he, "is it possible for me to have so good fortune, when there are so many appointed to look after me?" "Leave that to me," replied the Ethiopian, "for I do not doubt but I shall be able, by the help of six of my companions whom I have already engaged, to carry you off safe to your ship. The way I have proposed to do it is, by making the rest of my companions dead drunk with good wine, which will give us that are your friends a liberty to act as we please." He was not long afterwards as good as his word, and the success of his endeavours answered his expectation. The captain looked upon his deliverer to be rather an angel sent from heaven to his assistance, than a black Ethiopian. As soon as they were got out of the prison, they made all the haste they could, directing their steps all that night through thick woods and unfrequented paths, till at length they got safe to the port. The Negro went aboard the ship, where he acquainted the Dutch guard, that the governor had set at liberty both the captain and his crew, and, therefore, advised them to free their prisoners from their fetters, and set them at liberty. The Hollanders immediately obeyed this order, giving credit to what word the Negro had brought them, he having been always looked upon for an honest fellow; and, receiving a small reward, departed.

The captain seeing himself master of his ship, returned his unfeigned thanks to heaven for his preservation, and then setting open all his chests, offered his preserver what

recompence he would have : all which the Negro refused, alledging that what service he had done him, was wholly on account of his being a man of honour, and in commiseration of his condition, and not out of any interest or advantage which he proposed to himself thereby ; and further, that if he pleased to accept of his and his companions service, they would follow him wheresoever he went. " If that be your intention," replied the obliged Frenchman, " let us set sail and be gone, and I shall always endeavour to proportion my gratitude and acknowledgments to your merits." This said, the seamen did not weigh their anchors, but cut their cables, and, hoisting sail at the same time, to avoid falling afresh into the Hollanders' hands, stood their course directly for France. The great civilities shewed both to this Negro and his companions throughout the whole voyage, are not to be expressed : the seamen would often compliment them, and especially their chief, calling him their deliverer. When they came to land, the captain's relations and friends strove which should oblige these Blacks most. When they had been about three months ashore, the Negroes advised the captain to freight his ship anew with some rich merchandize and curiosities, and to sail towards a place called Chinaea, where they could conduct him to a port not subject to the Hollanders, and known to them, where he might gain what profit he pleased without any danger. Who now could have mistrusted the preservers of their lives ? The captain therefore considering of the proposal, and knowing it to be as they had told him, the place they named being below the mines, freighted his ship accordingly, and set sail again towards the eastern coasts of Africa. Coming to an anchor in the island of St. Thomas to take in fresh provisions, where the wind and current are always fair for Chinaea or Mina, he made what haste he could to put again to sea : at his first coming out, he had a very gentle gale, but stood ready against the trade or settled wind came up, which the Portuguese call Viracao, which there rises and falls every six hours with the tide. Then spreading their sails, the mariners, except the pilot, steersman, and another person, together with the subtle Negroes, who watched for some ill purpose, fell asleep. One of these Negroes set himself to cutting of wood, to the end that with the noise of the ax he might drown what the others intended to do. The others knocked out the brains of four of the seamen, together with the pilot, and their designs were to have murdered all ; but as Providence would have it, the captain hearing of what had happened by means of a little boy, snatching up a cutlass and two brace of pistols, and finding the door bolted without, he was forced to get out at a port-hole : when he came upon deck, and saw some of his men lying dead, and others defending themselves, he called out to wake the rest of the seamen, and then falling on, soon dispatched four of the Negroes, amongst whom was their chief, whose head was instantly cut off, and his body sent to feed the sharks. The three that remained, having first confessed, that their plot was to have murdered all the ship's crew, and afterwards to have run away to their own country with the vessel, boasting what a trick they had put upon the Christians of Europe, paid the merit of their folly, for they were immediately hanged up at the yard-arm. This happening in sight of the island of St. Thomas, the people from the shore fired upon the ship to know the occasion of it ; but the captain hanging out a white flag, sent his boat ashore to acquaint them how he had been used by the Negroes, which extremely surprised both the islanders and some others that heard it ; but they more especially wondered how those subtle Blacks could harbour so ill a design so long. The captain further told me, that after this he would needs go to Sogno to see the river Zaire, and try if he could thereby get into the kingdom of the Abyssinians belonging to Prester-John. He was informed that that river, by reason of the great number of islands in it, and the several canals and rivers that run into it, was not at all safe for great ships to sail in : he

nevertheless was resolved to venture to satisfy himself in what he had proposed. Being obliged to pass by the kingdom of Angoij, which lay on the other side of the river, the inhabitants thereof, perceiving a ship coming along with such people on board as they had never seen or heard of before, sent out a canoe to them to tell them they must come and anchor in Capinda, a port of the said kingdom. And likewise having further understood, that they were going to make discoveries up the river, they let them know, that if they would comply with their request, and come to harbour in their port, they should thence be conducted in their discovery, and buy as many slaves and as much ivory as they pleased. But above all things they advised them not to touch upon Sogno, affirming that people were enemies to the Whites, and not many years before had made a great slaughter among them. The captain, to satisfy these people, left a boat laden with goods with two mariners in it, and sailed away. The Negroes carried them up into the country, and divided the merchandize among themselves. Fifteen days past, and no news was heard of the said two seamen, nor even of any trade or traffic settled by their means, and yet the Negroes gave good words, and went daily aboard the ship to preserve a good correspondence, drinking and carousing at the captain's expence. At length the Mani or governor of Capinda coming on board himself, accompanied with five or six followers, the French captain on a sudden caused them to be seized and clapped under hatches in irons, threatening that unless the two mariners with their merchandize were speedily restored, he would not only carry them away for slaves, but likewise as many others of that kingdom as he could meet. We Capuchins persuaded the count of Sogno to do the captain justice, who, upon the apprehending the Mani and his companions, recovered the seamen and part of the goods. To satisfy for the rest, the Angoij were ordered to pay twelve slaves; which not coming, the captain set sail with the seven he had got, putting the eighth ashore to conduct the twelve slaves assigned to Sogno, where he traded for three hundred slaves, whom he carried to sell in the island Hispaniola. The captain himself told me he was extremely pleased that he had got a Negro governor to present to his King clothed after the fashion of that country.

By this relation the reader may perceive that the Negroes are both a malicious and subtle people, and I likewise must allow that they spend the most part of their time in circumventing and deceiving; yet I cannot allow, that because they are a stubborn soil, they must be left uncultivated; being of so perverse a nature as they generally are, they require the greater application of instruction. But this still is to be said for them, that when you come once to eradicate their vicious principles, they seldom or never return to their state of damnation again.

Grievous no doubt are the sufferings of the missionaries in these parts, whether you consider the length of their travels, their frequent want of necessaries, the various climates of the countries they pass through, the suffocating and insupportable heats, especially to us Europeans, who fry within our woollen clothes, the travelling over rocks and frightful precipices, the often sleeping upon the bare ground, the being persecuted by wizards and such sort of wretches, and sometimes by bad Christians; and lastly, the losing so much blood as we are fain to do to preserve our healths, and a thousand other inconveniences in life, which cannot be here enumerated; all which are nevertheless pleasing to those who undergo them on account of its being for God's sake they suffer, who being a *remunerator animarum*, both can and will reward them.

As to my return from Africa, it was truly through mere necessity, and at which I was not a little concerned, when I considered that I must leave so much work undone behind me, and whereof those poor kingdoms have so much need to conduct them in their way to heaven. My departure was principally occasioned by my illness, but had I recovered

recovered my health in Brazil whither I was going, as I proposed to myself, my intentions were to have returned once more to Ethiopia; but my recovery proved so very slow, and I found myself so exceedingly weak, that I laid all those thoughts aside. Arriving not long after at Bahia, the principal city of Brazil, I was for a short time entertained very courteously in a French convent of our order, whose friars used their utmost diligence to procure me a good captain to transport me sick as I was to Lisbon. They first spoke to a countryman of theirs, and who offered to carry and provide me a convenient cabin because I was sick, but I must go as a passenger, and not as chaplain, and that because he would not submit to the laws of Portugal, which make it a crime for any ship to sail without one. I told him, as I had formerly done the other captain at the beginning of my voyage to Africa, that if he would needs exclude me from the duties of my function, I must necessarily refuse his offer, being willing to earn my diet and passage, and so we parted. I was afterwards requested by the governor of Massangano, who came with us from the kingdom of Angola, and from whom I had received several civilities in our voyage, to go along with him to Portugal; I thankfully accepted his offer, and in three months' time, in company of a fleet of twenty-eight ships laden with tobacco and sugars, by the assistance of a favourable wind and good weather, we reached the height of Lisbon.

It being almost night before we got near the port, but three of our ships could get in, viz. that I was in, the Frenchman, and another, the rest being to keep out at sea all that night, and the greatest part of the next day, by reason the tide was against them. At day-break the physician came on board us three, to see what state of health we were in; but before he approached, the Frenchman thinking it had been a custom-house Felucca, went to hide a certain quantity of tobacco he had in his powder-room, but through a fatal misfortune letting a spark from the candle fall on one of the barrels, the powder took fire and blew up the poop of the ship, whereby the water flowing into the rest of the shattered vessel, it sunk in a trice; none of the people that were in her escaped, but only such as could swim, and they made shift to get to shore, or else were taken up by boats. If this ship had not sunk as she did after she was blown up, what damage might she not have done us that were very near her! Having observed the great escape I and my fellow-voyagers had, I fell on my knees, and returned my unfeigned thanks to the Most High for our preservation, and especially in that I happened not to go in that unfortunate ship. This accident was reported about among the vulgar to have been a judgment on the said ship for not having a chaplain on board her.

At length we landed, which we had no sooner done, but I and Father Francis da Pavia, a chaplain in another ship, and my companion all the way from Ethiopia, fell down on our knees again to return heaven thanks for our safe arrival in Portugal; we then went immediately to wait on the King, who being gone that day out of the city to visit the Infanta his daughter, we were fain to defer that intention. At his return His Majesty being informed of our designs, and having scarce alighted, sent presently for us: but the messengers not finding us in the city, came to our convent, where they met us and gave us to understand, that we might go to the court whensoever we pleased, the King being very desirous to see us. We lost no time, but immediately repaired to court, and were admitted to audience.

The King's countenance was extremely pleasing, and his reception of us very friendly, standing out of respect to us with his hat all the while in his hand; he kissed our habits, and then began to speak of our order and mission, and especially of us Italian missionaries, for whom he said he had a very particular respect, having been often informed how much good we had done, and did daily for God's service; and that although

although it was true that he had forbid any foreign priest to exercise their function within his conquests in those parts, yet he did by no means design to exclude his Italian Capuchins thereby. These words he spoke not only once, but repeated as often as any opportunity offered in discourse.

I must not forget the civilities shewed me here by Signior Nicolo Bonacursi, a gentleman of Florence, who took me from our convent at Lisbon to transport me to Leghorn, proffering me withal a necessary subsistence for the whole voyage. Herein nevertheless the captain of the ship opposed him, telling me that I should eat at his table: but Signior Nicolo notwithstanding would not be refused the sending a servant along with me to wait on me, which I must own the fellow did with a great deal of obsequiousness and diligence. Signior Nicolo would also have hired a Felucca to carry me to Naples; which I refusing, he recommended me to the Marquis Pucci at Leghorn, to the end that he might see me provided with necessaries for my farther voyage to Genoa, whither I was bound. We not long after set sail, and arrived at Leghorn in a short time, whence in a few days I went on board a ship called the Holy Rose, and with a prosperous gale soon got to Genoa. As we were going to enter the port about midnight, the wind all of a sudden chopped about full in our teeth, forcing us back to sea again. About break of day, while we were making for the mouth of the bay to get in, a French man of war was just coming out, who perceiving us sailed, made up to us, keeping to windward; her captain as he came nearer hailed us to send our boat on board, but ours taking little or no notice of him sailed on; whereupon the Frenchman came up to the windward of us again, giving us to understand, that being we were a man of war like himself, he was obliged by an express order from his King either to force us aboard or to sink us. At the hearing of this, all our ship's company were extremely concerned, and that especially because the day before, at the discovery of Genoa, we had discharged all our cannon, except thirteen, which we reserved to salute the holy cross in the said city. Our musquets likewise were all laid up in the gun-room, and our seamen had put on their best clothes to go ashore; nevertheless, laying aside all fear or delay, two of our officers got ready what arms they had, and ranged both passengers and seamen, except only those that were quartered at the aforesaid great guns, on the decks, in expectation of the enemy's being as good as his word, since we had absolutely refused to comply with his commands. What a buzz and rumour was to be heard every where then amongst the armed soldiers and seamen! For my part I almost thought I was in hell, and which put me in mind of that verse of Virgil's in his sixth *Æneid*,

—————Stridor ferri, traxæque catenæ.

At length to prevent what inconveniences might have ensued so rash an engagement, the French captain sent his brother on board us to see who we were, who coming near us, and perceiving what preparations we had made for a fight, and moreover hearing from us that we were Genoese, cried out, "To what purpose are all these warlike preparations, since there is peace between us and Genoa?" We answered him, that at sea we ought always to be on our guard against accidents we might meet with, and for aught we knew his ship might be no French man of war, because it was a common thing to put out false colours. He then demanded what number of men we had on board, having perceived a great many on the deck; we told him we were four hundred, and in truth we were so many. At last he acquainted us, that he had orders from his master to demand all Frenchmen he could meet with, except merchants, on board any vessel whatever, and desired to know if we had any such among us;

search

search was made, and all that were found delivered immediately, except a drummer who hid himself, so that much time was spent before he could be found, but at last he went with the rest. This done, the Frenchman departed peaceably, and left us to pursue our entrance into the port, which we immediately did, and being safely got in, cast anchor before the city.

It might have proved a more than ordinary damage to us, had we engaged this French vessel, by reason that over and above a great quantity of merchandize of different kinds which we had on board, we had likewise above a million and a half of money belonging to merchants, as also a great deal of uncoined and unwrought silver. Our ship carried besides all the money that had been collected that year in Spain by the commissary of the croisade, as likewise several other sums given in charity towards the canonizing of two saints at Rome.

As I observed some things in my way through the city of Lisbon when I went to Congo, so I cannot help taking notice here of another particular which I heard there as I came back: it was about a law made by the King of Portugal concerning excess in apparel. It seems the French merchants had before been accustomed every year to introduce new fashions in clothes after their own fancies, and dressing babies in them, to expose them to the view of the people, who presently bought up those garments, and so had a new fashion every year, whereby the sellers were enriched, and the buyers impoverished; so that most of the coin of Portugal fell into the hands of the French; to prevent the exportation whereof, the King raised the value of it. But this he was nevertheless disappointed in, for the French merchants observing what had been done, raised the value of their goods proportionably, and the people were so far infatuated, that they were resolved to have them whatever they cost them. The King seeing this, published another proclamation to prohibit his subjects the wearing of any silk, gold or silver, and withal commanded them to confine themselves to bays, or such stuffs as were the manufacture of the country, prohibiting also foreign hats and stockings. And the more to incline his subjects to the observing of this law, he himself first set them an example. As for what silk, gold or silver the church required, he ordered certain commissioners to procure what was necessary for that purpose from Venice, and elsewhere, but which was to be sealed to prevent any greater quantities being imported. By these means superfluous expences have been wholly banished this kingdom and its conquests; and if other nations would take example by them, luxury would not be so rampant, nor vice so triumphant. More might be said upon this subject, but I fear I have sufficiently tired my reader already, and therefore shall here conclude the relation of my voyage into southern Africa.

AN APPENDIX to the VOYAGE to CONGO, &c.

*A LETTER from the King of Congo to the Author, upon his arrival at the Port of Ango is
Written in Portuguese, and thus in English.*

The Superscription.

To the very reverend Father, Father Jerom da Sorento, a Capuchin and Apostolic
Missioner, whom God preserve.

Most reverend Father,

I RECEIVED Your Reverence's kind letter, with a great deal of joy and satisfaction for the favour Your Reverence has done me. Having understood your safe arrival at Capinda, I was very glad of it, and do beseech God always to preserve you in the like state of health for the future, to the end that we the unworthy servants of God may reap the benefit of it. For my part I shall ever be ready to obey all Your Reverence's commands as your spiritual son, as will likewise your spiritual daughter Donna Potentiana my mother. We both earnestly desire to our power to shew our readiness to serve you. Most reverend Father, I have comprehended all Your Reverence writ to me, extremely well; but, O my Father, I know not how I shall be able to be sufficiently thankful to God for his mercy, in promising me the sight of your loving countenance! Come then speedily and personally to the assistance and relief of those poor souls that desire to receive benediction from your sacred hands. It is most true what I tell you, for our souls are all on fire to see Your Reverence as they ought; and therefore, most holy Father, hasten Your Reverence's journey, pursuant to your promise by your messenger, that we may receive you with joy and festivals. I conjure you, prostrate at your holy feet, as an apostolic missioner and son of the blessed St. Francis, to hearken to my words. I beseech you, let me hear from Your Reverence from Loanda, for I have several important matters to communicate to you, which will extremely contribute towards the increase of Christianity. For this purpose, I sent my favourite Garzia Michael to wait upon and conduct Your Reverence to my palace. He will bring a slave along with him, whom I beg Your Reverence to accept, though but an inconsiderable present. I shall trouble Your Reverence with no more; God preserve you, and I humbly recommend myself to your holy sacrifices.

Your Reverence's Son, the Prince of Congo,

DON JOHN EMANUEL GRITHIO,

Who treads on the lion in the kingdom of his mother.

Lemba, Feb. 22. 1688.

I believe I shall not greatly displease my reader, if I add here the customs of these Ethiopians in their eating and drinking at feasts, which they commonly celebrate with great numbers, and at night. A great company being got together, they sit round in a ring upon the green grass; which having done, a large thick round wooden platter is placed in the midst of them; this platter is called by them Malonga: the eldest of them, whom in their language they call Maculuntù, or Cocolocangi, is to divide and dispense to every one his portion, which he performs with that exactness, that if there happen

to be a bit better than ordinary, that is likewise divided proportionably among the company. By these means there are no complaints or murmurs to be heard amongst them, but every one is contented with what is allotted him. When they drink, they make use of neither cups nor glasses, to the end that every man may have what is judged sufficient for him and no more. The judge of this is the Maculuntù, who holds the Moringo, or flask, to the person's mouth that drinks; and when he thinks he has drank sufficient, he pulls it away. This is practised all along even to the end of the feast. That which seems strangest to me is, that if any person whatsoever, man or woman, great or small, though not known to them, happens to pass by where the guests are eating, he or she thrusts into the ring, and has an equal share with the rest, without the trouble of making any compliment, or speaking a word. If this stranger happens to come after the portions are allotted, then is the carver to take something from every man's mess to make up a share for him. If it so chance that many uninvited guests come, they all have the aforesaid liberty, and may eat and drink as freely as if they had been invited. When the travellers perceive the platter empty, they rise up and go their ways without taking any leave, or returning thanks to the company. And though these strangers have never so great plenty of provisions along with them of their own, as it very often happens they have, yet do they forsake their own for that of these people. Another thing I much wondered at is, that they never ask these intruders any questions, as whence they come, whither they go, or the like, but all matters pass with so great silence, that one would think that they therein imitated the ancient law among the Lochri, a people of Achaia, reported by Plutarch, which imported that if any one demanded of another what was done, what was said, or the like, the person that asked those questions was to pay a fine. *Locrensiū lex quæ si quis peregre recursus rogabat, Nunquid novi, eum multâ afficiebat.* Plut. de Curiosit. laudandâ.

It has happened to me, that being about to entertain some persons that had been serviceable to me, at dinner-time I observed the number of my guests greatly increased; whereupon asking who those new-comers were, they answered, they did not know; which caused me to reply, "Then do ye allow of those to eat with ye, who have had no share in your labour?" To which all the answer I could get from them was, that it was the custom so to do. This charity of theirs seemed to me so commendable, that I ordered their commons to be doubled, being not a little pleased to find so great love and amity even amongst pagans. If the like good custom were practised amongst us, we should not have so many poor indigent wretches die in the streets, and other places, merely for want, as there almost daily do in all countries.

If this custom of theirs be so well worthy of commendation, another they have no less deserves blame, that relates to their behaviour towards their wives; who being enjoined to work in the fields till noon, whilst their husbands enjoy themselves at home, are obliged at their return to get all things ready for dinner; and if they happen to want any thing, they must either buy it out of their own money, or barter clothes for it according to the custom; I say out of their own money, or otherwise at their expence, by reason that the wives here are obliged to find their husbands with meat, and they are to provide wine and clothes for them. Dinner being got ready, it is first set before the husband as master of the family, who sits down alone to table, while the wife and children wait diligently about him to serve him in what he wants. When he has eat as much as he can, the remainder comes to the wife and children, who may sit down if they please; yet they generally stand, looking upon it to be their duty so to do. But if after all the husband has a mind to eat the whole dinner, he may do it, and nobody can call him to account. I having asked several of these people,

why they did not admit their wives to sit with them at table ; they answered me, that women had a portion given them to that purpose, and that they were born to serve and obey the men : which perhaps they would not have said, if they had known what the poet Claudian affirmed, that women were born to keep up the race of mankind, and not to be slaves to men.

Nascitur ad fructum mulier prolemq; futuram.

CLAUD. in EUTROP. l. i. v. 330.

These are good things for travellers, to eat free-cost at other peoples' tables ; but sometimes it happens that many are eaten and devoured themselves by a sort of serpent as big as a beam, which they meet in the road in their way to Singa, which by looking on them only kills and consumes them. A person that was assaulted by one of these prodigious serpents, happened by a lucky stroke of a scymitar, to cut him in two. The monster having been thus cruelly used, and yet not killed, being you may imagine not a little enraged, lay upon the catch among the thick bushes, to revenge itself on its enemies ; and soon after two travellers happening to come by, it immediately crawled out, wounded as it was, and seized upon them, devouring them almost whole. The neighbours thereabout hearing what had happened to those two men, resolved to fall out in a numerous body upon this maimed monster ; which they not long afterwards did, but could never meet with it. At last a Portuguese captain taking a considerable number of men along with him, armed with musquets, set forth in search of the serpent ; but not discovering it, presently he let all the company march on before, and staid himself behind a little. The serpent perceiving him alone, confiding in his remaining force, crept out of his hole to leap upon him ; the affrighted Portuguese cried out at the sight of it, and most of the people that were gone before, returning in great haste, sent so many bullets into the monster's body, that they soon dispatched it, after it had been the death of so many unfortunate passengers.

From the death of this monster, I proceed to speak of the sufferings of two of our missionaries, caused to be dragged by the count of Sogno, and then expelled his dominions. These two Fathers were, Father Andrew da Buti, and Father Peter da Sestola. The then count's name was Don Pedro de Castro, who sending for them into his presence, and they obeying his commands, he thus spoke to them : " How comes it to pass, Fathers, that amongst the pagans there is rain enough and to spare, and we Christians have had not the least drop ? What can the cause of this be, and whence does it proceed ? " The people affirmed that the want of rain proceeded from some relicts Father Andrew had by him, and that they could expect none as long as he kept them. The count upon this immediately commanded him to throw them away, and that if, during all the next day there was not some rain fell, both he and his companion must look to themselves, and expect to be very ill-used. At that time the sky was extremely clear, and so continued till about midnight ; when all of a sudden the heavens began to be overcast, and the clouds poured down so plentiful a shower, as was sufficient alone to prepare the earth for seed. Notwithstanding this, which had happened through the sole prayers of the two missionaries, the count not caring to have them any longer within his dominions, ordered them to undergo the oath of Chilumbo, to prove that they were innocent ; but they thinking such a trial the most diabolical that could possibly be imagined, absolutely refused to submit to it ; whereupon they were immediately seized, and most inhumanly misused, dragged about, and all they had taken from them. He that was handled worst was Father Buti, who died not long after of his hurt in the kingdom of Binguella the place of his mission. This relation is to be found confirmed by Father Cornelius van Wouters, a Dutch Franciscan friar, who affirms it as an eye-witness.

The Explanation of some few Conghefe Words inserted in this Work, and made English for the Ease of the Reader.

- ACCALA**, a man.
Affua, a dead corpse.
Agariaria, a sort of wood and fruit that serves to relieve a pain in the sides.
Alacardo, a smaller sort of crocodile.
Alcatrici, birds each as large as two hens.
Aliconde, a sort of exceeding large hollow tree.
Almesega, a tree which distils a liquor like unto frankincense.
Bada, a kind of unicorn.
Baia, the city of San Salvador, or St. Saviour in Brazil.
Bicoma, a sort of nutmeg-tree.
Birame, cotton-cloth that goes current for money.
Bolungo, a sort of oath, or way of trial among the wizards.
Boma, a very large kind of serpent.
Bonghi, or **Libonghi**, a sort of money.
Bordoni, plants somewhat like vines.
Caboccos, children born of a White and a Brazilian.
Cacchio, a bunch of fruit as large as a man can carry.
Cacazumbu, a wizard.
Candoua, a boat.
Capaffa, a wild cow.
Cappaiva, a tree which yields oil.
Cariabemba, the devil.
Casciù, a fruit like an apple.
Cazacaza, kidney-beans.
Chegilla, precepts to be observed, imposed on children by parents.
Chicheras, a sort of tree with leaves of a drying nature.
Chigongo, a sort of physical purging wood.
Chilumbo, another oath or manner of trial among the wizards.
Chinsu, a pot or pipkin.
Chisecco, wood of a cooling nature.
Cocco, the palm-fruit.
Cocalocangi, the oldest of the company that carves at meals.
Colas, a red fruit which is to be eaten before one drinks.
Copras, a sort of venomous serpents.
Coricas, hen-parrots.
Dongo, all sorts of flesh or fish.
Donno, a sort of fruit that smells like cinnamon.
Evanga, a priest.
Eguandi, the mother.
Emba, a sort of palm-tree that yields oil.
Embambi, a serpent which kills with its tail.
Embetta, a sort of palm-wine exceedingly refreshing.
Embuchi, a kind of musical instruments.
Engulamasi, a fyren or mermaid.
Engulo, a wild-boar.
Enguffu, a parrot.
Eutaga, cloth girt about the waist.
Fuba, millet-flower.
Fumù, tobacco.
Ganga, a sort of superstitious oath or trial.
Giaghi, a people who practise sorcery more than ordinary.
Gnam, a great root that is eaten.
Guaiavas, a fruit like a pear.
Guria, eating.
Impallanche, beasts with long wreathed horns.
Impanguazze, wild-cows.
Incubù, a goat.
Inzangù, a spade.
Mabocche, plants like unto orange-trees.
Maccachos, monkeys or apes.
Maccutas, sort of straw-cloth which goes current for money.
Macoluntù, the oldest in the company that carves to the rest.
Mafucca, a governor.
Malonga, a wooden platter.
Mamao, a fruit like a melon.
Maneba, a sort of palm.
Mandioch, a root whereof flower is made for bread.

- Mangas, a tree whose boughs hang down to the ground, and take root again therein.
 Mani, a lord or governor.
 Manimuncù, baptism.
 Mafa, water.
 Massamambala, the great millet.
 Massamambuta, Indian wheat.
 Mattari, stones.
 Melaffo, palm-wine.
 Melaffo Manputo, grape-wine.
 Migna-Migna, a tree good against poison.
 Misangas, glass-coral.
 Modello, a garment.
 Molecches, a general name among the Negroes.
 Mondelli, white.
 Moringo, a flask.
 Muana, a son or daughter.
 Muccacamas, Negro waiting-maids that wait on the Portuguese women.
 Mulatto, one born of a White and Negro woman.
 Ncassa, a sort of tree.
 Ncocco, a kind of large beast.
 Neubanzampuni, wild nutmegs.
 Ngamba, a sort of little drum.
 Nicefi, a fruit with a crucifix marked in the middle of it.
 Nfambi, a kind of wind-music.
 Oluchuche, an oath among the wizards.
 Pompero, a buyer of slaves.
 Pompo, a market-place.
 Quilumbo, a market.
 Sagoris, little apes or monkeys.
 Somacca, a small ship or smack.
 Soua, lord of any place.
 Surfu, the hen.
 Tambi, funeral ceremonies for dead relations.
 Toto, the earth.
 Tubarcos, inhabitants of Brazil.
 Tuberone, a fish not unlike the shark.
 Tubia, the fire.
 Zabiambunco, God.
 Zacre, a large spacious river.
 Zerba, an animal like unto a wild male.
 Zimbo, money of shells.

THE
STRANGE ADVENTURES
OF
ANDREW BATTEL, OF LEIGH, IN ESSEX,
SENT BY THE PORTUGUESE PRISONER TO ANGOLA,

WHO LIVED THERE, AND IN THE ADJOINING REGIONS, NEAR EIGHTEEN YEARS.*

Andrew Battel, his Voyage to the River of Plate, who, being taken on the Coast of Brazil, was sent to Angola.

IN the year 1589, Abraham Cocke, of Limehouse, began his voyage toward the river of Plate, with two pinnaces of fifty tuns each: the one was called the May-morning, the other the Dolphin. We sailed from the river Thames the 20th of April, and the 26th of the same month we put into Plymouth, where we took in some provision for the voyage. The 7th of May we put to sea, and with foul weather were beaten back again into Plymouth, where we remained certain days, and then proceeded on our voyage: and running along the coast of Spain and Barbary, we put into the road of Sancta Cruz, and there fet our light-horse-man together, which we carried in two pieces; Abraham Cocke made great account thereof, thinking that this boat should have made his voyage. This done, we put to sea, and running along the coast of Guinea, we were becalmed, owing to our being so near the coast.

Here our men fell sick of the scurvy, in such sort, that there were very few sound; and being within three or four degrees of the equinoctial line, we fell in with the Cape de las Palmas, where we had some refreshing, wherewith our men recovered. The people of the Cape de las Palmas made much of us, saying they would trade with us; but it was but to betray us, for they were treacherous, and were like to have taken our boat, and hurt some of our men. From this cape, we lay south-west off, but the current and the calms deceived us; so that we were driven down to the isle of St. Thomas, thinking we were farther off to the sea than we were; and being in distress for wood and water, we went in on the south end, between San Tome and the islands Das Rolas, where we rode very smooth, and with our light-horse-man went ashore, thinking to have watered, but we found none in the island; here we found great store of plantains and oranges. We found a village of Negroes, which are sent from San Tome, for the Portuguese of San Tome to use when their slaves be sick or weak, to send them thither to get their strength again, for the islands are very fruitful;

* From Purchas's Coll.

and though there be no fresh water, yet they maintain themselves with the wine of the palm-trees. Having refreshed ourselves with the fruit of this island, we burned the village; and running on the east side of San Tome, we came before the town, but we durst not come near, for the castle shot at us, which hath very good ordnance in it.

Then we lay east by south of the main, and in twenty-four hours we had sight of the Cape de Lopo Gonfalves: and being within three leagues of the said cape, we cast about and stood again toward the island of San Tome, and turned upon the west side of the island; and coming to a little river, which runneth out of the mountains, we went on shore with our light-horse-man, with six or seven butts to fill with water. But the governor had embosked one hundred men of the island; and when we were on shore they came upon us and killed one of our men, and hurt another: wherefore we retired to our boat, and got aboard.

Then Abraham Cocke determined to fetch the coast of Brazil, and lay west-south-west into the sea: and being some fifty leagues off, we fell into a scull of dolphins, which greatly relieved us, for they followed our ship all the way, till we fell in with the land, which was about thirty days; and running along the coast of Brazil, till we came to Ilha Grande, which stands in five degrees southward of the line: we put in between the island and the main, and hauled our ships ashore, and washed them and refreshed ourselves, and took in fresh water. In this island are no inhabitants, but it is very fruitful. After being here about twelve days there came in a little pinnace, which was bound to the river of Plate, which came to water and get some refreshment: and presently we went aboard, and took the Portuguese merchant out of the pinnace, who told Abraham Cocke that within two months there should two pinnaces come from the river of Plate, from the town of Buenos Ayres.

From this town there come every year four or five Caravols to Bahia in Brazil, and to Angola in Africa: which bring great treasure, and which is transported over-land out of Peru into the Plate river. Then Abraham Cocke, desirous to make his voyage, took some of the Dolphin's men into his ship, and sent the Dolphin home again, which had not as yet made any voyage. This Portuguese merchant took us to a place in this island where there was a banished man, who had planted a great many plantains, and told us, that we might, with this fruit, go to the Plate river, for our provisions were almost all spent.

With this hard allowance we departed from this island, and were thirty-six days before we came to the Isle of Lebos Marinos, which lies at the mouth of the river Plate. This island is half a mile long, and has no fresh water in it, but abounds in seals and sea-morses; so much that our light-horse-man could not get ashore for them, without beating them with our oars. The island is covered with them. Upon these seals we lived about thirty days, lying up and down the river, and were greatly distressed for want of other food. We then determined to run up to Buenos Ayres, and with our light-horse-man to take one of the pinnaces that rode at the town. When being so high up the river at the town, we had a great storm from the south-west, which drove us back again, and forced us to ride under Isla Verde, that is, the Green Island, which lies in the mouth of the river on the north side.

Here we were in such a distressing condition for want of provision, that we gave over the voyage, and came to the northward again, to the island of St. Sebastian, lying under the tropic of Capricorn. There we went ashore to catch fish, and some went up into the woods to gather fruit, for we were almost all famished. There was at that time a canoe full of Indians, that came from the town of Spiritu Sancto. These Indians landed on the west side of the island, and came through the woods, and took
five

five of us, and carried us to the river Janeiro. After this misfortune, our captain Abraham Cocke went to sea, and was never heard of more.

After we that were taken had remained four months in the river Janeiro, one Torner and I were sent to Angola in Africa, to the city of St. Paul, situated nine degrees to the southward of the equinoctial line. Here I was soon taken out of the ship, and put in prison, and afterwards sent up the river Quansa, to a garrison town, a hundred and thirty miles up that river. After having been there two months, the pilot of the governor's pinnace died, and I was commanded to take her down to the city, where I soon fell ill, and lay eight months so. Here I was much hated, because I was an Englishman. But being at length recovered, Don John Hurtado de Mendoça, who was then governor, commanded me to go in a pinnace to a place called Zaire, on the river Congo, to trade for elephants' teeth, wheat, and palm-tree oil. This place is fifty leagues from the city to the northward; at the mouth of the river is an island, called ilhe Calabes, which had at that time a town in it. Here we laded our pinnace with elephants' teeth, wheat, and palm-tree oil, and then returned again to the city.

His trading on the Coast; Offer to escape, Imprisonment: his sending to Elambo, and Bahia Das Vacas: many strange Occurrences.

THEN I was sent to Longo, which is fifteen leagues to the northward of Zaire, and carried such commodities as are fit for that place; such as long glass-beads, round blue beads, seed beads, and looking-glasses; red and blue coarse cloth, and Irish rugs. Here we sold our cloth to great advantage, getting at the rate of three elephants' teeth, which weighed on an average one hundred and twenty pounds, in exchange for one yard of cloth. We bought a great quantity of palm-cloth, and elephants' tails. In a little time we laded our pinnace. With my success in this voyage the governor was much pleased, and promised me my liberty, if I would serve him. In this manner I continued trading in his pinnace on the coast for two years and a half.

About that time there came a vessel from Holland to the city, the owner of which promised to carry me away; and when they were ready to depart, I went secretly on board, but I was betrayed by some Portuguese, who belonged to the vessel, and fetched on shore by the sergeants of the city, and put in prison, where I lay in irons two months, expecting the governor would have me put to death; but this expectation was changed into a sentence of banishment for life to the fort of Massangano, to serve in the conquest of those parts. Here I led a wretched life for the space of six years, without any hope of ever seeing the sea again.

In this fort were some Egyptians and Moors, who like myself were banished here. To one of the Egyptians I opened my mind, by telling him it were better to venture our lives to effect our liberty, than to live in such wretchedness here; he seemed as willing as myself to make the trial, and likewise told me he would get ten of his companions, three Egyptians, and seven Portuguese, to join us. That night we all met, and having taken the best canoe we could find, went down the river Coanza; and having proceeded as far down as Mani Cabech, which is a little lordship in the province of Elambo, we went on shore with our twelve musquets, powder, and shot. Here we sunk our canoe that it should not be discovered where we went on shore. We made a little fire in the wood, and roasted some wheat we had brought from Massangano, which was all the provision we had.

As

As soon as it was night we pursued our journey, and travelled the whole night and the next day without any water to quench our thirst; the second night we were not able to proceed, and were fain to dig and scrape up roots of trees and suck them to keep life in us. The third day we met with an old Negro, who was travelling to Mani Cabech; we bound his hands behind him, and made him lead us the way to the lake of Cafanfa; and continued to travel the whole day in extreme heat till we came to the Banza, or town of Mani Cafanfa, distant about twelve leagues from the city of St. Paulo. Here we were forced to ask for water, but they would not let us have any; on which we determined to make use of our fire-arms to obtain it; which they perceiving, called their lord Mani Cafanfa, who gave us some water and fair speeches, desiring we might stay all night, but as this was only to betray us, we immediately departed, and got to the lake of Cafanfa, where we rested that night.

The fourth night we came to the river which is toward the north, and passed it with great danger, for there are such a quantity of crocodiles in this river, as make it dangerous for a man to come to the river side where it is deep. The fifth night we came to the river Dande, and had travelled so far to the eastward that we found ourselves near the Sorras, or mountains of Mantbangono, where a chief lives who makes war against the King of Congo, to whose territory we were going. Here we passed the river, and rested half the night: and being about two leagues from the river, we met with some Negroes, who asked us where we were going; we told them to Congo; they said we were going wrong, and that they were Mallicangos, and would take us to Bamba, where the chief of Bamba lived. We went about three miles with them, but perceiving by the sun that we were going wrong, would go no farther that way, and turned back to the westward, on which they stood before us with their bows and arrows ready to shoot at us. But we being determined to pass through them, discharged six musquets together on them, which killed four, and so surprised the rest that they retired very precipitately. Nevertheless they turned back, and followed us four or five miles, and hurt two of our companions with their arrows. The next day we came to the borders of Bamba, and continued travelling all that day. At night we could hear the surge of the sea. The morning of the seventh day, we saw the captain of the city pursuing us with horsemen, and a great number of Negroes. Hereupon the seven Portuguese being terrified, hid themselves. The four Egyptians and myself thought to have escaped, but they followed us so fast that we were forced to take shelter in a little wood, where they soon discovered us and fired a volley of shot at us, which made us disperse.

Finding myself all alone, I bethought myself that if the Negroes should catch me in the woods they would kill me, wherefore thinking to do better with the Portuguese and Mulattoes, I came out of the wood with my musquet charged, making little account of my life. The captain knowing we had been twelve, called to me and said, "Fellow-soldier, I have the governor's pardon, if you will submit you shall receive no hurt." I with my musquet ready, answered him, that I was an Englishman, and had served six years at Massangano in great misery; and travelled in company with the Egyptians and Portuguese, but was now alone; "and rather than be hanged, I will die here amongst you." On which the captain came up to me and said, "Deliver thy musquet to one of the soldiers, and I protest, as I am a gentleman and a soldier, to save thy life, for thy courageous behaviour," whereupon I gave up my musquet and submitted.

The captain then commanded all the soldiers and Negroes to search the woods for the others, with orders to bring them out alive or dead. They soon found them, and

brought them out. Then they took us to the city of St. Paulo, where the three Egyptians and I lay three months in prison, with collars of iron round our necks, and great bolts on our legs, and in other respects were very hardly used.

About this time the governor sent four hundred men, that were banished out of Portugal, up into the country of Elambo. About this time I was, by proclamation made through the city, banished for ever to the Wa, and sent with these men to Sowonso, who is a lord that obeyeth the Duke of Bamba; from thence to Samanibanfa, and afterwards to Namba Calamba, who is a great lord that resisted us; but we set fire to his town and burned it, after which he not only submitted but brought three thousand warlike Negroes to us. From thence we went to Lollancango, a little lord who opposed us stoutly, but was at length obliged to submit; from thence we went to Combrecianga, where we remained two years, during which time we were often engaged in wars with the neighbouring states, which at length we brought to submit. We were now fifteen thousand strong, and with this force marched to the Outeiro, or mountain of Ingombe; but first we burned all Ingafia, which was his country, and then we came to the chief town of Ingombe, which is half a day's journey to go up.

This lord came upon us with more than twenty thousand bows, and did us great damage; but returning their assault with our fire-arms, we made great havock amongst them, whereupon he retired up into the mountain, and sent one of his captains to our general to signify that the next day he would obey him. Accordingly the next day he entered our camp in great pomp with drums, Petes, and Pongoes or Waytes, and was royally received by us. Here he made great presents, by which he greatly enriched our general, and those with him. On the top of the mountain is a great plain very fruitful in palm-trees, sugar-canes, potatoes, and other things; besides great quantities of lemon and orange trees. In this place is a tree called Engeriay, which bears a fruit as big as a Pome-water, and contains a stone which is a remedy for the windy cholic, which was not known to the Portuguese. Here is also a river of fresh water that springs out of the mountain, and runs through the town. After having staid here five days we marched up the country, continuing to burn and destroy for the space of six weeks; and then returned to Engombe again with a great quantity of slaves, sheep, and goats, besides a great many Margarite-stones which pass as current money through the country. Here we pitched our camp, a league from this pleasant mountain, and remained there twelve months. Here I received a shot in my right leg, and many Portuguese and Mulattoes were carried to the city to be cured.

The governor then sent a frigate to the southward, with sixty soldiers, among which number I was one, with all kind of commodities. We turned up to the southward, till we came into twelve degrees, where we found a fair sandy bay. Here the people brought us cows, sheep, wheat, and beans; but we did not stop long here, but went to Babia das Vaccas, that is the Bay of Cows, but which the Portuguese call Babia de Torre, because it has a rock like a tower. Here we rode on the north side of the rocks in a sandy bay; and during our stay, bought a great number of cows and sheep, which latter are much bigger than our English sheep. We likewise purchased some copper; also a kind of sweet wood called Cacongo, which the Portuguese much esteem; and also a great quantity of wheat and beans. Having laden our bark, we sent her home, but fifty of us staid on shore, where we made a small fort of rafters of wood, as a safeguard against the treachery of the people, who are not to be trusted. In the course of seventeen days, we had collected five hundred head of cattle. Soon after, the governor sent three ships to take us and our cargoes to the city.

In this bay many ships may ride with safety, and refresh. The Portuguese carracks have of late sailed along the coast, and come to the bay of this city to water and refresh themselves. The people are called Endallanbondos, who being under the restraint of no laws, are very treacherous; which makes it very necessary for those who deal with them to be very much upon their guard. They are such great cowards, that thirty or forty men may go up the country and drive down whole herds of cattle, without any danger of opposition from them. We purchased the cattle with blue glass-beads of about an inch long, which are called Mopindes, and paid at the rate of about fifteen of them for one cow.

This province is called Dombe, and has a ridge of high Sierras or mountains, that stretch from the mountains or Sierras of Cambambe, in which are mines lying along the coast, south and by west. Here is also a great quantity of fine copper, but they work no more than they want for themselves. The men wear skins about their middles, and beads about their necks. They use bows and arrows, and darts of iron. They are beastly in their manner of living.

Their women wear a ring of copper about their necks, which weighs fifteen pounds at the least, about their arms little rings of copper, that reach to their elbows, about their middles a cloth made of the Infandie tree, which is neither spun or wove, and on their legs rings of copper that reach to the calves of their legs.

Discovery of the Gagas, their Wars, Man-eating; overrunning Countries: his Trade with them, betraying, escape to them, and living with them, with many strange Adventures: and also the Rites and Manner of Life observed by the Jagges or Gagas, which no Christian but this Author could ever be acquainted with before.

IN our second voyage, turning up along the coast, we came to the Morro, or cliff, of Benguela lying in twelve degrees of south latitude. Here we saw a mighty cape of men on the south-side of the river Coua: and being desirous of knowing what they were, we went on shore in our boat, and presently there came to the number of five hundred of them to us to the water-side. On our asking them who they were, they told us they were the Gagas, or Gindes, that came from the Sierra de Leon, and passed through the city of Congo; and travelled to the eastward of the great city of Angola, which is called Dongo. The great Gaga, their general, came down to the water-side to see us: for he had never seen any white man before. He asked, wherefore we came; we told him we came to trade upon the coast: on which he bid us welcome, and invited us to come on shore with our merchandize. In the course of seven days we laded our ships with the slaves we purchased, which did not cost us more than a rial each, which in the city would be worth twelve millie-reys.

Being ready to go away, the great Gaga requested us to lend him our boat to take him and his men across the river Coua, for he was determined to overrun the realm of Benguela which lay at the north-side of that river, to which we consented, and went with him to his camp, which was entrenched with pales of wood. We had houses and other accommodation provided for our reception.

The next morning, before day, the general had his Gongo, which is an instrument of war like a bell, sounded, and made an oration with a loud voice, accompanied with such courageous and vehement speeches, as could hardly be expected among such heathen people, declaring that he would destroy the Benguelas: which speech had such an effect on the people, that they immediately took to their arms and marched with him

to the river-side, where he had provided Gigangos; such was their ardour that the general was obliged to use force to restrain it and keep them back. We carried over eighty men at a time, and with our musquets beat off those who attempted to oppose our landing, in which attempt some were slain: and about twelve o'clock all the Gagas had got over.

Then the general commanded all his drums, Tauales, Gongs, and other warlike instruments, to strike up, and give the onset, which was made with such vehemence, that the Benguelas were forced to give way and turn their backs. A great number were slain, and the rest, including women and children, made captives. Their leader the Prince Hombyangymbe, with more than a hundred of his chiefs, were killed, and their heads presented to the great Gaga. The dead bodies were eaten; for these Gagas are great cannibals and man-eaters.

They then took possession of the country, and settled in it. We traded with them five months, by which we were great gainers. But they were not contented to stay in Benguela, though they were in want of nothing but palm-wine, for here there grow no palm-trees.

At the expiration of five months they marched towards the province of Bambala to a great lord who is called Calicanfamba, whose territory is five days' journey up the country. In the course of these five months we made three voyages to the city of St. Paul, but on our return the fourth time we found they had left it.

But being unwilling to reap no benefit from our voyage, we resolved to go up the country after them. For this purpose fifty of us went on shore, leaving our ship riding in the bay of Benguela to wait for us till our return. After marching two days up the country, we came to a great lord called Mofarigofat, where we found the first town we came to had been burnt by the Gagas, after having plundered it. To this Mofarigofat we sent a Negro we had bought of the Gagas to say that he was left with us to take us to the camp. He bid us welcome through fear of the great Gaga, but delayed the time till the great Gaga had left his country. He then began to use delays to detain us, in hopes of making us useful to him in his wars: for never having seen any white people before, nor fire arms, he was in hopes from what he had heard, with our assistance to make himself very powerful. Finding ourselves thus situated we consented, and by our means he overcame all his enemies, and returned to his town again, where we desired him to let us go away; but this he refused except we would promise to return, and in the mean-time leave a white man with him as a security.

The Portuguese and Mulattoes being desirous of getting away, it was proposed to cast lots who should stay; but many of them would not agree to it. At length they concluded to leave me, being a single Englishman, which, through necessity, I was obliged to comply with. They left me a musquet, powder, and shot; promising that in two months they would come back, and bring a hundred men to assist him in his wars, and to trade with him; but all these promises were only made to get out of his hands, for they were all afraid of being detained as prisoners. Here I remained till the two months were expired, at the end of which time the others not returning I was very hardly used.

The chief men of the town were for putting me to death, but the lord of the town would not consent to it, still hoping the others would return. Some time after I was given my liberty: for some time I went from place to place shifting for myself as well as I could; but fearing they might at last put me to death I ran away, purposing to endeavour to find my way to the Gagas camp.

Having set out and travelled the whole night, the next morning I came to a large town situated in a thicket. I was taken before the Lord Cashil, followed by a great concourse of people who had never seen a white man before. Here I found some of the great Gagas men, whom I was very glad to see.

The name of this town is Cashil; it is so overrun with Alicondo, cedar, and palm-trees, that the streets are darkened by them. In the middle of the town stands an image the size of a man; it stands about twelve feet from the ground; and at the feet of this image is a circle of elephants' teeth, pitched into the ground: and upon these teeth are placed a great quantity of the skulls of men which are killed in the wars, and offered to this image: at the feet of it palm-wine and goat's blood are poured as an offering. This image is called Quesango. The people have great belief in it, and swear by it; and think, when they are ill, Quesango is offended with them. In many other parts of the town were small images with elephants' teeth piled over them.

The streets of the town were paved with palm-canecanes in a very orderly manner: The houses were in the form of a bee-hive, and hung inside with mats very curiously wrought. On the south-east side of the town was a Mokefo, which had more than three tons of elephants' teeth piled over it.

Being in fear of my life here, I left the town in company with the Gagas men, and travelled with them two days, at the end of which we came to Calicanfamba, where the great Gaga lay encamped. He bid me welcome to him. Among these cannibals I was willing to stay, hoping they might travel so far to the westward till we should come to the sea again, and be able to make my escape from them by means of some vessel. They remained here four months, having great abundance of cattle, corn, wine, and oil: continually triumphing, drinking, dancing, and eating men's flesh; this last was a sorrowful sight to me.

At the end of the four months they marched towards the Sierras or high mountains of Cashindcabar, which have large mines of copper in them: in their way they plundered and took every thing they liked. From thence they proceeded to the river Longa, which they passed, and settled themselves in the town of Calango, where they remained five or six months. From thence they went to the province of Tondo, and came to the river Gonsa, and marched on the south-side of it to a lord that was called Makellacolonge, not far from the great city of Dongo. Here we passed over very high mountains, and found it very cold.

Having now spent sixteen months among these cannibals, they marched to the westward again, and going along the river Gonsa, or Gunza, we came to a lord called Shillambansa, uncle to the King of Angola. They burned his chief town, which, according to their manner, was very sumptuously built. This place we found very pleasant and fruitful, and in it saw great quantities of peacocks, flying among the trees as well as other birds. The old Lord Shillambansa was buried in the middle of the town, and had an hundred tame peacocks kept upon his grave: which peacocks he gave to his Mokefo, and they were called Angello Mokefo, that is, the devil's or idol's birds, and were accounted as holy things. There was great quantity of copper, cloth, and many other things laid upon his grave, according to the custom of the country.

From this place we marched to the westward, along the river Coanza, and came right to the Sierras or mountains of Cambande, or Sierras de Prata, where there is a perpendicular water-fall, which makes such a noise as to be heard at thirty miles distance. We then entered the province of Cafama, and came to one of the greatest lords, who was called Langere. He obeyed the great Gaga, and took us to a lord called Caloch, who was a great warrior, who had about seven years before overcome the Portuguese,

Portuguese, and killed eight hundred of them and forty thousand Negroes who sided with them. This lord courageously withstood the Gagas in a great battle they fought the first day; after which we made a sence or fence of trees after the manner of the country. We remained at war four months with these people. I was so highly esteemed by the great Gaga on account of the execution I did with my musquet, that I could have any thing I desired of him: and when we went out to battle, he would give charge to his people to be as careful of me as possible, in consequence of which orders they would very often carry me in their arms to save my life. In this place we were within three days journey of Massangona, before-mentioned, where the Portuguese have a fort.

There were in the Gagas camp twelve captains, the first called Imbe Calandola their general, a man of great courage. He makes war by enchantment, and takes the devil's counsel in all his exploits, to whom he is continually making sacrifices, by which means he knows, or at least pretends to know, what shall come to pass. He believes his death will only happen in battle. They worship no images, but make use of certain superstitious ceremonies. He has very strict laws for the government of his soldiers, for those who shew themselves cowards by turning their backs to the enemy are put to death, and their flesh eaten. On the eve of a battle the general, mounted on a scaffold, makes a warlike oration which encourages his people very much.

It is the custom of these people wherever they pitch their camp, though it be but for one night, to build a fort or barricade with wood, one part of the army being employed in cutting down trees for that purpose, which the other carries away and erects the fort with. This fort is erected in a circular form with twelve gates to it, and each gate guarded by one of the twelve captains, with his soldiers; and in the middle of the fort is the general's house, well entrenched round about. They build their houses very close together; and their bows, arrows, and darts, stand out of doors; and on any alarm they run to their arms. Every company at their gate keep very good watch in the night, beating their drums and Tauals.

They tell of a river lying to the southward of the bay of Vaccas that has great quantities of gold in it, of which they have gathered a great deal from the sand which the heavy rains wash down; with some of this gold the handles of their hatchets were ornamented, these ornaments being carved with copper; they even call the ornaments copper, not seeming to make much account of the gold.

They like no country but that which abounds in palm-trees, of the fruit and wine of which they are great lovers. From the palm-trees they also have their oil. They take the wine in a different manner from what the Jambandos do, who have a way of getting to the top of the tree without touching it, and draw the wine from thence in bottles. These trees are about six or seven fathoms high, and have no leaves but at the top. But the Gagas cut the trees down by the roots, which lay ten days in that manner before they yield any wine, at the end of which time they make a square hole in the top and heart of the tree; from whence they draw a quart morning and evening, during the space of twenty-six days, when the tree dries up.

When they settle in any country, they cut down as many palm-trees as will serve them for a month; and then as many more, so that in a short time they impoverish the country, which they then quit, for they stay no longer in a place than it will afford them the means of living; they then leave it and seek a fresh place. In harvest time they seek out the most fruitful part of the country, reap the corn, and take the cattle; for they will neither sow nor plant, nor be at the trouble of bringing up cattle for themselves; depending on war for a supply of what they want. When they come to
any.

any country they cannot overcome the first day, they build their fort, and remain a month or more quiet, the general holding it for a maxim, that by doing so he injures the inhabitants as much as if he made war on them, insomuch that many times the inhabitants of the country will come and attack them at their fort; on which occasions the Gagas will not only defend themselves bravely, but egg the others on for the space of two or three days. At length, when the general thinks he has a good opportunity of returning the attack, he will previously send secretly out a thousand or more of his men to lay in ambush; then the Gaga marches out with his remaining force, as it were to attack their town, which the others perceiving march out to attack him; on which the Gaga, by the sound of drums, &c. orders those in ambuscade to attack the enemy in the rear, who finding themselves thus unexpectedly attacked behind, generally become an easy prey to the superior address and courage of the other party. The consequence of which is, the country becoming an easy prey to the victors.

The great Gaga Calando has long hair, embroidered with many knots full of Bamba-shells of a very rich sort, and about his neck a collar of Maloes, another sort of shells found upon that coast, and which are sold amongst them at the rate of twenty shillings a shell: and about his middle he wears Landes, which are beads made of ostriches' eggs, besides a palm-cloth as fine as silk. His body is carved and cut in various marks, and every day anointed with the fat of human beings. He wears a piece of copper across his nose, two inches long; and likewise in his ears. His body is always painted red and white. He has twenty or thirty wives who follow him when he goes abroad; one of them carries his bow and arrows, and four others his cups with drink; and when he drinks they all kneel down, clap their hands, and sing.

The women wear their hair tied, and stuck full of Bamba-shells; and are anointed with civet. They draw out four of their teeth, two above, and two underneath; this they reckon an addition to their beauty, and those of them who do not do this are loathed by the rest, and not allowed to eat or drink with them. They wear great quantities of beads about their necks, arms, and legs; and about their middles, silk.

The women are very fruitful, but they enjoy none of their children, for as soon as a woman is delivered, the child is immediately buried alive; so that those people have no children of their own. But when they conquer a town, they take the boys and girls of thirteen or fourteen years of age, and bring them up and adopt them as their own: but the men and women they kill and eat. The boys they train up to war, and hang collars about their necks as a mark, which is not taken off till the wearer has proved himself a man by bringing an enemy's head to the general; then the collar is taken off and he becomes free, and is called Gonfa, or foldier: this makes them not only courageous but desperate, in order to become free and reckoned men. In the whole camp there were but twelve natural Gagas, and those were their captains; and fourteen or fifteen women. It is about fifty years or more, since they came from Sierra de Leon, their native country. Their camp is composed of sixteen thousand strong, or more sometimes.

When the great Gaga Calandola undertakes any great enterprize against the inhabitants of any country, he makes a sacrifice to the devil, in the morning before sunrise, in the following manner:—He sits on a stool, with a man with on each side of him, with forty or fifty women standing round him, holding in each hand a Zeueras, or wild-horse's tail, which they flourish, singing at the same time: behind them are a great number of Petes, Ponges, and drums continually playing. In the midst of them is a great fire, on which is an earthen pot with white powders in it, with which the men-witches paint the great Gaga's forehead, temples, across the belly, and breast, during

during which operation they make use of long ceremonial and enchanting speeches. In this manner they continue till sun-set, when the enchanters or witches bring the great Gaga's Cafengala, which resembles a hatchet, put it into his hand, and bid him be strong against his enemies, for his Mokefo is with him. Then a male child is brought which the great Gaga kills; then four men are brought before him, two of which, as it happens, he also kills; and the other two he orders to be killed outside the fort.

When they bury the dead, they make a vault in the ground with a seat in it; the dead body has his hair ornamented, his body washed and anointed with sweet powders, and his best apparel put on, and is brought in this manner between two men, and placed on the seat in the vault, as if he were alive. He has two of his wives put with him with their arms broken, and then the vault is covered up. In this manner the inhabitants are buried, and have the greatest part of their goods buried with them; and every month there is a meeting of the kindred of the dead man, who mourn and sing doleful songs at his grave for the space of three days; they kill goats, and pour the blood, and palm-tree wine, upon the grave. They use this ceremony as long as any of the kindred of the deceased be alive. Those who have no kindred think themselves unhappy when alive, because they shall have none to mourn for them after their decease. These people are very kind one to another when in health, but in sickness abhor each other, and those in health will have no communication with the sick.

At length the men-witches ordered me away, because I was a Christian; for the devil had ordered it so. On this occasion, five cows were ordered to be killed within the fort, and five without, with a like number of goats and dogs, and the blood of them sprinkled on the fire; then the flesh of them is eaten with great feasting and triumph. And this ceremony is used many times by all the captains of their army.

I found means to get to the afore-mentioned Portuguese, with some merchant-negroes who came to the camp to buy slaves.

His Return to the Portuguese; Invasions of divers Countries; Abuse; Flight from them, living in the Woods several Months; his strange Boat, and coming to Loango.

HAVING left the Gagas, I came to Massangano, where the Portuguese have a garrisoned town. In this town was a new governor, named Sienor Juan Continbo, who had orders to get possession of the mountains of Cambamba, in which were mines. To perform this service, the King of Spain had allowed him seven years' custom, of all the slaves and goods that were carried thence to the West-Indies, Brazil, or elsewhere; on condition that he should build three castles; one at Demba where the salt-mines are, another in Cambamba, where the salt-mines are, and the third in Babia das Vacas, or the Bay of Cows. This gentleman was so bountiful at his arrival, that his fame was spread though all Congo, and many Mulattoes and Negroes came voluntarily to serve him. After having been about six months in the city, he marched to the Outaba of Tombe, and there shipped his soldiers in pinnaces, and went up the river Conza or Coanza, and landed at the Outaba of Songo, sixty miles from the sea. This lord Songo is next to Demba, where the salt-mines are, which contain such quantities of salt, that the greatest part of the country is clear salt, free from any earth mixed with it. It lies under the surface of the earth about three feet like ice: they cut it out in blocks of about a yard long, and carry it up into the country, and is the best commodity that can be taken to traffic with.

Here the governor staid ten days, and sent a pinnace to Massangano, for all the best soldiers that were there. The captain of the castle sent me down among a hundred soldiers. I was taken notice of by the governor, who used me very well, and made me a serjeant in a Portuguese company. He then marched to Machimba, from thence to Cauro, and then to Malambe, a great lord. Here we staid four days, and were joined by many lords. From thence we marched to a mighty lord called Auyoykayongo, who stood in his defence with an army of more than sixty thousand men. The two armies gave battle, and the victory remained with us. We made great slaughter among them, and took all the women and children captive, and got possession of the town in which we settled, finding it very pleasant, and full of cattle and provisions. At the end of eight days our governor fell sick and died, leaving a captain to command in his room.

After having remained here about two months, we marched towards Cambamba, which was three days' journey, and came right against the Sierras de Prata, and passed the river Coanza, over-ran the country, and built a fort by the river-side. Here I served two years. They opened the silver-mines, which yielded but a small quantity of silver. The new governor was very cruel to his soldiers, so that all the volunteers left him, which prevented his proceeding any farther. About this time news was brought by some Jesuits that the Queen of England was dead, and that King James had made peace with Spain. On which I presented a petition to the governor, who consented I should return to my native country; as he and his train were going to the city of St. Paul, I went with them.

The governor left five hundred soldiers in the fort of Cambamba, which they still hold. I then went with a Portuguese merchant to the province of Baamba, and from thence to the Oiteiro or city, standing on a mountain of Congo, from thence to Gongon and Balta; where we sold our commodities, and after an absence of six months returned to the city again; from whence I purposed to have taken ship for Spain, and from thence home to England. But the governor retracted his word, and ordered me to be ready in two days to go on another expedition to Auyoykayongo. As this governor had served his three years, and another was expected every day, I determined to absent myself till the new governor's arrival, and then return; as every new governor on his arrival makes proclamation for all deserters and others to return with free pardon.

That night I left the city with two Negro boys I had, who carried my musquet, five pounds of powder, a hundred bullets, and what little store of provision I could collect. By the morning I had got about twenty miles from the city, by the side of the river Bengo. Here I stayed some days, and then passed the river, and came to the river Dande, lying to the northward on the way to St. Paul, with the intention of hearing news from thence, for which purpose I sent one of my Negroes to enquire of those who passed about the new governor, who brought me word to a certainty that the new governor should not come this year. I was now put to my shifts, whether I would return to the city and be hanged, for I had run away twice, or conceal myself in the woods. I determined on the latter, and lived in that manner a month, between the rivers Dande and Bengo; I then went again to Bengo, to Mani Kafwea, passed over the river, and went to the lake of Casansa, about which is the greatest quantity of wild beasts, in any part of Angola. Near this lake I stayed six months, living upon dried flesh, such as deer, roebucks, &c. which I killed with my musquet, and dried the flesh as the savages do, upon a hurdle three feet from the ground, making underneath a great fire, and laying upon the flesh green boughs which keep the smoke and heat of the fire down and dry it. I made my fire with two little sticks as the savages

do. Sometimes my Negro boys procured me some Guinea wheat from the inhabitants, in exchange for pieces of dried fish. The lake of Cafanza abounds with fish of various sorts; I have taken up a fish called Somb, which skipped out of the water on shore, four feet long. Thus, after having lived six months on dried fish and flesh, and seeing no likelihood of an end to my sufferings, I endeavoured to hit upon some means of getting away.

In this lake are many islands full of trees called Membre, which are as light and as soft as cork. Of these trees, by the help of a knife I had of the savages, I made a Jergado in the fashion of a boat, nailed it with wooden pegs, and railed it all round to prevent the sea washing me out, and with a blanket I had I made a sail, I likewise made three oars for rowing. Thus equipped, my two Negroes and I ventured ourselves upon the lake, which is eight miles over, and rowed to the river Bengo, and going down twelve leagues with the current to the bar, which is dangerous to pass, owing to the roughness of the sea; but having passed it safely, rowed into the sea, and sailed along the coast, which I was very well acquainted with, intending to go to the kingdom of Longo lying to the north: passing the night at sea, next day I saw a pinnace sailing before the wind from the city. When we came close together I found the master of her to be one of my old friends, and messmates. He was bound to San Thome, and out of friendship took me in, and set me on shore at the port of Longo, where I remained three years, and got into great favour with the King, owing to my killing him deer and wild-fowl with my gun.

Of the Province of Engoy, and other Regions of Loango, with the Manners and Customs of the King and People.

FROM the point of the Palmar, which lies at the north side of the river Zaire, is the port of Cabenda five leagues northward, where many ships water and refresh. This place is called Engoy, and is the first province of Longo. It is full of woods and thickets. Seven leagues northward of this, is the river Cacongo; a very pleasant and fruitful place. Here is a great quantity of elephants' teeth: and a boat of ten tuns may go up the river.

The Mombales carry on great trade here, passing the river Zaire in the night, it being then calm; and take great quantities of elephants' teeth to the town of Mani Sonna, and sell them at the port of Pinda to the Portuguese or other strangers.

Four leagues from Cacongo is the river of Caye, or Longo Leuges. The town of Caye is one of the four seats of Longo: and then the Angra, or Gulf das Almadias. In this gulf or bay are a great number of canoes and fishermen, owing to the sea being smoother here than on the coast. And two leagues northward is the port of Longo, which is a sandy bay, in which a ship may ride within musquet-shot of the shore, in four or five fathom water.

The town of Mani Longo is three miles from the water-side, and stands on a great plain. The houses of the town are built under palm and plantain trees. The streets are very wide and long, and always kept clean swept. The King resides on the west side, and in the front is a plain, where he assembles his people, on occasions of feasting, making war, &c. From this plain runs a very wide street in which is held a market every day.

Their merchandize consists of palm-cloths of various sorts; cattle, fish, fowls, wine, oil, and corn. Here is also very fine logwood for dying, the root of which is reckoned

the best for that purpose ; also Molangos or copper. They have likewise great store of elephants' teeth, but these are not sold in the market. The King has ten great houses, but is never seen but in one, which he comes to in the afternoon. This house is very large, and at twelve o'clock is full of his great men. They sit upon carpets on the ground. Gembe the last King never used to see or speak to people till night : but the present one on the contrary does it by day. He passes most of his time with his wives. When he has entered the house and is seated on a sort of throne, they clap their hands, and salute him, saying, in their language, "Byane, Pembie, Ampola, Moneya, Qucfinge!"

On the south-side of the King's dwelling is a row of houses in a circular form, where his wives live ; within this circuit no man dares enter under pain of death. In this place he has a hundred and fifty wives or more. If any man be found within the circuit of this building, even speaking to a woman, they are both brought to the market-place and their heads cut off, their bodies quartered, and lie exposed one day in the market-place. Gembe the last King had four hundred children by his women.

When the King has a mind to drink, he has a cup of wine brought ; he that brings it has a bell in his hand, and as soon as he has delivered the cup to the King, he turns his face from him and rings the bell, on which all present fall down with their faces to the ground, and continue so till the King has drank. This would be a dangerous ceremony for any stranger, not acquainted with the law, to be present at, which law is, that whoever see the King drink shall die. The King's own son, a boy of twelve years old, having inadvertently seen the King drink, immediately the King ordered him to be finely apparelled and feasted, after which he ordered him to be cut in quarters, and carried about the city ; with a proclamation that he had seen the King drink. His eating is much in the same style, for which he has a house on purpose, where his victuals are set upon a *Bensa* or table : which he goes to, and shuts the door ; when he has done, he knocks and comes out. So that none ever see the King eat or drink. For it is believed that if any one should, the King shall immediately die.

The King is honoured among them as though he were a God : and is called *Sambec* and *Pango*, which mean God. They believe he can let them have rain when he likes ; and once a year, in December, which is the time they want rain, the people come to beg of him to grahit it to them, on this occasion they make him presents, and none come empty handed. He then appoints a day, when all the chiefs of his kingdom come to this meeting with all their troops, dressed and appointed as they are when they go to war. When they are all come, the King comes forth into a spacious place, where a carpet of fine enfacks, wrought like velvet and about fifteen fathoms in circuit, is spread ; and upon this carpet a seat raised about a fathom from the ground. Then one of the chiefs comes forward with his bow and arrows, and shews his skill in the use of them, and then has some merry conceit or jest to play off to the King, kneeling at his feet some time ; for which the King thanks him. The rest of the chiefs do the same thing. After which the King commands his *Dembes* or drums, some of them so heavy that a man can hardly carry one, others not so large, to strike up. He has also great *Pongos*, which are his waiters, made of the largest elephants' teeth, hollowed and scraped thin, which play also ; and all together make a most hideous noise. After they have passed some time in this manner, the King rises and stands upon his throne, taking a bow and arrows, and lets fly up in the air ; there is then great rejoicing for the rest of that day in hopes of having rain, which sometimes happens. I was present once at this ceremony, and as it happened they had abundance of rain the same day, which served to confirm the people in their superstitious belief.

Sometimes there happens, though very rarely, to be born in this country a white child of Negro parents; when this is the case, the child is presented to the King, and is called Dondos: these children are brought up and initiated in the mysteries of witchcraft, and are always with the King. Of these are composed the King's witches. No one dares offend or meddle with these Dondos, in such awe do the people stand of them; and at market or elsewhere they may take what they please without payment. The King of Longo has four of them.

The King is also a witch, and believes in two idols which are in Longo; the one is called Mokefo à Longo, and the other Checocke. This last is a little black image, and stands in a little house at a village called Kinga, at the landing-place of Longo. The house in which the former is kept stands in the high-way, and those who pass by clap their hands as a mark of adoration or belief in the image. Craftsmen, fishermen, and others, make offerings to this idol, that it may be propitious to them in their undertakings. This Checocke comes sometimes in the night, and haunts some even of his best friends; sometimes a man, sometimes a woman, or a boy, whichever it happens to be, is frantic for some hours; and whatever the frantic person says, is supposed to be the will of Checocke, and upon this occasion there is a great feasting and dancing.

At Kinga there is another Mokefo called Gomberi, which is a woman's name, and is kept in a house where an old witch lives, who is called Ganga Gomberi, which means the priest of Gomberi. Here once a year a feast is made, and Ganga Gomberi speaks from under-ground. I have asked the Negroes what it is, who have told me that it is a strong Mokefo that is come to abide with Checocke.

The children of this country are born white, but change their colour in two days' time to a perfect black. For example, the Portuguese who dwell in the kingdom of Congo, have sometimes children by the Negro women, and many times the father is deceived, thinking when the child is born it is his, but within two days it proves the child of a Negro man, which is a great disappointment to the Portuguese, for they rejoice very much when their children turn out to be Mulattoes, even though they be bastards.

The town of Longo stands in the middle of the four governments, and is governed by four chiefs, which are sons of the King's sisters; for the King's sons never come to be Kings. The first is Mani Cabango, the second Mani Salag, the third Mani Boek, the fourth Mani Cay, who is to be King, and has his court and train as a prince. Immediately on the death of the King he assumes the dignity, when Mani Boek takes his place, Mani Salag that of Boek, and Mani Cabango that of Salag. All these wait to be King in their turn. The mother of these princes is called Mani Lombo, and looked on as the first woman in the kingdom. She chuses a husband, and when tired of him puts him away, and takes another. Her children are highly honoured; and people, as they pass them, clap their hands, which is the highest mark of respect in the country. These governments consist of fine champaign ground, full of corn and fruit. The people make a great quantity of very fine and curious palm-cloth. They are never idle, for even as they go along the streets they make caps of needle-work.

Two leagues from the town of Longo, at a place called Longeri, the Kings are buried. It is encompassed round with elephants' teeth pitched in the ground like a paling, and is ten rods in compass.

They suffer no white man to be buried in the land, and if any Portuguese or other White who comes here in the course of trade, dies, his body is carried in a boat two miles from the shore, and thrown into the sea. There was a Portuguese gentleman who came to trade with them, and had a house on the sea-shore; this gentleman died

and

and was suffered to be buried ; at the end of about four months after, which was in December ; it not happening to rain, their Mokefo told them it was owing to the Christian having been buried amongst them, and ordered his remains to be taken up and thrown into the sea ; and three days after it rained, which circumstance served to confirm their belief in the devil.

Of the Provinces of Bongo, Calongo, Mayombo, Manikefocke, Matimbaz ; of the Ape-monster Pongo, their Hunting, Idolatries ; and divers other Observations.

TO the eastward of Longeri is the province of Bongo, bordering on Mococke, the great Angeca is King of this province. In it is great quantity of iron, palm-cloth, and elephants' teeth, also great plenty of corn. To the north-east is the province of Cango, fourteen days' journey from the town of Longo. This province is very mountainous, and rocky ; very woody, with a great quantity of copper. The elephants' teeth of this place are of a superior quality, and in such great quantities that the people of Longo fetch a great deal from thence.

Three leagues to the northward of Longo is the river Quelle, on the north side of which lies the province Calongo. It is an open champain country, with the greatest part of it under tillage, and produces great plenty of corn, likewise very fine honey. In it are two small villages, which serve as marks to distinguish the port of Longo. Fifteen miles northward lies the river Nombo. This river is so shallow that there is no navigation on it. This province towards the east borders upon Bongo ; and to the north on Mayombo, which is nineteen leagues from Longo, along the coast.

The province of Mayombo is so overgrown with wood, that one may travel twenty days in the shade, without being the least incommoded by sun or heat. They have no tillage or grain of any sort, nor any kind of tame cattle or fowls, the people living on the flesh of elephants, which they very much esteem, and other wild beasts ; plantains, a great variety of roots, which are very good, and nuts ; they are well supplied with fish. Two leagues to the southward of Cape Negro, which is the port of Mayombo, is a large sandy bay. Sometimes the Portuguese lade logwood in this bay : into it runs a large navigable river named Banna ; the navigation of which is sometimes impeded by a bar. In it are many inhabited islands. The woods are so infested with baboons, monkeys, apes, and parrots, that it is dangerous to venture alone among them. Here are also two kinds of monsters common to those woods. The largest of them is called Pongo in their language, and the other Engeco. The Pongo is in all his proportions like a man (except the legs, which have no calves), but are of a gigantic size. Their faces, hands, and ears are without hair. Their bodies are covered, but not very thick, with hair of a dunnish colour. When they walk on the ground it is upright, with their hands on the nape of the neck. They sleep in trees and make a covering over their heads to shelter them from the rain. They eat no flesh, but feed on nuts and other fruits ; they cannot speak, nor have they any understanding beyond instinct.

When the people of the country travel through the woods, they make fires in the night, and in the morning when they are gone, the Pongos will come and sit round it till it goes out, for they do not possess sagacity enough to lay more wood on. They go in bodies, and kill many Negroes who travel in the woods. When elephants happen to come and feed where they are, they will fall on them, and so beat them with their clubbed fists and sticks, that they are forced to run away roaring. The grown Pongos are never taken alive, owing to their strength, which is so great that ten men

cannot hold one of them. The young Pongos hang upon their mother's belly, with their hands clasped about her. Many of the young ones are taken by means of shooting the mothers with poisoned arrows, and the young ones hanging to their mothers, are easily taken.

The Morombes hunt and kill many little beasts with their dogs; these dogs cannot bark, they have wooden clappers about their necks, by the noise of which they are followed. The huntsmen have Petes or whistles, with which they call their dogs. The dogs in all this country are very small, with pricked ears, and for the most part of a red and dun colour. The Portuguese mastiff, or any other dog that barks, is greatly esteemed; I have known one to be sold for thirty pounds.

In the town of Mani Mayambo is a Fetisso called Maramba, which stands in a high basket, shaped like a bee-hive, and over it a house which they call his religious house. In him they believe, and keep his laws, and carry his reliques about with them. He and others of the like sort are witches, and make use of their witchcraft for hunting and killing elephants, recovering sick and lame people, forecasting favourable or unfavourable journeys. By this Miramba are all murders and thefts tried, for in this country they sometimes bewitch one another to death. And when any one dies, his neighbours are brought before Maramba; and should it be a great man that has died, the whole town is summoned to appear. When they come before Maramba, they kiss and clasp him in their arms and say; "Emeno eyge bembet, Maramba;" that is, "I come to be tried, O Miramba." And if any one be guilty, he immediately falls down dead; and if any one of them who had sworn has killed any one, though it had been twenty years back, he immediately falls down dead. And so it is in any other matter. From this place to as far as the Cape de Lopo Gonsalves, the people are all alike superstitious. I was twelve months here and saw many die in this way.

These people are circumcised, as they are through all Angola, except the kingdom of Congo, who are Christians. And those that will be sworn to Maramba, come to the chief Gangas, which are their priests, or men-witches; as well as boys of twelve years of age, and men and women. The Gangas puts them into a dark house, and there they remain certain days upon very hard diet; after this they are all let abroad, and commanded not to speak for certain days, what injury soever might occur to them; thus they suffer great hardships before they are sworn. Lastly, they are brought before Miramba, and have two marks cut upon both their shoulders, like a half-moon; and are sworn by the blood that drops from them, that they will be true to him. A certain kind of meat, also fish, and many toys, are forbidden to them. And if they eat any of this forbidden meat, they presently sicken and never recover. All of them carry a relique of Maramba in a little box and hang it about their necks, under their left arm. The lord of the province of Mayombo has the ensigns or colours of Maramba carried before him wherever he goes, and on sitting down it is placed before him; and when drinking his palm-wine, the first cup is poured out at the foot of the Mokefo or idol; and when he eateth any thing whatsoever, the first piece he throws towards his left hand with enchanting words.

From Cape Negro northerly, lives a great lord called Mani Seat, who has the largest stores of elephants' teeth of any lord in the kingdom of Longo; then his people practise nothing else but how to kill elephants, and two of those Negroes with their darts easily kill an elephant. Great stores of logwood are found here.

There is another lord towards the east who is called Mani Kefoch; he resides eight days' journey from Mayambo. Here I was with my two Negro boys, to buy elephants' hair and tails, and in a month I bought twenty thousand, which I sold to the Portuguese

guefe for thirty flaves, and all my charges in the bargain. From this place I fent one of my Negro boys to Mani Seat with a looking-glaſs; he eſteemed it much, and fent me four elephants' teeth (very great), by his own men; and deſired me to cauſe the Portugueſe, or any other ſhip, to come to the northward of Cape Negro, and he would by fires appoint a landing-place, for there was never yet any Portugueſe or other ſtranger in that place.

To the north-eaſt of Mani Keſoch, are a kind of little people called Matimbas; who are no bigger than boys twelve years old, but are very thick, and live only upon fleſh, which they kill in the woods with their bows and darts. They pay tribute to Mani Keſoch, and bring all their elephants' teeth and tails to him. They do not enter the houſes of the Marambas, nor ſuffer them to come where they dwell. And if by chance a Maramba, or people of Longo, paſs where they dwell, they forſake that place and go to another. The women carry bows and arrows as well as the men, and walk ſingle in the woods to kill the Pongos with their poiſoned arrows. I have aſked the Marambas, whether the elephant ſheddeth his teeth or not, and they ſaid no. But ſometimes they find thoſe teeth in the woods, but they find bones alſo.

When any man is ſuſpected for an offence, he is carried before the King, or before Mani Bomma, who is a judge under the King. And if he denies matters, not to be proved except by their oath, then this ſuſpected perſon ſwears thus:—They have a kind of root which they call Imbandu; this root is very ſtrong, and is ſcraped into water. The virtue of this root is, that if they put too much into the water, the perſon that drinketh it cannot avoid urine: and ſo it ſtrikes up into the brain, as if he was drunk, and he falls down as if he was dead. And thoſe that fall are counted guilty, and are puniſhed.

In this country none on any account dieth, but they kill another for him: for they believe they die not their own natural death, but that ſome other has bewitched them to death. And all thoſe are brought in by the friends of the dead whom they ſuſpect; ſo that there many times come five hundred men and women to take the drink, made of the foreſaid root Imbandu. They are brought all to the high-ſtreet or market-place, and there the maſter of the Imbandu ſits with his water, and gives every one a cup of water by one meaſure; and they are commanded to walk in a certain place till they make water, and then they are free. But he that cannot urine preſently falls down, and all the people, great and ſmall, fall upon him with their knives, and beat and cut him into pieces. But I think the witch that gives the water is partial, and gives to him whoſe death is deſired the ſtrongest water, but no man of the bye-ſtanders can perceive it. This is done in the town of Longo, almoſt every week throughout the year.

Of the Zebra and Hippopotamus.—The Portugueſe Wars in thoſe Parts.—The Fiſhing, Grain, and other things remarkable.

IN this kingdom there is no kind of tame cattle but goats; no other cattle will live here. Oxen and kine have been brought hither, but they preſently die. Hens in this place do ſo abound that one may buy thirty for the worth of fixpence in beads. Pheafants, partridges, and wild fowls are plentiful. Here in-land lives a kind of a fowl bigger than a ſwan, and they are like an heron, with long legs and long necks, and is white and black, and has in its breaſt a bare place without feathers, where it ſtrikes with the bill. This is the right pelican, and not thoſe ſea-birds which the Portugueſe

Portuguese call pelicans, which are white and as big as geese, and those abound in this country also.

Here is found the Zevera or Zebra, which is like an horse; but its mane, tail, and streaks of divers colours down its sides and legs makes a difference. These Zebras are all wild and live in great herds, and suffer a man to come within shot of them, and let shoot three or four times at them before they run away.

Moreover there are great numbers of sea or river-horses, which feed always on the land, and live only by grass, and they are very dangerous in the water. They are the biggest creature in this country except the elephant; they have great strength in the claws of their left forefoot, and have four claws on every foot like the claws of an ox. The Portuguese make rings of them, and they are a good remedy for the flux.

The Portuguese make war against the Negroes in this manner. They have from Congo a nobleman, who is known to be a good Christian and of good behaviour; he brings with him out of Congo some hundred Negroes as his followers. This Macicango is made Tandala or general over the black camp; and has authority to kill, to put down lords, and make lords, and has all the chief doings with the Negroes. And when any lord comes to obey; first, he appears before the Tandala bringing him presents, in slaves, kine, and goats. Then the Tandala carries him to the Portuguese governor, and presents two slaves to the governor's page before he goes in. Then he must have a great gift for the governor, which is sometimes thirty or forty slaves and cattle besides. And when he comes before the governor, he kneels down and claps his hands, and falls down with his face on the ground, and then he rises and says: "I have been an enemy, and now I protest to be true, and never more to lift my hand against you." The governor then calls a foldier who has deserved a reward, and gives the lord to him. This foldier sees that he has no wrongs, and that the lord acknowledges him to be his master; and he maintains the foldier, and makes him rich. Also in war he commands his master's house to be built before his own; and whatsoever he has taken that day in the war, he shares with his master. So that there is no Portuguese foldier on any account, but he has his Negro Sova or lord.

They use upon this coast to fish with harping-irons, and wait upon a great fish that comes once a day to feed along the shore, which is like a Grampus. He runs very near the shore, and drives great skulls of fish before him; and the Negroes run along the shore, as fast as they are able to follow him, and strike their harping-irons round about him, and kill great store of fish, and leave them upon the sand till the fish has done feeding; and then they come and gather their fish up. This fish will many times run himself on ground, but they will presently shew him off again, which is as much as four or five men can do. They call him Emboa, which is in their speech a dog, and will by no means hurt or kill any of them. Also they use in bays and rivers, where shoal water is, to fish with mats, which are made of long rushes, and they make them of an hundred fathoms long. The mats swim upon the water, and have long rushes hung upon one edge of the mat, and so they draw the mat in compass, as we do our nets. The fishes, fearing the rushes that hang down, spring out of the water, and fall upon the mat that lies flat on the water, and so they are taken.

There are four sorts of corn in Longo: the first is called Mafanga, and it grows upon a straw as big as a reed, and has an ear a foot long, and is like hemp seed. The second is called Mafembala; this is of great increase, for of a kernel spring four or five ears, which are ten feet high, and they bear half a pint of corn a-piece. This grain is as big as tares and very good. Thirdly, they have another that grows low like grass,
and

and is very like mustard-seed ; this is the best. They have also the great Guinea wheat, which they call *Maf-impota* ; this is the least esteemed.

They have very good pease, somewhat bigger than ours ; but they grow not as ours do. For the pods grow on the roots underneath the ground ; and by their leaves they know when they are ripe. They have another kind of pease, which they call *Wandos* ; this is a little tree ; and the first year when planted, it bears no fruit, but after it bears fruit three years, and then it is cut down.

Their plantain trees bear fruit but once, and then are cut down ; and out of the root thereof spring three or four young ones.

They have great stores of honey, which hangs in the *Elicandy* trees. They gather it with an hollow piece of wood or chest, which they hang in the top of the tree, and once a year it is full, by smoke rewarding the laborious creatures with robbery, exile, and death.

This *Alicunde* or *Elicandy* tree is very tall and exceeding great ; some as big as twelve men can fathom, spreading like an oak ; some of them are hollow, and from the liberal skies receive such a plenty of water, that they are hospital entertainers of thousands in that thirsty region. Once have I known three or four thousand remaining at one of those trees, and thence receiving all their watery provisions for twenty-four hours, and yet not empty. The Negroes climbed up with pegs of hard wood (which the *Elicandy* tree being softer easily received, the smoothness not admitting other climbing), and I think that some one tree holds forty tuns of water. This tree affords no less bountiful hospitality to the back than belly, yielding (as her belly to their bellies) her back to their backs ; excepting that this is better from the younger trees, whose tender barks being more seasonable for discipline, are soundly beaten (for man's fault, whence came the first nakedness), whereby one fathom cut from the tree, is extended into twenty, and is presently fit for wearing, though not so fine as the *Inzanda* tree yields. This tree yields excellent cloth from the inner bark thereof, by like beating. Of their palm-trees, which they keep with watering and cutting every year, they make velvets, fattins, taffetas, damasks, farcenets, and such like ; out of the leaves cleansed and purged, drawing long even threads for that purpose. They draw wine, (as it is said) from the palm-tree ; there is another kind of palm-tree, which bears a fruit good for the stomach, and for the liver most admirable.

One crocodile was so huge and greedy, that it devoured an *Alibamba*, that is, a chained company of eight or nine slaves. I have seen them watch their prey, haling in general man or other creatures into the water.

A
NEW AND ACCURATE DESCRIPTION
OF
THE COAST OF GUINEA,

DIVIDED INTO
THE GOLD, THE SLAVE, AND THE IVORY COASTS.

CONTAINING
A GEOGRAPHICAL, POLITICAL, AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THE KINGDOMS
AND COUNTRIES :
WITH A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT CONDITION OF ALL
THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS UPON THAT COAST, AND THE JUST MEASURES
FOR IMPROVING THE SEVERAL BRANCHES OF THE GUINEA TRADE.

Written originally in Dutch by WILLIAM BOSMAN, Chief Factor for the Dutch at the Castle of
St. George d'Elmina. And now faithfully done into English.*

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IT is a common custom among authors, to usher in their writings with a Preface ; which some look upon as a mere ornament of no great importance, and others as a necessary appendage, both for setting forth the subject, method, and design of the performance, and for giving the reader an opportunity to know the qualifications of his author : and it is the latter of these that I here join with.

The world is at present so overstocked with books, that it is almost impossible to bring any new thing to light, unless another new world were discovered ; the countries and people in all parts of the world, being already described by various authors. But it was an ancient saying among the Romans, that Africa always produces something new ; and, to this day, the saying is very just ; for the coast of Guinea, which is part of Africa, is for the most part unknown, not only to the Dutch, but to all Europeans, and no particular description of it is yet come to light ; nor, indeed, any thing, but a few scraps scattered in books written upon other subjects, most of which are contrary to truth, and afford but a sorry sketch of Guinea.

Being a lover, from my youth, of the descriptions of travels and voyages, and accounts of foreign countries, I quickly took a distaste at such authors as palmed prece-

* London, 1705.

rious reports upon the world for certain truths; and, having never stirred out of their native country, take all for truth that is handed to them from abroad, and recommend it as such to the world: in imitation of Aristotle, who, being ordered by Alexander (as the story goes) to write of the nature of animals, grounded and completed his performance upon the report of every traveller he could meet with. In those days, when the world was not so well known as it is now, that sort of writing might go down: but now-a-days a man of sense will scarcely venture upon it, considering that his advances will be compassed by a variety of travellers, and where he departs from what they find to be the real truth, he will be exposed for a fabulous author. In this country of Holland, we have had particularly two such writers in the last century, who set forth many books, and are now so well known by the bulkiness of their writings, and the manner of their performances, that it is needless to say more of them than this, that the world does them justice enough if they credit but one half of what they write upon foreign subjects, without derogating from what credit is due to their works that relate to our own country; for which subject they are very well qualified. I could not forbear opposing them upon some heads, and publishing the truth of what they have misrepresented; and, in so doing, I reckon I have done some service. And if they are so touched with my freedom as to take me to task (according to their threats), I am well assured that at least they shall not fix any falsehood upon me. I had always a longing desire to go and see what I read of in books; and, during my fourteen years stay upon the coast of Guinea, I had an opportunity of satisfying my desire, there being few or scarcely any places upon the coast, where I have not staid for some time, and can now speak of with experience.

And while I thus gratified my own curiosity, I considered that man was created not for himself alone, but likewise to serve his neighbour; and that the finest things lose their greatest splendour by being smothered in the breast of one man: upon this consideration, I reckoned myself bound to impart to my countrymen what I have beheld with pleasure; and that the rather, that I was desired so to do by my very good friend to whom the ensuing letters are addressed. Though my friend's demand was contrary to my inclination, yet I cheerfully complied with it; only I had some wandering reflections upon the reasons alledged in my first letter, particularly that of my unpolished way of expressing myself. But considering I do not publish this for a piece of consummate rhetoric, but only to satisfy those who are curious in this way, I hope to be excused. My sole design is to gratify those who are moved with the same curiosity that influenced me, or may hereafter have an opportunity of being concerned on the coast of Guinea; to gratify them, I say, with a distinct account of the disposition and constitution of those countries, and the various opinions that prevail there. This is my aim, and I hope I shall in some measure compass it. In fine, if what I have here published can be of the least use, I shall reckon myself richly rewarded for my pains.

At first I had contrived this work, so as to divide it into five books, treating of so many several subjects. The first, of the disposition of the Gold Coast; its extent, division, fertility, and the employment or livelihood of the inhabitants. The second, of the inhabitants in general; their genius, customs, manners, religion, government, and habitations, with what relates thereunto. The third, of the trade of the coast; how it is carried on by the Dutch Company and the other Europeans, and how the Negroes act their part in it. The fourth, of the animals of the country; whether wild or tame, as quadrupeds, reptiles, insects, and fowl, besides the fish, the plants, and the fruits. The fifth, of the kingdoms of Ladingcour, Coto, the two Popos, and

the charming country of Fida: with a conclusion, describing a coasting voyage performed by me in the year 1698.

But since, having the opportunity to send the whole matter of the above-mentioned five books, in several letters to my very good friend, I chose to alter the division, and draw it all up in twenty Letters, including in each as much as the conveniency of time allowed. To these twenty letters there are two more annexed, which were wrote to me by two persons in our service, and relate to the countries where they were employed, and where I had never been. This new division, I hope, will not be unacceptable to the reader, in regard that every letter still presents him with something that is new. I must own it pleases me better than the first.

For some time after I begun this work, I was much troubled that there was not a man on the coast that could draw and design: but after I had gone a great way in it, there came one to the coast that was versed in that art, upon which I immediately set him to work, upon drawing all the forts (Dutch, English, and Danish,) to the east of Elmina; and, for his greater conveniency, I made the journey with him myself, being sent by our general upon affairs relating to our trade. The animals, which upon my order were brought to us, he drew by the life; and the forts he drew with a just regard to perspective. But death, which spares no man, visited my draughtsman, just when we were ready to take another journey to the west of Elmina. In a few days' time he was well and dead; and so left me provided only with the half of what I designed, there being no other draughtsman on the coast.

I have purposely affected brevity, otherwise I could have drove out to a bulky volume: but, considering that it is tedious and nauseous to dwell long upon one thing, I presume the reader will be thereby gratified.

A DESCRIPTION, &c. OF GUINEA.

LETTER I. — *Treating of the Gold Coast in general, and the Country of Axim in particular, the Settling of the Dutch and Brandenburgers there, the imprudent Conduct of the latter upon this Coast; of Rio de Cobre, and the unhappy Accident that happened to a Fort there.*

SIR,

YOUR agreeable of September 1st 1700, was seasonably handed to me by Captain N. N., by which I am perfectly satisfied, that, through your diligence and conduct, my affairs are brought to a happy issue. The least I can do, is to thank you, with assurance that I will flip no opportunity of making the best returns I am capable of in requital of such unusual services: indeed I am very unfit to do it in the way you oblige me to; you exact from me an accurate description of this country, and though by my long residence here, I am, or at least ought to be in some measure acquainted with it, yet there are several reasons which I might alledge in excuse; among which no small ones are, that my insufficiency and unpolished way of expressing myself renders me incapable to represent things in their just propriety and connexion; but what I have

yet to offer requires my more serious consideration, whether, being actually in the service of our West India Company, it is consistent with my duty to discover the state of their affairs; being very dubious on this head, I could have heartily wished you would have spared me this heavy task, fearing it was what might contribute to make you, as well as myself, uneasy. But at last, reflecting on your friendship, and the obligation received, I soon stepped over these and all other difficulties, and am resolved to endeavour your satisfaction, upon promise that your usual good-nature will excuse my incorrect style; and rest assured, that, however I succeed, a sincere intention to oblige you to the utmost, is never wanting.

Returning to yours, I find your curiosity extends itself primarily to that country where your nephew was last placed by the general: in answer to which, be pleased to take the following account.—This country, called Axim, is cultivated and abounds with numerous, large, and beautiful villages, all extraordinarily populous; some of which are situate on the sea-shore, and others farther on the main land; the most considerable amongst the former lie under the Brandenburgian and Dutch forts, of which the latter is by much the best.

Our fort here is obliged for its present name of St. Anthony to the Portuguese, who were its first masters; but Anno 1642, were driven from this and several other places by our countrymen: and indeed, formerly the Portuguese served for setting-dogs to spring the game, which, as soon as they had done, was seized by others. But to return to our fort, which was not great, but neatly and beautifully built as well as strong and conveniently situated: it is provided with three good batteries, besides breast-works, out-works, and high walls on the land side, as well as a sufficient quantity of guns; and if it were well stored with provisions, might hold out against a strong army of the natives. I am heartily sorry I cannot send you a draught of it, because the main artist, who was about it, died before it was half finished; for which reason you are not to expect so much as a sketch of any fort west of Elmira, but the drawings of those eastward are at your service.

You cannot be ignorant that your nephew is made principal factor by Mr. N. N., who is intrusted by the Company as well as the general, with an absolute power over that whole country; the inhabitants being reduced to that entire subjection, that they dare not refuse, but are firmly bound to serve the factor to the utmost with what the country affords; nor dare they decide any judiciary case without his cognizance, he being a sort of chief justice appointed to punish even the chief of the Negroes, according to the custom of the country; but of their laws I intend (if I live long enough) a more particular account. But at present, before I proceed any farther, I shall present you with a small sketch of the Guinea Coast, especially that called the Gold Coast, and what is possessed either by our own countrymen, or other Europeans.

Guinea is a large country, extended several hundred miles, abounding with innumerable kingdoms, and several commonwealths.

Several authors have represented Guinea as a mighty kingdom, whose prince by his victoriousness had subdued numerous countries, and erected their whole extent of land into one mighty kingdom, which he called Guinea: how great this mistake is, I hope to evince to you; since the very name of Guinea is not so much as known to the natives here, nor the imaginary Guinea monarchy yet to be found in the world.

The Gold Coast being a part of Guinea, is extended about sixty miles, beginning with the Gold River three miles west of Assine, or twelve above Axim, and ending with the village Ponni, seven or eight miles east of Acra.

I am unwilling to detain you with a description of the tract of land betwixt Assine and Rio, or the river Cobre, about a mile above our fort; since the trade of that place is at present so inconsiderable that it is very little frequented, though nine or ten years ago its commerce was in a flourishing state; but since the golden country of Assine (from whence gold was brought thither) was conquered, and almost devastated, the Dinckin-rafe traffic has run at a low ebb, and the little gold dust which is brought thither is either sophisticated or of very small value: wherefore I shall steer my course along the Gold Coast, and without considering the rank of precedence, take them fairly as they lie in my way, and describe them as well as the compass of a letter will permit.

The countries from the Ancoberfian River to the village Ponni, are eleven in number, viz. Axim, Ante, Adom, Jabi, Commani, Fetu, Saboe, Fantyn, Acron, Agonna, and Aquamboe; each containing one, two, or three towns or villages, lying upon the sea-shore, as well under, as betwixt the forts of the Europeans; their greatest and most populous towns being generally farther on land. Seven of these are kingdoms, governed by their respective Kings; and the rest being governed by some of the principal men amongst them, seem to approach nearer to commonwealths: but I shall give you a more particular account of them hereafter, and in order thereto at present begin with Axim; which, as the notion of power runs here, was formerly a potent monarchy, but the arrival of the Brandenburgers divided the inhabitants, one part of them putting themselves under the protection of the new comers, in expectation of an easier government and looser reins, in which they were not mistaken, as the consequence evinced; but the other part, which were the most honest and least changeable, staid under our government. But if we take a view of this country before this time, we shall find it to be extended six miles in length, computing from the mentioned Rio Cobre, (Ancober, or the Serpentine River, so called by the Portuguese, from its intricate winding and inland course of twenty miles) to the village Boefwa, a mile west of our fort, near the village of Boutry.

The Negro inhabitants are generally very rich, driving a great trade with the Europeans for gold, which they chiefly vend to the English and Zealand interlopers, notwithstanding the severe penalty they incur thereby; for if we catch them, their so bought goods are not only forfeited, but a heavy fine is laid upon them: not deterred I say by this, they all hope to escape; to effect which, they bribe our slaves (who are set as watches and spies over them) to let them pass by night; by which means we are hindered from having much above an hundredth part of the gold of this land. And the plain reason why the natives run this risque of trading with the interlopers, is, that their goods are sometimes better than ours, and always to be had one third part cheaper; whereby they are encouraged against the danger, very well knowing, that a successful correspondence will soon enrich them.

These interlopers are several of them fitted out by private merchants in Holland to drive this trade; which is in effect, to rob the West India Company of the advantage of their Placaat or patent obtained from the States-General, which empowers them to trade on this coast, exclusive of all others; and of punishing all offenders against this right with the loss of life and goods; all their ships, in case they seize them, being free prize: but though in my time we have taken several of them, the law has not been rigorously put in execution, but we generally content ourselves with making examples of some of the ring-leaders *in terrorem*; and when they are seized, some one or other of the Company's officers find it their interest to let them slip through their fingers. But not to accuse any body, since every one hath his frailty, let us return to the inhabitants of Axim, whom we find industriously employed either in trade, fishing, or agriculture.

culture, and that is chiefly exercised in the culture of rice, which grows here above all other places in an incredible abundance, and is transported hence all the Gold Coast over. The inhabitants in lieu returning full fraught with millet, jammes, potatoes, and palm oil; all which are very rare here, for the soil is naturally moist, and though fit to produce rice, and fruit trees, doth not kindly yield other fruits.

But having already hinted something relating to the Brandenburgers, it will not, I hope, be tedious to particularize a little on their present state. Their principal fortress is not above three miles east of our fort St. Anthony, and is called Fredericburgh; it is situate on the hill Mamfro near the village Pocquesoe, and is handsome and reasonably large, strengthened with four large batteries furnished with forty-six pieces of ordnance, but too slight and small; the gate of this fort is the most beautiful on all the coast, but proportionably much too large for the structure, so that the garrison seems to have an equal right with the burghers of Minde, to the advice that they should keep their gate close shut for fear the fort should run away. On the east side it hath a beautiful out-work, which deprives the fortress of a great part of its strength, wherefore it would be easily gained if attacked on this side; besides which, the greatest fault in this building is, that the breast-works are built no higher than a man's knee, and the men thereby are continually exposed defenceless to the shot from without; which is no small inconvenience in wars with the Blacks, for no person can come upon the batteries, but the Negroes easily reach him with a musquet-shot: for the rest, the building part is not to be objected against, and is provided with a great many fine dwellings within.

The commander-in-chief of this fort, and indeed of all the possessions of the Brandenburgers on this coast, consisting of two forts and a lodge, takes the title of director-general under His Electoral Highness of Brandenburg and his African company. For some time past their commanders and servants, except common soldiers, have been most part Dutch, who in imitation of our nation have always aimed at an absolute dominion over the Blacks; but never could yet accomplish their end, being hitherto hindered by their intestine dissensions and irregularities, or the villainous nature of their Negroes, who, having mostly fled from us on occasion of crimes committed by them, have taken refuge under them.

In the time of my residence here I can remember seven of their directors; the first, John Nyman, an Embdener, a man of sound judgment, good sense, and great experience, who discharged his office with the greatest fidelity and good conduct, by which means he quitted this country with a great deal of honour, and left a very good name behind him: he was succeeded by John and Jacob Ten-Hooft, the father and son, who both acquired a large share of reputation, and kept their subordinates in due decorum, especially the son, who by good-nature and a civil address gained the affection of the Blacks, and had every body at his devotion: by which means he established the Brandenburgian affairs in a much better condition than any before him; and as they never had a better governor, so it is very much to be doubted, they will repent the time when they removed him, and appointed Gylbrecht van Hoogveldt in his place, who before had been factor in our service at Axim, where he treated those under him so ill, that General Joel Smits and the council were obliged to discharge and send him from the Coast, as incapable of their service. However, being now commander-in-chief, to reconcile himself to the offended Negroes his old enemies, he granted them several franchises and privileges, which served not only to lessen the power of the Brandenburgers, and lay the first foundation of their ruin, but after a short government the Europeans and Blacks jointly rose against him; and after trying him, discharged him
once

once more the government and Coast; choosing in his place one John van Laar, an Anabaptist, who was found to have a much better talent at drinking of brandy than at business; and took so little care of the public, that all went to ruin; and he himself was timely removed by death, to make way for John Viffer his successor, a person, who wanting even common sense, was therefore incapable of that trust. Shortly after his elevation, his factor at Acoda was killed by the Negroes, which he having neither sufficient conduct nor power to revenge, they continued their unbridled outrages at the expence of the lives of several of his Europeans; and lastly, seizing his person, they carried him into the inland country, and after miserably breaking almost all his limbs, and fastening abundance of stones about his body, drowned him in the sea. This barbarous murder was variously talked of here: but all agree that the Europeans under his command consented to, and abetted it; and some assert it was done by their order; and Adrian Grobbe (chosen by the Negroes) his successor, is generally charged with the greatest share in this crime; if he is innocent I hope he will clear himself, but if guilty, may heaven avenge it on him and his accomplices: for it hath very perniciously weakened the power of all the Europeans on this Coast, and filled them with apprehensions not altogether groundless, that if this bloody fact escapes unpunished, nobody is here secure of life. It hath already so enslaved the Brandenburgishers, that I very much doubt whether ever they will regain the mastery, for the Negroes having once got the upper hand will sufficiently lord it over them.

I could not help imparting to you this event, equally strange and detestable; to which I was indeed the rather induced, because as you are perfectly acquainted with all the European trade of the Embden company, so you may take an opportunity of informing them how their affairs have been managed here for some years past. But taking leave of this fort, let us take a step two miles and a half eastwards below Cape Trespuntos, where we find another Brandenburgish fort at Acoda called Dorothea; which by order of our superiors was amplified and delivered to them about eleven years past; since which they have very considerably strengthened and improved it. It is a house covered with a flat roof, on which are two small batteries and half curtains, upon which they have planted several light pieces of cannon; it is indeed furnished with a sufficient number of rooms and conveniencies, though but slightly built and somewhat crowded.

Between Maufro and Acoda, the Brandenburgishers, in 1674, built another fort-house at the village Tacrama, in the middle of Cape Trespuntos. Their general's design was to build a fort here to preserve and defend the adjacent watering place in their power. Upon the whole, the keeping of this lodge and the two former forts hath been so very expensive to them, that I am of opinion they will not hastily augment their charge by undertaking any new building.

The Brandenburgish affairs having insensibly swelled this letter to a larger bulk than I intended, and obliged me to defer my designed account of the vegetables of the country of Axim to another opportunity; and that I may not cloy you at once, I shall conclude only with a description of the above-mentioned Snake River, or river of Ancober, which last name it takes from the country it runs through.

This river is too pleasant to be slightly passed over, and as I have already told you, is a mile above our fort St. Anthony; its mouth is very wide, with so shallow water, that I question whether it is passable with a boat, but a little farther it grows deeper and narrower; after which, in several miles no observable alteration appears. How far its inland course extends I cannot inform you, though I have travelled above three small days' voyage upon it, and found it as pleasant as any part of the Guinea coast, not excepting

cepting Fida itself; each of its banks being adorned with fine lofty trees, which afford the most agreeable shade in the world, defending the traveller from the scorching beams of the sun. It is not unpleasant to observe the beautiful variegated birds, and the sportive apes, diverting themselves on the verdant boughs all the way. To render it yet more charming, having sailed about a mile up, you are entertained with the view of a fine populous village, extending about a quarter of a mile on its western shore; of such villages hereabouts are a great number, which together make up three several countries, of which, the first situate next the sea, is called Ancober (whether the river be obliged to the country, or the country to the river for its name, I shall not determine); the second next occurring land is Abocroe, and the last Eguira. The first I observed was a monarchy, and the other two common-wealths. Several years past we had a fort in the country of Eguira, and drove a very considerable trade there; for besides the afflux of gold thither from all foreign parts, the country itself affords some gold mines; and I remember when I had the government of Axim, a very rich one was discovered; but we lost our footing there in a very tragical manner, for the commander-in-chief of the Negroes, being closely besieged by our men (as some reports), shot gold instead of bullets, hinting by signs that he was ready to treat, and afterwards trade with the besiegers: but in the midst of their negociation he blew up himself and all his enemies at once, as unfortunately as bravely putting an end to our siege and his life, and like Sampson revenging his death upon his enemies. To compass his design, he had encouraged a slave by promising him new clothes, to stand ready with a lighted match, with which he was to touch the powder when he saw him stamp with his foot, which the silly wretch but too punctually performed undiscovered by any but one of our Company's slaves, who observing it, withdrew as silently as timely, being only left alive to bring us the news; and since we could get no better account, we were obliged to believe this; it being but too certain that our fort, to the cost of our director and some of our enemies, was blown up. This being enough for the first time, be pleased to suspend your curiosity till the next opportunity, when you shall not fail of a farther account from, yours, &c.

LETTER II. — *Describing the Antese Country about Boutry, the English and Dutch Forts there, and the English their fraudulently vending false Gold; the Beauty of the Antese Country and the River Boutry, the Oysters which are there produced; the Dutch and English Forts at Zaconde and the Country adjacent; of the Village Chama, and the Dutch fort there, together with the Jabise and Adomse Land, and the River Chama, with a Representation of the Cruelty of the Jabise General.*

SIR,

I HOPE that mine of the 15th — will reach you in due time; but the ship which carries it being bound for Fida to take in slaves, and after that to touch at Curacao before it stands its course homewards, I cannot expect that it should reach Holland in less than a year; and the ship that brings this, steering directly to Europe, will arrive much sooner; wherefore, to take off the uneasiness of the delay, I here send you a transcript of my former, wishing the contents may meet your favourable reception.

Having described Axim in my first, I shall begin this with an account of Ante, its next adjoining neighbour, to which I shall add as much as time and convenience will permit. The country of Ante, or as the natives call it, Hante, begins with the village Boefwa, two miles below, or eastward of Acoda; though we may very well take in,
and

and begin with Acoda itself, it being at present subject thereto. For several years this country was divided into the Upper and Lower Ante, Antim, already described, being accounted the former, and that we are about to describe esteemed the latter. It was formerly very potent and populous, being inhabited by a martial and prædatory people, who very much annoyed us with frequent onsets; but with continual wars with those of Adom and their other neighbours, they are so enfeebled, that no footsteps of their pristine glory are left. But of them more particularly hereafter.

At Dikjefchofft, properly called Infuma, the English built a small fort, anno 1691, after they had several times disputed the ground with the Brandenburgers, who some time before had set up their elector's flag there; though at last, not finding it turn to any great account, they quietly yielded it to the English, who advanced so leisurely that it was but finished in six years; after all which it was so inconsiderable and slight, that it hardly deserved the name of a fort. I have often heard the English themselves complain of it; for besides that it is not a place of good trade, the Negroes thereabouts are so intractable, fraudulent, villainous and obstinate, that the English cannot deal with them; for if they have recourse to violence in order to bring them to reason, they are also opposed by force, and that so warmly, that these five years past they adventured to besiege them in their fortrefs, and were very near taking it; at last, they obliged the English to their terms, without allowing them to exercise any power over them, and hence proceeded an alliance so strict betwixt them, that they jointly agreed to cheat all the ships that came to trade there, by putting sophisticated gold upon them, a fraud which they have frequently practised, as they did about three months past upon two small English ships (one of which was laden to the value of one thousand seven hundred pounds sterling), for all which, the master received only false gold, so that he lost his whole voyage at once; nor did his companion suffer much less, and what most surpris'd them was, that they received it as well from the Whites as the Negroes. They applied themselves to the English chief governor on the coast, desiring they might have their goods returned, or good gold in exchange for the false; but to complain to him, was to go to the devil to be confessed; for he, participating in the fraud, would by no means help them. This cheat is become so common, that it daily happens; but that the Whites have always a hand in it I dare not affirm; however I am very sure, that this place deserves the name of the false mint of Guinea, of which every trader who comes to the coast ought to be warned; for the making of false gold is here so common, that it is publicly sold, and become a perfect trade: the price current being in any time about a crown in good gold for two pounds sterling of false.

About a mile and a half from this knavish place, at the village Boutry, commonly called Boutree, is another small ill-shaped fort, situate on a very high hill, built in an oblong form, and divided into two parts; strengthened (if I may so say) with two inoffensive batteries, upon which are planted eight small guns. This is very improperly called Batenstein, for it much better deserves the name of Schadenstein (Bate signifying profit, and Schade loss), in regard we have for several years lost much more than we got by it. At the foot of this hill is the village Boutry, which is indifferently large and populous, inhabited by a people who trade very fair with us, as not participating of the villainous nature of those of Infuma.

Exactly four miles lower we meet with the village Zaconde, where we have a small fort called Orange. A musquet-shot from hence is the remains of an English fort about as large as ours, of which more hereafter. Upon walking through the country of Ante, reckoning from Acoda to a mile and a half below Zaconde, where it ends, I count it about eight or nine miles long. Its pleasant situation is become so famous

by Mr. Focquebourg's description, which adventures to compare it with the country of Cleve, that, leaving the truth of his comparison to the decision of those that have seen both, I shall only in pursuance of my design inform you, that this country, as well as all the gold-coast, abounds in hills, all enriched with extraordinarily high and beautiful trees; its valleys betwixt the hills are wide and extensive, proper for the planting of all sort of fruits, and if they were as well cultivated as watered, would supply half the coast with eatables. The earth produceth, in great abundance, very good rice, the richest sort of millet, the grain of which is red, jambs, potatoes, and other fruits, all good in their kind; nor is the soil in the least deficient in fruit-trees. The sugar-canes grow here more and larger than any where else; so that I am not without hopes that a successful plantation may in time be here set on foot. For wine and oil, the palm affords what excels in quantity as well as quality. In short, it is a land which yields its manurers as plentiful a crop as they can wish, being besides very well furnished with all sorts of tame as well as wild beasts; but the last fatal war betwixt the Anteans and Adomians hath reduceth it to a miserable condition, and stript it of most of its inhabitants: besides which, the miserable few left behind are so dispirited, that they shelter themselves under our fort near Boutry, leaving the greatest part of the land wild and uncultivated. It is, indeed, deplorable to see it at present, and reflect on its former flourishing condition in the years 1690 and 1691. Before the war, I being then an assistant, had an opportunity of walking to Boutry and through this country, when it regaled the eyes with the pleasant prospect of numerous villages well peopled, a plentiful harvest and abundance of cattle; insomuch that a soldier who could very hardly live on his subsistence-money in other places could fare deliciously here on the half: and if there be any difference in places, with respect to their healthfulness, I should prefer Boutry before all the rest: for during my stay there, it was observable that fewer died there in proportion to the number of people and time than any where: and I dare affirm, that if the same care was taken upon the whole coast as there, Guinea would soon lose its dreadful mortal name.

I had almost passed over the most charming part of the whole Antese land, betwixt Acoda and Boutry, being watered by a fresh river which runs by our fort to the inner part of the land, planted with high trees on both sides; which, wide as it is, is overshadowed by the leaves. I have by frequent experience found this river navigable three miles from the sea-shore; but though it reacheth farther, the violent water-falls, which pour down from the rocks into the river, render it unpassable beyond. It affords great plenty of fish, notwithstanding the incredible number of crocodiles it is pestered with, which must necessarily devour vast quantities.

In my description of Rio Cobre I mentioned the great multitude of apes there; but this country is so full of these unlucky animals, whose only talent is mischief, that one would be apt to think that this was properly their kingdom, or grand rendezvous.

If my memory doth not deceive me, you are a very great lover of river-oysters; be pleased therefore to make a trip hither, and I will engage you shall be satisfied with them at the ~~expense~~ only of the trouble of gathering them, and in less than an hour's time I will undertake to shew you one hundred thousand growing on the trees: pray do not be surprized, you have before now heard of Soland geese, and Chinese fish which change into fowl; perhaps you will tell me you believe neither, and perhaps I am of your mind, yet all this shall not prevent my account how oysters grow here. On each side of the river grows a sort of trees, great and small intermixed, whose branches shoot directly into the water (those which remain above its surface being withered and dry), while the former become immediately leaved with small oysters,

oysters, at first about the bigness of shell-snails, but in a very short time grown to their mature size.

I remember to have mentioned the English and Dutch forts at Zaconde : they were, indeed, about six years past in being, but the trade at so low an ebb, and the officers of each fort so jealous of the other, that they both lived in miserable poverty, at the expence of both the English and Dutch Companies. Not long after, the English fortress was burnt and destroyed by the Antean Negroes; its chief commander and some of the English being killed, and the rest being plundered of all their own and the Company's goods; and at present the out-walls only are left standing, by which, though very little to our advantage, we are left the masters of this place. Indeed, last year, we traded considerably here for a large quantity of gold, which the English understanding, made several attempts to rebuild their fort, but were always obstructed by the Antean Negroes.

Before the war, betwixt Adom and Ante, this Zaconde was one of the finest and richest villages, as well in money as people, upon the whole coast : but the Adomese conquerors entirely burnt and destroyed it. The few slight dwellings which are here at present were built since, and others are daily building, so that ere-long, it may grow to be an indifferent village; but to re-instate it in its flourishing condition requires several years.

I have formerly mentioned the pleasantness of the Antese country, but then came no farther than a little below Boutry. But the land for two or three miles round about these forts is not less agreeable than the former; besides that, here and behind Tocarary, a mile west of Zaconde, the valleys are so much finer, that it is impossible for imagination to conceive any thing more charming. I have here seen a large plain so plentifully and properly adorned with lofty trees and woods, as if dame Nature had designed to shew her master-piece here; and between the rows of trees the paths were all covered with white sand, in which were observable the foot-steps of thousands of harts, elephants, tigers, wild-cats, and other sorts of beasts. In short, this place is so very plentiful that it is impossible to walk here without raptures.

The village or town of Tocarary, or rather the fort which was there, hath from time to time had several European masters: but it is now so ruined, that no visible remnants of it are left. The English, Dutch, Brandenburgish, Swedes, and Danes, have all had their turns in possession of it. In 1665, the English were drove from thence by De Ruyter, they having before got possession by clandestine means: but of this you may be further informed in Brand's life of De Ruyter. Since that time it hath yet once changed masters, but fell at last into our hands; and since I came hither, our traffic was transacted in a Negro's house; but that not meeting with its desired success, we absolutely quitted the whole: and the town was so destroyed and burnt in the war by the Adomese, that it is at present inhabited by a few inconsiderable people only. But taking leave of the Antese country for the present, let us turn towards the town Chama, in the way to which, is Aboary a village, near which we had a lodge for several years; but it being found to conduce more to the advantage of those who were placed there than the Company's, it was quitted as an unnecessary charge. The town Chama is moderately large and well peopled, but its inhabitants so miserably poor, that I do not believe they have any like them on the Gold Coast. Our fort here is about the size of that of Boutry; very small, but a little longer: it hath four small batteries, and just as many guns as the forenamed place, and was called (as it is at present) St. Sebastian's by the Portuguese, from whom we took it. In our wars with England, it was in a manner levelled with the ground, being only encompassed with palisadoes, which

the English perceiving, thought it would be no difficult matter to drive us from thence; and accordingly, in conjunction with the Jabishians, attacked us: but found so vigorous and unexpected a resistance, that they were obliged to lose their labour, and return to the place from whence they came, ever since which we have enjoyed it without the least interruption.

A little behind our fort the Jabish land begins, and extends itself a few miles towards the inland part of the country: but I shall only describe that part situate on the coast. It is at present but a small district, and not very potent, though the first kingdom which occurs in our descent from the higher country. Its King is so great a prince, that I should consider very seriously before I should give him credit for the value of ten pounds sterling in goods, for fear he should not be able to pay me; it is, indeed, true, that he, and his subjects, if I may so call them, make so considerable an advantage of the planting and sowing of millet yearly, that they would soon become rich if their too potent neighbours did not continually fleece and keep them under, which they are not able to prevent.

The Chamascian River, or Rio de St. Juan, called by the Negroes, Bossum Pra, which they adore as a God (as the word Bossum signifies), takes its course from our fort, passing by the Jabishian and Adomese country, as well as that of Jusser, and thence (if we may credit the Negroes), extending itself about one hundred miles in land. It is a small matter less than the river of Ancober, but wide enough, and hath the advantage of being so laid, that loaden boats may conveniently come into it from the sea, if the pilot be but so careful as to avoid a rock near its mouth, which the sailors call the Sugar; for else they are liable to be split, as it hath several times happened during my residence there, and some have been lost, especially if the sea happened to turn, or was rough. This river is very advantageous to us: for besides the fresh water with which our ships store themselves, it furnishes the cattle with fuel for the kitchens and ovens, as also with wood necessary for small shipping; so that, indeed, the river is really more useful to us than the fort itself; and without the former I do not believe we should long keep the latter. For besides that the commerce here is not considerable, and the keeping the fortrefs very expensive, we are continually plagued with a villainous sort of Negroes, amongst which those of Adom are none of the best; whose country I have before told you, stretcheth itself along by the river, and contains several islands in the midst of the said river, adorned with fine towns and villages: and, indeed, what hath surprized me most in this country, is the wonderful situation of the Adomese territories; for we find they are extended along both the rivers Chama and Ancober, which are reckoned above sixteen miles distant from each other on the strand; so that this land must be very large, and seems to go up the river Chama in a straight line, and then turns with a narrow slip of land to Rio Cobre. But to proceed, it is governed by five or six of the principal men, there being here no King. One of these is so potent, that he can, as it is said, carry the King of Jabi upon his horns. This republic, or commonwealth, or rather common plague to mankind (as being an assembly of thieves and villains), if it could be unanimous, would be able to raise a powerful army to the terror of their neighbours. Anno 1690, they jointly began a war against the Antese, which continued three or four years, till they had almost ruined the country and people; who yet will not submit to them, but continue to bid them defiance.

They also were at war with the three nations on the river Ancober a few years past; whom they obliged to buy a peace at the price of a large sum of gold.

In these expeditions they had a Negro for their general, who was of a nature so violent for war that he could not live in peace; but as greedy of wars as he was, no engagement scarcely happened with those of Ante and the river, in which he was not obliged to his heels for his safety; so that if his companions had been no better soldiers than himself, he had soon been stopped in his career: and yet the other governors dare not displease him, he being the richest of them all in money and men.

This Anqua, for so he is called, is more detestably bloody and barbarous than any Negro I have met with on the whole coast, nor is his name ever mentioned without horror.

This barbarous monster having in an engagement taken five of his principal Antefe enemies, anno 1691, he wounded them all over; after which, with a more than brutal fury, he satiated, though not tired himself, by sucking their blood at their gaping wounds; but bearing a more than ordinary grudge against one of them, and not contented with the mentioned savage cruelty, he caused him to be laid bound at his feet, and his body to be pierced with hot-irons, gathering the blood that issued from him in a vessel, one half of which he drank, and offered up the rest unto his god. In this manner doth this merciless bloody wretch treat his conquered enemies; and no wonder, for if opportunity be wanting to exercise his cruelty on them, his own subjects always supply their place; for his insatiable thirst after blood must one way or other be satisfied. In the year 1692, when he took the field the second time against the Antefe, I went to give him a visit in his camp, near Chama; he received me very civilly, and treated me very well, according to the custom of the country: but whilst he and I were diverting ourselves together, a fresh opportunity offered itself for the exercise of his brutish cruelty; which was only a Negro observing that one of his wives had a new-fashioned coral on, and taking a part of it in his hand to look on, without taking it off her neck; which she, not thinking any hurt, freely permitted him to do. I should here inform you by the way, that these Negroes allow their wives all honest liberty of conversation, even with their slaves. But Anqua so resented this innocent freedom, that as soon as I was out of the camp, he caused both wife and slave to be put to death, drinking their blood, as he used to do that of his enemies. For such another trivial crime, a little before, he had caused the hands of one of his wives to be cut off; after which, in derision, he used to command her to look his head for vermin, which being impossible with her stumps, afforded him no small diversion. I might, indeed, have spared this account of his fell brutality till I come to treat of the nature of the Negroes; but his inhuman barbarity being unparalleled among all the Guineans, and being upon the description of his country, I thought this place as proper; and that the rather, because I am not at present furnished with other matter. But to return to our description. The natives here are very powerful and rich; as being situate in the pass which the inland-dealers must come through in order to traffic; by which means they have a very good opportunity of enriching themselves by trade. Besides, they have several gold-mines in their country, one whereof was discovered about three years past. The riches of these countries consisting in gold, and the great numbers of people have so puffed them up, that those who deal with them ought to be endowed with a more than ordinary discretion.

The soil is very good and fruitful in corn and other productions of the earth; which it affords in such plenty, that, besides what serves their own necessities, they always expose large quantities to sale. Here are competent numbers of cattle both tame and wild, and the river abundantly stores them with fish, so that nothing is indeed here wanting that is necessary to human subsistence.

This.

This, Sir, is all I can inform you of relating to the countries of Jabi and Adom, with which I shall conclude this letter, and always remain with respect, yours, &c.

LETTER III. — *Containing a Description of the Country of Commany: of our, and the English Fort there. — A Relation of the War betwixt our Company and the Kingdom of Commany, and its original Cause. — A Description of the Castle of Edmina; and, to conclude this Letter, of the Town of that Name.*

SIR,

OUR description of the Gold Coast leads us at present to the kingdom of Commany, which borders upon Adom and Jabi; but as I am just beginning according to my former method, I seasonably recollect a letter of yours, wherein you seem surprized at the war betwixt our Company and those of Commany. I find you are misinformed, you desire I should set you right. This part of your letter I formerly purposely omitted, answering, that at that time it was not convenient to reveal some secret intrigues; and I am still so far of the same mind, that I had much rather you would excuse me, than oblige me to disgust some men whose good name and reputation I shall always handle very tenderly. But since you have my word that I will conceal nothing from you, I shall represent the whole affair, as it appears to me and others here upon the spot, who I think ought to be well acquainted with it; if we have a wrong notion of it, a proper time will discover it.

Before I begin my intended relation I shall inform you, that the country of Commany extends itself five miles long by the sea-side, reckoning from the river of Chama to the town of Mina; and it is about as broad as long. In the middle of it, on the strand at little Commany or Ekke-Tokki as the Negroes call it, we have an indifferent large fort, built by Mr. Swerts in the year 1688, called Vrendenburgh; and a musquet-shot or two from thence the English have a very large fort, of which more hereafter. Our fort is a square building, strengthened with good batteries, on which thirty-two guns may be conveniently placed, there being so many ports in the breast-work for them. It is large enough for sixty men to live in; though at present there are not near so many, and but twenty guns; notwithstanding all which it is sufficient, not only to defend itself against, but to repulse a great number of Negroes; as was found by experience, anno 1695, when I commanded there. Our enemies attacked us by night; I had but a very sorry garrison, not full twenty men, half of which were not capable of service: and yet I forced them to retire with loss, after a fight of five hours. It was wonderful, and no small sign of divine protection, that we lost but two men in this action; for we had no doors to most of our gun-holes, and the Negroes poured small shot on us as thick as hail; insomuch that those few doors which were left to some gun-holes were become like a target which had been shot at for a mark, and the very staff which our flag was fastened on, though it took up so little room, did not escape shot-free. You may imagine what case we were in, when one of them began to hack our very doors with an axe: but this undertaker being killed, the rest sliced off. The general to whom I had represented my weak condition, advised two ships to anchor before our fort, in order to supply me with men and ammunition: Peter Hinken, the captain of one of these vessels, endeavouring to execute the general's order, the day before I was attacked, sent his boat full of men with orders to come to me; but they were no sooner on land than the Negroes fell upon them so furiously, even under our cannon, that they killed several of them, which though I saw I could not prevent;

for

for attempting to fire upon the enemy with our cannon, I found them all nailed: of which piece of treacherous villainy, according to all appearance, my own gunner was the actor, whom I therefore sent in chains to the general (at our chief place of residence), who swore that he would punish him exemplarily; but instead of that, he soon after not only set him at liberty, but preferred him to a gunner's place of greater importance.

For this reason I was forced to be an idle spectator of the miserable slaughter of our men, not being able to lend them the least assistance; and if the Negroes had at that instant stormed us, we were in no posture of resistance. But they going to eat, gave me time to prepare for the entertainment I gave them, as I have before told you. Here I cannot help relating a comical accident which happened: going to visit the posts of our fort, to see whether every body was at their duty, one of the soldiers quitting his post told me, that the Negroes, well knowing he had but one hat in the world, had maliciously shot away the crown, which he would revenge if I would give him a few grenades. I had no sooner ordered him two, than he called out to the Negroes from the breast-work in their own language, telling them he would present them with something to eat; and kindling his grenades, immediately threw them down amongst them; they observing them to burn, crowded about them, and were at first very agreeably diverted; but when they burst, they so galled them, that they had no great stomach to such another meal.

But now to come to the Commanian war, upon which, since our whole welfare seems to depend, you must not think me tedious if I am very particular; it being impossible for you to comprehend or form any notion of it without you are thoroughly informed of its original source. Wherefore I shall look back as far as the government of your very good friend —— (desiring you not to be displeased, if I mention some disagreeable particulars; for I assure you that I will not transgress the least tittle beyond the naked truth). He found this place in a flourishing condition and in peace, though not firmly established therein. But long-sighted observers could easily discern the coals of discord kindling amongst the Commanians, which was ready to burst out into an open war upon the least occasion, as indeed they had done in Mr. ——'s time, if not prevented by his servant, who was brother to the King of Commany. But Mr. —— being gone, and the mentioned servant not only excluded out of all negotiations, but ill-treated besides; the Commanians only wanted a pretext of breaking with us to put their designs in execution. The year 1694 afforded them their wished opportunity: for some miners being sent to us from Europe, they were ordered to make an essay at a hill situate in Commany about half a mile above our fort Vrendenburg, that mountain seeming to be well placed for their purpose, and withal promising to reward their pains.

This hill was at that time dedicated to one of their gods, though there was scarcely ever any talk of any such thing before; but this was only a pretence that they made use of to declare war against us. The miners began their work, but in a few days, apprehending nothing, they were assaulted, miserably abused, robbed of all they had, and those who were not nimble enough, kept prisoners for some time. We immediately complained of this ill-usage to the King of Commany, who was villainous enough to remove the blame from his own door, and fix it upon one John Kabes, a Negro, who lived near our fort, and with whom we always traded very considerably; urging that he had done it in revenge for the ill-treatment he had met with from our former governor or chief commander. That this was only a feigned excuse was very evident; for the mentioned Negro was so arrant a coward, that he durst not have
ventured

for attempting to fire upon the enemy with our cannon, I found them all nailed : of which piece of treacherous villainy, according to all appearance, my own gunner was the actor, whom I therefore sent in chains to the general (at our chief place of residence), who swore that he would punish him exemplarily ; but instead of that, he soon after not only set him at liberty, but preferred him to a gunner's place of greater importance.

For this reason I was forced to be an idle spectator of the miserable slaughter of our men, not being able to lend them the least assistance ; and if the Negroes had at that instant stormed us, we were in no posture of resistance. But they going to eat, gave me time to prepare for the entertainment I gave them, as I have before told you. Here I cannot help relating a comical accident which happened : going to visit the posts of our fort, to see whether every body was at their duty, one of the soldiers quitting his post told me, that the Negroes, well knowing he had but one hat in the world, had maliciously shot away the crown, which he would revenge if I would give him a few grenades. I had no sooner ordered him two, than he called out to the Negroes from the breast-work in their own language, telling them he would present them with something to eat ; and kindling his grenades, immediately threw them down amongst them ; they observing them to burn, crowded about them, and were at first very agreeably diverted ; but when they burst, they so galled them, that they had no great stomach to such another meal.

But now to come to the Commanian war, upon which, since our whole welfare seems to depend, you must not think me tedious if I am very particular ; it being impossible for you to comprehend or form any notion of it without you are thoroughly informed of its original source. Wherefore I shall look back as far as the government of your very good friend — (desiring you not to be displeased, if I mention some disagreeable particulars ; for I assure you that I will not transgress the least tittle beyond the naked truth). He found this place in a flourishing condition and in peace, though not firmly established therein. But long-sighted observers could easily discern the coals of discord kindling amongst the Commanians, which was ready to burst out into an open war upon the least occasion, as indeed they had done in Mr. —'s time, if not prevented by his servant, who was brother to the King of Commany. But Mr. — being gone, and the mentioned servant not only excluded out of all negotiations, but ill-treated besides ; the Commanians only wanted a pretext of breaking with us to put their designs in execution. The year 1694 afforded them their wished opportunity : for some miners being sent to us from Europe, they were ordered to make an essay at a hill situate in Commany about half a mile above our fort Vrendenburg, that mountain seeming to be well placed for their purpose, and withal promising to reward their pains.

This hill was at that time dedicated to one of their gods, though there was scarcely ever any talk of any such thing before ; but this was only a pretence that they made use of to declare war against us. The miners began their work, but in a few days, apprehending nothing, they were assaulted, miserably abused, robbed of all they had, and those who were not nimble enough, kept prisoners for some time. We immediately complained of this ill-usage to the King of Commany, who was villainous enough to remove the blame from his own door, and fix it upon one John Kabes, a Negro, who lived near our fort, and with whom we always traded very considerably ; urging that he had done it in revenge for the ill-treatment he had met with from our former governor or chief commander. That this was only a feigned excuse was very evident ; for the mentioned Negro was so arrant a coward, that he durst not have
ventured

ventured on an attempt so dangerous without the King's express command. But the King was resolved to break with us, and because he could find no better excuse made use of this.

Mr. —, without any farther enquiry, resolved to go to Commany in person, in order to take satisfaction of John Kabes for the injury; to which purpose he took some of the forces of Umina along with him; and being come to Commany, he immediately detached a party to John Kabes' village, who came out to meet them, leading a sheep to present to Mr. —, and clear himself of what he was accused: but seeing the Umina forces fall upon his goods without giving him any warning, and begin to plunder, as great a coward as he was he put himself into a posture of defence, and our people finding he was resolved to sell his effects as dear as he could, the skirmish began, and some on both sides were very well beaten.

After this all our affairs run at random. It shewed the King of Commany our private, and John Kabes our professed enemy; who, to revenge the injury done him, invited the English into Commany, giving them a dwelling-place about a mile from our fort in one of his salt villages; resolving to settle them with the first opportunity in the old ruined fort that they formerly possessed, which soon after succeeded according to his wish. For the English are so well fortified there, that it will be impossible to remove them unless in time of war: for their fort is as large, and hath four batteries as well as ours; besides which, it hath also a turret fit to be planted with guns, from which they may extremely incommode us, considering that they have more and larger cannon than ours; in short, we are there likely to have a nice bone to pick. What injury this neighbourhood hath already done our trade, every one knows who is acquainted with this coast; as also how easily it might have been prevented. But Mr. — was too fiery to think sedately, or hearken to wise counsels; and contrary to all reason, he desired nothing so much as war, and the honour he hoped to get thereby, vainly promising himself that he should succeed as well as Mr. Swerts in 1687, who intirely conquered and subjected the Commanians, after they had in the war lost their King and several of the greatest men in their kingdom. The gentleman I am speaking of designed the same, not considering the difference between the fortune and success of the one and the other: notwithstanding all which I dare aver that he might have succeeded if he had not been deluded by the too great opinion he had conceived of himself and his followers, and his too contemptible thoughts of his enemies; for he hired an army of Jufferians and Cabesterians for less than 5000*l.* sterling, which were twice as strong as that of Commany, and consequently might have subdued them. But he was ready enough to imagine, that with this force he could easily conquer not only Commany, but all the coast: and accordingly, very impudently threatened the Fantynese and Saboese, that after he had corrected the Commanians, he would give them a disagreeable visit. These two nations, well knowing how considerably they were indebted to us, which, if they endeavoured to pay otherwise than by their continual villainies, was not owing to their want of will, but power; they soon embraced this favourable opportunity, in joining their forces with those of Commany; to support which, they believed it their unquestionable interest; and by this means they became stronger than our auxiliaries. A sufficient proof of this is our first unfortunate battle, in which we lost all our auxiliaries, and the money they cost us. This fight was much more bloody than the wars of the natives usually are; for the greatest part of the men we missed were killed, and the rest taken prisoners, by which we were reduced to a miserable estate, not knowing what measures to take, as having made the most potent nations of the country our enemies. And indeed we should never have been able to have made any
fresh

fresh attempt, if the enemies themselves had not seasonably played an opportunity into our hands by their intestine divisions. The King's brother Tecki-Ankan (the present King of Commany) came over to our side, and was in a short time strengthened by the Adomians and other auxiliaries; which occasioned a second engagement, so warm on both sides, that the victory was long dubious, till at last it seemed to incline on our side so far, that our army fell greedily to plunder; which being observed by Abe-Tecky the Commanian King (who excelled all his contemporary Negroes in valour and conduct, and had hitherto kept himself out of the fight and laid us this bait), he unexpectedly marched towards us with fresh forces, who had their muskets turned the wrong way in order to deceive us; which took so good effect, that we, taking them for our friends, continued our greedy course of plunder, till the King came upon us, and his men turning their muskets fired so briskly at us, that they diverted us from the prey, and obliged every body to save his life as well as he could: thus leaving the Commanians a second complete victory, those who could escape, made the best of their way to our fort.

These were two pernicious losses, the greatest part of which undoubtedly ought to be charged on Mr. —, for, had he been so prudent as to conceal his resentment against the Fentyneans and Saboans; and, instead of irritating them, gained them by a bribe, as he afterwards was obliged to do, though in vain, I do not believe they would have concerned themselves for the Commanians; by which means, after he had (which was very feasible) extirpated the Commanians, he might with the same force have reduced the Fentyneans and Saboans to reason.

Our affairs continued in this posture till Mr. — expiring, left the government to his successor, Mr. —, who, as new lords generally occasion new laws, finding we lost by the war, by advice of those whom the Company had entrusted, prudently resolved, if possible, to put an end to the war, and accordingly brought the Commanians to so good a temper, that we soon became friends; they not only obliging themselves to make good the damage we had sustained, but becoming as zealously engaged in our interest as the posture of affairs could encourage us to hope: and it was very much to be wished, for the advantage of our Company, that the peace could have continued, which would have considerably advanced our trade, and spared the large sums we were obliged to disburse in the following war. But the English here envying our happy conclusion of the war, and fearing it would not much conduce to their advantage, contrived methods to break the peace. The means which they chiefly hit upon, and practised, were to possess the King, that, considering his two victories, he ought rather to ask than give satisfaction, which they reinforced by inculcating our weak condition and his strength; urging, that we were not in a posture to act offensively again, but would be obliged, not only to entreat, but to buy a peace of him, which would furnish him with an opportunity of forcing his own conditions upon us.

The King being not only a Commanian by birth, and consequently of their turbulent humour, but sufficiently elevated by his past victories, soon listened to the English advice of breaking with us. To which he was encouraged by their assurance, that they would make his cause their own, and accordingly supply him with all proper necessities: upon which, he renewed his old course, and did as much mischief as ever. This we patiently suffered for some time, vainly expecting relief from fair means; but the longer we depended on them, they served only to augment his outrages, and oblige us to have recourse to forcible means, which were now become absolutely necessary to preserve our character amongst the rest of the nations of this country; and accordingly we began to think of warmer measures. And, in conjunction with other persons pro-

This barbarous action occasioned a great alteration on the coast. The Commanians, hitherto so strictly allied to the English, became their most inveterate enemies, resolving, at any rate, to revenge their King's death : Tecki-Ankan, on the contrary, became their greatest friend ; and, having a hand in his brother's murder, he fled from us and sheltered himself amongst the English, and agreed with them to fall upon the Commanians with the first opportunity : they invited us to join with them, but that was refused, we not being obliged to enter into a war on their account, and having too long found how fatal a war is to our commerce. They, however, went on with their design, hiring the Negroes of Saboe-Acany and Cabes-Terra, with which auxiliaries Tecki-Ankan came into the field, and engaged the Commanians with such ill success, that, notwithstanding the number of his men was quadruple to theirs, yet he was totally routed. The Commanians owed this signal victory to their general, Amo-Tecki, a Negro, who in valour equalled, if not exceeded, their murdered King.

Notwithstanding we had been hitherto perfectly neuter, the Negro general sent a civil message to our governor, together with several of the skulls of his vanquished enemies, in token that he had resolved to live and die in the service of the Hollanders ; his messenger was civilly received, and after thanks and presents to the general, dismissed. Were I obliged to determine concerning this action, I must own that we had then the fairest opportunity in the world to obstruct the English, and resent their former injuries, if we had quitted Tecki-Ankan as he deserted us, and joined with the Commanians against them. But here was a Remora in the way : for one of the greatest villains of this country being then broker to the Company here, had so gained the ear of Mr. — our governor, that he looked upon all other advice as pernicious. This favourite, whether encouraged thereto by interest, or prompted by an inveterate hatred, is uncertain, was continually buzzing stories in the governor's ears, in order to irritate him against the Commanians. They, in the mean-time, discerning his carriage, where it was likely to end, were not afraid to offer us some injuries ; by which means Akim (so the broker was called) gained his end ; so he had now some arguments to offer for beginning a war against them, and succeeded so well with Mr. —, that, without consulting or imparting it to the council, he resolved upon an action equally perfidious and detestable ; which was to attack the Fetuans, a people subject to the Commanians, contrary to the common faith of nations, when they came under our protection to market with their goods : accordingly this was barbarously put in execution, and they robbed of all they brought, some of them killed, and eighty made prisoners. Pray, Sir, be pleased to judge impartially ; Was not the law of nations herein violated in the highest degree ? I cannot help believing it was ; and that His Excellency cannot answer his acting in this manner, without the advice or knowledge of the council. Had they indeed consented to this base action, he might, as a pretext, have alledged, that these of Fetu were justly punished, because they murdered some women of Elmina as they were passing by them ; though it is very improbable, because the Fetuans protested themselves innocent of this fact, and kept up a good correspondence with us ; nor is it to be imagined they durst so far injure us, or offer such a piece of villainy, or that, after that, they should fearless and defenceless come to our market to vend their commodities, is what can never be believed by unprejudiced persons. But several boldly affirmed, that the above-mentioned murder of the women was committed by the contrivance and command of Akim himself and Tecky-Ankan ; designedly to lay it to the charge of the Commanians, in order to serve as a specious pretext to justify our breaking and interrupting all commerce with them. Whether this be true or false Heaven only can determine ; but it is certain, that the gentlemen of the council,

though they repented it as an abominable action, were not willing to discover their sentiments when past, because the blame must necessarily fall upon Akim, whom they knew to be villain enough to revenge himself at the expence of their lives: for which reason, they passed over it in silence.

By these unwarrantable practices our trade at Elmina was immediately stifled, and the Commanians and Petuans were become our professed enemies; which so animated the English, that instead of making peace with the Saboans, the strongest of the two, they strengthened themselves to the utmost, and once more engaged the Commanians; who with their small force behaved themselves so well, that they had certainly got the day if their general had not been obliged to retire out of the army by a wound he received; which so confounded them, that after they had began to put their enemies to flight, upon missing their commander, they betook themselves to their heels in the utmost disorder, leaving Tecki-Ankan and his followers an entire victory; their general and several of the most considerable amongst them being killed and taken prisoners. By this success Tecki-Ankan became King of Commany, and we, as well as the English, had a share of advantage by it; though we might, if other measures had been taken, have done ourselves much more considerable services; but, not to lay down uncertainties for undeniable truths, all men, whilst they are men, are liable to frailties, and the managers of this affair had their frailties as well as others. Thus I have said enough of the Commanian war, and its true source, by which you may be the better enabled to speak of it on occasion, and though I have left blanks for the names of our governors, you cannot be ignorant who is there intended; I have also handled the whole as tenderly as was possible without prejudice to truth; and, what is said to the disadvantage of Mr. — ought rather to be ascribed to his mistaken opinion of his favourite Akim, than to any ill intention; but if you ask how he became so fond of him, it is reported, that before he was preferred to the government, this wretch served him with a fidelity uncommon amongst the Negroes, which tinged him with such a settled good opinion of him, that he never could believe any thing against him. However it was, it is certain, that his fond affection to this villain was by him abused only to enrich himself, and render his master's government odious to all people; and thus he is liable to be injured who reposes too much confidence in any one man, and despiseth the good intentions of others to serve him.

I shall submit this relation to your impartial judgment, and return to the end of Commany. Three little miles below our fort Vredenburg, at the village or town of Mina, is situate the castle of St. George d'Elmina, so famous throughout the world; it takes its name from the town, but why the Portuguese, who were its baptizers, gave it this name, I cannot determine, for no gold mines are found for several miles about it; but if I may guess, I am apt to think it was because here they found a great affluence of gold from all parts; which seeming just as if it came immediately from the mines, might probably induce them to give it this name, which it hath ever since kept. I cannot pretend to inform you exactly when they began to build the castle, but can only tell you, that we took it from them in 1638, and it is indeed justly become famous; for to speak but the bare truth of it, for beauty and strength it hath not its equal upon the whole coast. It is built square, with very high walls, four good batteries within, and another on the outwork of the castle; on the side towards the land it is adorned with two canals, cut in the rock on which it stands, which are always furnished with rain or fresh water, sufficient for the use of our garrison and ships: besides which, we have within the castle three very fine cisterns, holding several hundred tuns, to preserve rain-water, so that we are in no great danger of wanting that necessary element. Upon the

the castle are placed — heavy brass-guns; besides, the lower battery is filled with iron pieces, which are daily fired by way of salutation to ships, and on such like occasions. There is room for a garrison of above two hundred men in this castle, as well as for several officers besides, all which may be so conveniently lodged, that they would have no reason to complain.

Under, or before this castle, is the town of Mina, called by the natives Oddena; it is very long and indifferently broad; the houses are built with rock-stone, in which it differs from all other places, they being usually only composed of clay and wood. About fifteen or sixteen years past it was very populous, and eight times as strong as at present, the inhabitants being then very terrible to all the Negroes on the coast, and such as could, under a good general, succeed in great undertakings; but about fifteen years past, the small-pox swept away so many, and since, by the Commanian wars, together with the tyrannical government of some of their generals, they have been so miserably depopulated and impoverished, that it is hardly to be believed how weak it is at present, it not being able to furnish out fifty armed men without the help of the servants of the Europeans; and there is no place upon the whole Gold Coast without some of the Negroes of Elmina, for some of them, who were friends to the Commanians, fled to them, but most of them from the tyranny of their governors, and our above-mentioned Akim, who only kept them as sheep for slaughter. When I first came upon the coast, I have frequently told five or six hundred canoes which went a fishing every morning; whereas now scarcely one hundred appear, and all the people so poor, that their miserable case is very deplorable, especially if we reflect upon their former condition: so that indeed, it is highly necessary that a governor should quickly be set over them; who, by mild usage, would soon recall the deserters, especially if he were so prudent as to banish, or at least cramp Akim, so that he should not be able to go far inland, where he hath, at our cost, made himself so many friends, that he would certainly do more mischief. This is what I am of opinion would succeed well if put in practice, and I heartily wish it for the good of our company, and all the poor people of the village; in which hope and expectation I conclude, &c.

LETTER IV. — *Containing a Description of Fetu, and our Fort, together with the chief Place of Residence of the English, and another Fort there situated. — A Description of Saboe, and Fort Nassaw there; of Fantyn and the Places possessed by us, and the English. — The great Power and perverse Nature of the Fanynean Negroes, by which we, as well as the English, suffer very much.*

SIR,

I WROTE to you — my last, which, though it met with a tedious passage, I hope did not prove disagreeable when it reached your hands, and since I sent that, I am honoured with yours of the 24th, brought to the coast by a Zealand interloper. I cannot help observing, that, pushed on by a very inquisitive genius, you not only make use of all opportunities of writing to me, continually urging me to pursue my description of the coast; but are always putting me in mind of answering by the same ship. But my very good friend, do not you know that I am forbidden the receiving of any letters from, or delivery of any to such ships. I dare say you think there is no difference what ship brings the letter, if it be right delivered; well, to tell you the truth, I do not think the difference very great, and provided our company be not injured, I cannot see any crime in it; wherefore you may be assured that I shall slip no opportunity, and if you please

please to continue the same care, the opportunities here, and in Europe, are so frequent, that we may be enabled, by the continual interchange of letters, to be always informed of each other's welfare.

From my former three, which in all probability you have received before now, you found that I am free enough, and consequently need not be asked twice: but to gratify your desire as effectually as I can, I shall begin where I broke off my last, at the castle of Elmina, and so continue my description.

Below, or next our castle, and by the village Mina, runs a small river inwards towards the country, for about half a mile, the water of which, according to Monsieur Pocquenbrog, is ten times saltier than the saltiest brine or pickle: though I have, in the months of May and June, found it as fresh as rain-water: perhaps because in these months the rains are so great, and the waters fall off the circumjacent hills into this river, as swiftly as a tide from the sea, so that this place is very convenient for water-mills, the stream so running, that it would easily turn a mill. But what Mr. Pocquenbrog affirms of the saltiness of this river, must be understood in very dry seasons: for the soil hereabouts being very nitrous, and the river very shallow, it is probable enough that the sea-water in this river may be sooner congealed into salt by the sun, than in the main sea, which the inhabitants have also observed: for they boil this water into salt, by which they gain considerably. This river separates the country of Commany from that of Fetu. Near this, and in Fetu, is situate upon a high hill, called St. Jago, our fortress of Conraadsburg, which is a beautiful quadrangular fort, strengthened, as most of ours are, with four good batteries, besides four lesser, which it hath in the out-wall that encompasses it. In short, here is cannon enough, and the fort is so strong, that if it were well stored with provisions, and well garrisoned, it would do very good service: it has an indifferent high tower in the middle, which only adorns the building, but from the top affords a most beautiful prospect of the circumjacent land and ocean, as well as usefully serves to discover ships seven or eight miles distant at sea.

Before any fort was built upon St. Jago, that hill was of great service; it was from thence we chiefly obliged the castle of St. George to surrender, for our cannon planted there perfectly commanded the castle; wherefore we ought to be nearly concerned for the defence and preservation of this fort and hill; for these once lost, the castle of St. George could not hold out long, and accordingly therefore as much care is always taken of this as the castle itself, there being always an ensign left there with a good garrison under his command. St. Jago being in Fetu, I shall here acquaint you that that land is forty miles long, and about as broad: it begins, as I have told you above, with the hill St. Jago, or the Salt River, and ends below the Danish Mount, passing by Cabocors. This country was formerly so powerful and populous that it struck terror into all its neighbour-nations, especially that of Commany, which it subjected to its government. But it is at present so drained by continual wars, that it is entirely ruined, and almost owns the Commanians its masters, the King of Fetu nor his nobles not daring to stir without the permission of the King of Commany; the greatest cause of which is, that in the Commanian wars Fetu was divided, part of it adhering to the Commanians, and part to our side, and some of each being killed they suffered a double loss, and were very much diminished in the last battle, so that you may very well conjecture they cannot be very numerous; nor indeed are there enough to give this fine country its proper tillage, though it is so fruitful and pleasant that it may be compared to Ante. Frequently upon walking through it before the last war, I have seen it abound with fine well-built and populous towns, so agreeably enriched with vast quantities of corn and cattle, palm-wine and oil, that it was not a little pleasant to observe;
but

but what was most charming was, that it was so covered with smooth straight paths, and trees standing so thick together, from Elmina to Simbe (a village about a mile and a half up the Fetuan country), that I have been sheltered both from sun and rain. The beautiful lofty trees on the hills, and fresh rivers in this country, do not a little adorn it. In short, this land very well deserves its situation so near our chief place of residence.

The inhabitants all apply themselves without any distinction to agriculture; some sow corn, others press oil and draw wine from the palm-tree, with both which it is plentifully stored. About three miles on foot, or two long ones by sea from this place, at the town of Ooegwa, or according to others, Cabacors, which is a cape bearing out at sea, is the English chief fort, which next to that of St. George d'Elmina is the largest and most beautiful on the whole coast; within, it is well furnished with fine and well-built dwelling-places; before it they have also built a high turret to secure the lives of the people of the town, in case of an invasion of hostile Negroes. The fort is strengthened with four very large batteries, besides a fifth, on which are planted thirteen pieces of heavy cannon, and these being pointed at the water-passage, can easily prevent any ships of their enemies' anchoring in that road; besides which, a great rock lies just before the fort, so that it is impossible to shoot at it from the sea.

The worst of all is, that here is generally but a very weak garrison; one part of which (I mean the soldiers) consists of such miserable poor wretches, that the very sight of them excites pity. They look as awkward and as writhed as an old company of Spaniards; the reason of which is, partly, that they greedily entertain those who quit or desert our service; which they will never deliver over to us out of a mistaken mercy, thereby freeing them from their deserved punishment. And though by firm promises and mutual agreement, we have frequently and interchangeably obliged ourselves not to countenance or entertain any deserters from each other, but on the contrary to send them home in irons, yet they have once more broken the articles; and notwithstanding that those who run away from us are chiefly sottish wretches, yet they are very welcome to them; the English never being better pleased than when the soldier spends his money in drink, especially in punch; a liquor made of brandy, water, lime-juice and sugar, which make altogether an unwholesome mixture. Some of the agents make a considerable advantage of selling this liquor by their emissaries under-hand; for the soldier pays double its value, and those who spend but a little money that way, are sure to be very well beaten, they taking no care whether the soldier at pay-day saves gold enough to buy victuals, for it is sufficient if he have but spent it in punch; by which excessive tipling and sorry feeding, most of the garrison look as if they were hag-ridden. This is a fault which some greedy agents will not correct, because they would lose too much by an alteration.

It is very well known that you are a learned physician, but I cannot tell whether you are of Mr. Bontekoe's opinion, who ventures to say that most men shorten their days by an irregular way of living, but this must be candidly interpreted: however, you understanding this best, I shall leave it to you to determine; but if our mentioned author means such irregular lives as the English live here, I should make no difficulty to declare for his doctrine. It is incredible how many are consumed by this damnable liquor (pardon the expression), which is not only confined to the soldiery, but some of the principal people are so bigotted to it, that I really believe for all the time I was upon the coast, that at least one of their agents, and factors innumerable, died yearly. So that if the state of health in Guinea be computed by the number of English which die here, certainly this country must have a much more unhealthful name in England, than

than with us ; and to tell an Englishman that their illness proceeds from their debauches in this liquor, would signify just as much as to inform them that the excessive eating of flesh (of which they are such great lovers) is very prejudicial to human bodies. But enough of this.

Under the English fort is the before-mentioned town, which was formerly well peopled ; but this, as well as all the others, has suffered very much in the Cammanian war ; besides that the multiplicity of English interlopers hath continually stript it of its inhabitants ; for when they come hither, they always take some of them with them to Fida, to assist them in buying of slaves ; after which, they liking the place, live there, and seldom remember to come home again, so that at present the village is half wasted, and the houses are in a ruined condition.

Behind this town the English have a large tower, upon which are planted six pieces of cannon, and garrisoned I believe with about as many men. This doth, or should serve, as they say, to keep the Negroes of the town in awe, as well as defend them from all other Negroes their enemies, that come from the in-land country ; but in my opinion, it is a perfect unnecessary charge, their castle being so high that it will easily perform that office alone.

Under the English fort is a house, not unlike a small fort, with a flag on it and some cannon ; this is inhabited by an English Mulatto, by name Edward Barter, who hath a greater power on the coast than all the three English agents together (in whom the chief command of the coast is vested jointly) ; who, by reason of their short stay here, are so little acquainted with the affairs of this coast, that they suffer themselves to be guided by him, who very well knows how to make his advantage of them : he is become so considerable that he can raise a large number of armed men, some whereof are his own slaves, and the rest freemen that adhere to him ; so that his interest is at present so great that he is very much respected, honoured and served by the principal people about him ; and whoever designs to trade with the English, must stand well with him before he can succeed. This Mulatto pretends to be a Christian, and by his knowledge of that religion, which he hath acquired by the advantage he hath of reading and writing, might very well pass for one ; but his course of life is utterly contradictory, for though he is lawfully married in England, he hath above eight wives and as many mistresses. But this the English must not take for dishonest or irreligious, since most of their chief officers or governors follow the Mulatto's example pretty closely, for I believe that two of the present agents have about six.

Upon the Danish Mount (so called because the Danes possessed it before the English), is another English fort, of which they boast as much as we do of ours of St. Jago, but without the least reason, for it lay four years more like a desolate country cottage than a fortress, its shattered walls being mended with clay, and its house within covered with reeds, as those of the Negroes ; and if I were an utter stranger to the slovenliness of the English, I should admire why they are so careless of a place of so great an importance ; for if an enemy becomes master of this hill, and plants but six pieces of cannon there, he is consequently master of Cabacors also, it lying so far at his mercy that he may from hence level it with the ground ; and yet it continued in this ridiculous condition all the last war, and might easily have been taken by twelve men ; and really we cannot help wondering here to see the English regard nothing so much as enriching themselves at the expence of their masters.

But at last, it seems, some well-meaning officer has informed the gentlemen of the African Company in England, of the wretched state of this fortress ; for in the year 1699 express orders came to repair and put it in a posture of defence ; and ever since they

they have been rebuilding of it, having entirely pulled down the old one. The agents obliged me with a sight of the model, pursuant to which that already finished is built, as the whole is intended; and by this I perceive they do not design to take up a large compass of ground; but when finished it will be so strong that no fort on the coast will be comparable to it. The form of it, and the natural strength of the hill, which they intend to cut steep, so that but one access to it shall be left, will render it so strong, that if well stored with provisions, and well garrisoned, it cannot be taken without great difficulty; which will be yet augmented if we consider that the enemies, being unaccustomed to the air, and apprehensive of the natives, can hardly besiege it: they who would have it must take it by surprize, for I dare engage when it is finished the English may safely depend on it: but the building advances so slowly, that heaven knows when that will be. But to leave the English to shift for themselves, and to come to our description of Saboe, which begins at the bottom of this hill, and ends about half a mile below Mouree, being in its whole extent along the shore hardly two miles long, and about twice as broad. From the Danish Mount it is about a little half mile to Congo, where we formerly had a fine stone house, divided and situated upon two hillocks, where our flag was planted, of which there is only a small remainder left, sufficient to prove our propriety; and indeed we cannot expect any other advantage by building in this place than to keep out other Europeans; for if any of them should settle here, they might very much prejudice our trade at Mouree.

Saboe is about equal in power with Commany, and its inhabitants exactly as great villains, we being obliged to blame their King, next the English, for the miscarriage of our design against Commany. For this ignominious wretch, under pretence of being moderator betwixt the Commanians and us, abused us several times by dilatory and fraudulent means, which, though we plainly saw, yet we were afraid to resent, least, instead of a feigned friend, we should make him our professed enemy; and for this reason, we were obliged, not only to pass by his mean-spirited frauds unobserved, but sometimes also to make him a present.

The kingdom of Saboe produceth, in great abundance, corn, jammes, potatoes, and other fruits of the earth; with which, and palm-oil, about an hundred Canoes are daily laden at Mouree, bound for Axim and Acra.

At Mouree, about half a mile below Congo, stands our fort Nassaw, built by ourselves, which was our chief place of residence when the Portuguese had Elmina; and really if Elmina were not in being, we needed not to be ashamed to own this for our chief fort. It is almost square, the front being somewhat the broadest; it is provided with four batteries and eighteen pieces of cannon; the walls are higher than those of any fort, except Elmina, upon the whole coast; the curtain takes in the two sea-batteries, and is so spacious and convenient, that we might easily make such a battery as the English have at Cabocors: but its greatest ornaments and conveniences are the four towers placed at its four corners. To be short, this fort is next Elmina, which is our best. It was formerly garrisoned by seventy or eighty men; whose number at present is very much diminished, though there are enough still left to defend it against the Negroes.

The village Mouree, lying under it, is not so large as Elmina, but more populous; the greatest part of its inhabitants are fishermen, who go out every morning four or five hundred Canoes to fish, and, upon their return, are obliged to pay the fifth fish as a toll to our factor, who governs this town. This sort of toll we yet reserve at three places besides, viz. at Axim, Chama, and Elmina, by reason we have conquered these places, though I dare not affirm that of Mouree. No other Europeans have this pe-

culiar

culiar prerogative, nor do any of them exercise such a sovereign authority over their Negro subjects as we; which is indeed chiefly their own fault, and, by their means, we have also lost some of our former power.

Before I leave Saboe, I must inform you, that its natives have been longest known to our Company, whose directors have seen two of their ambassadors at Amsterdam, though so long ago, that I know nothing of their reception or their errand to Holland; of both which the present King is as ignorant as myself.

I designed to have ended this letter with the Saboan county, but having time enough on my hands to describe the Fantynean land, I shall take this opportunity to do it. This country borders on the west of Saboe, the Iron Mount, half a mile below Mouree, being its extremity: this hill is about a quarter of a mile long, and hath on its highest part a charming walk so thickly shaded with trees, that the light is obscured at noon-day. From the foot of this hill Fantyn extends itself about nine or ten miles along the sea-side, being also some miles broad.

The English have a fort in this country, besides three lodges, as we have a fort here also. The first English flag which offers itself to our view in our descent, is at Ingenian, where the entire garrison consists of *one whole English-man*, who lies here: Is it possible for him to preserve the honour of the flag?

Half a mile below this, at Annamabo, the English have a small, but very neat, compact fort; near which, the road is always full of English ships. This place would afford a considerable gold and slave-trade, if the English interlopers did not carry it very near all, and the Zeland interlopers are sure to make use of what opportunity the others leave.

The English here are so horribly plagued by the Fantynean Negroes, that they are sometimes even confined to their fort, not being permitted to stir out. And if the Negroes dislike the governor of the fort, they usually send him in a Canoe in contempt to Cabocors; nor are the English able to oppose or prevent it, but are obliged to make their peace by a present. The town Annamabo may very well pass for the strongest on the whole coast, affording as many armed men as the whole kingdom of Saboe or Commany; and yet in proportion but a fifth part of Fantyn.

If the Fantyncans were not in perpetual civil divisions, the circumjacent countries would soon find their power by the irruptions into their territories. Besides that this land is so populous, it is very rich in gold, slaves, and all sorts of necessities of life; but more especially corn, which they sell in large quantities to the English ships. This great opulency has rendered them so arrogant and haughty, that an European who would traffic with them is obliged to stand bare to them.

Here is no king, the government being in the hands of a chief commander, whom they call their Brasso, a word importing leader. He is a sort of chief governor, and has the greatest power of any in the whole land, but is somewhat closely restrained by the old men, who are a sort of national counsellors, not unlike some European parliament, acting perfectly according to their inclinations, without consulting the Brasso; besides these, every part of Fantyn hath also its particular chief, who will sometimes scarce own himself subject to the Brasso, who hath the ineffectual name of supreme power.

The inland inhabitants, besides trading, are employed in tillage and drawing of palm-wine: of which they have a sort here called Quaker (which signifies the same as in English), from its extraordinary exhilarating qualities, which are experienced by those who take large draughts of it; it is sold at double the price of the common sort, and so greedily bought up, that there is seldom enough for the demand.

The

The Negroes of Fantyn drive a very great trade with all forts of interlopers, and that freely and boldly in the sight of both nations; I mean the English and Dutch, neither of them daring to hinder it: for if they should attempt it, it would ruin them there, we not having the least power over this nation. There are, I believe, four thousand fishermen in this country.

But to proceed on our journey; about half a mile farther, we come to Adja, a village, where, as well as formerly at Annamabo, we had a fort, till by treachery we were forced out of it by the English, who being jointly engarrisoned with our men, treated them in a barbarous and cruel manner. The English have planted their flag upon a Negro's house here, and their Company hath one factor here to buy millet of the Fentyneans for their slave-ships; but he finding greater profit in trading with the interlopers, can spare his master's ships but a small share.

A little lower, just at the village, justly called Little Cormantyn, stand four fortresses Amsterdam, the chief residence of the English, till they were driven from thence by Admiral De Ruyter, anno 1665. This fort being sufficiently large, is strengthened by three small and a fine large battery, containing twenty pieces of cannon. The governor set over this fort is a chief factor, as that of Mouree. A moderate charge would very much improve this fortress; but the commerce of the place not being sufficient to bear the expence, it is better to let it alone. This village is so small and wretchedly poor, it is not worth our thoughts. But Great Cormantyn, a town which lies a cannon-shot below our fort upon a high hill, is so large and populous, that it very well deserves the name of great: all the inhabitants, besides mercantile traders, are fishermen, amounting to the number of seven or eight hundred, and sometimes one thousand. From this place the country of Fantyn reaches seven or eight miles on the shore, being all the way replenished with small villages, very pleasant to observe in passing by in a Canoa.

At the end of Fantyn, the English, two years past, planted another flag, and began to build a fort; whether their expectations were not satisfied, or they could not agree with the Negroes, is uncertain, but at present they are endeavouring to remove all the materials from thence, which the Negro commander-in-chief hath hitherto hindered; and how it will end, time must discover.

From what I have said, you may be informed what places the English and we possess in Fantyn, both of us having an equal power, that is, none at all. For when these people are inclined to it, they shut up all the passages so close that not one merchant can possibly come from the in-land country to trade with us, and sometimes, not content with this, they prevent the bringing provisions to us, till we have made peace with them. They have a hank upon us, we having formerly contracted to give them a good sum of ready money, besides 300 guilders for every one of the Company's ships which for the future should bring any goods hither, in consideration of their aid in the taking Fort Amsterdam, and other auxiliary assistance: but in this contract it was particularly stipulated, that slave-ships should be excepted from paying any thing; notwithstanding which they are now become so unreasonable, that they will make no difference between slave-ships and others, obliging us equally to pay for all; and all our remonstrances that it is contrary to the treaty are wholly ineffectual, for if we will live at quiet, we are always obliged to humour them. They also extort a good sum from the English yearly; in short, they treat us both alike. But having said enough for this time, I desire you to accept the repeated assurances of my service, &c.

LETTER V. — *Describing the Country of Acron, and our Fort there; Agonna, and the English Fort there; and lastly, the great Kingdom of Aquamboe, and the English, Danish, and Dutch Forts in it; together with some remarkable Events in that Country.*

SIR,

MY last of the 27th — concluded with Fantyn. The yet undescribed remainder of the Gold Coast contains the three following kingdoms, viz. Acron, Agonna, and Aquamboe. The first whereof borders on the Fanynean country; and in the middle of it, at the village Apam, in the year 1697, we began to build a small fort, or rather house, now fortified with two batteries: to this we have given the name of Fort Leydsamheyd, i. e. Patience, because we met with sufficient opportunity of exercising that virtue in building it, by the frequent oppositions of the Negroes. Our chief factor there, by the deadness of trade, and the depraved nature of the inhabitants, is so perplexed, that he hath enough to do to keep his temper. I never was so deceived in my expectation as by these Natives; they appeared so well at first, that by my advice the building of this fort was very much expedited, but I soon enough repented of it. Upon the two batteries are eight pieces of cannon, but its greatest strength and ornament is derived from a fine turret before it.

The village which lies under it is very little, and formerly, as well as now, only inhabited by fishermen. But this place, as well as all Acron, is very conveniently situated for trade; and if the natives were more tractable, might in few years become a populous town. Acron, as I told you, is a kingdom; but its King under the protection of his principal subjects, especially his nephew and general: this is a most pernicious villain, whose savage humour occasioned all the differences we have had, and the opposition we have met with here. I have several times discoursed with him, and though I could not discover any capacity in him that he was a man of the least judgment, yet the whole council turns upon and centers in him. The rest of the chiefs are all very good men, and are not for pushing on war. The King, who is about seventy years of age, is an extraordinary good-natured man, with whom I have often been very merry: he is thought to be the richest prince in ready-money on the whole coast (except the King of Aquamboe), and yet I have observed him so meanly robed, that all he had about him was not worth half a crown.

The people of Acron seldom or never enter into war; for having chosen the Fanyneans for their protectors, none dare injure or attack them; by which they have a very good opportunity of tilling their land in quiet; and they accordingly husband their time and ground so well, that every year produceth a plentiful harvest, a great part of which crop they dispose of to other countries. Harts, hares, partridges, pheasants, and other wild-fowl and quadrupeds are here in great abundance, and very good. About three or four months past, three or four friends and myself had the diversion of taking a hare in a manner not very common. Behind our fort, which is built on a hill, is a vale about a mile square, where there were abundance of hay-cocks; here, about twilight we met a young hare, that, being pursued by my dog, took refuge in a hay-cock; in which, though we made a diligent search, we could not find him, till at last burning the hay-cock, to our mighty surprize, we found the hare sitting under the ashes of the hay unhurt, and carried her alive with us to Elmina. From this accident, and the vast quantities of hares, I question not but a good pack of exquisite hunters would have very good sport here.

Acron is divided into Little and Great Acron. Little Acron is that which we have described: Great Acron is further in-land, and its government is a sort of republic, if not anarchy; and though these are two countries, and have no dependance on each other, yet they live in perfect amity.

A little below our fort a salt river takes its course in-land about a mile, which abounds both in fish and fowl, and is consequently very pleasant.

About a mile further eastward, in the country of Agonna, is a very high hill, called Monte de Diable, or Devil's Mount; to whom it is often presented by the seamen, because being very high, they often see it at a distance, long before they can reach it, when the wind is contrary. This hill is reported to be enriched with vast quantities of gold; of which it is also affirmed, that the Agonnasian Negroes, after violent showers, gathered it to a considerable value, the rain having washed it off with the sand. This year one Mr. Baggs died at Cabocors, who was agent for the English, and entrusted with a more ample commission than any of his predecessors, or the three together who used to govern, had been charged with for several years. This extensive commission, if we may believe the English, was given him by the directors of the African Company, because he had informed them of, and promised to dig gold, or gold ore, out of this hill, and send it over to them. To this purpose he brought all manner of necessary instruments along with him. But I am certain if he had pursued his design effectually, the Agonnasians would have treated him and his men as ill as the Commanians did us; which, I believe, his successors will wisely consider.

Agonna begins with or about this hill, and is at present, as it hath for some time past, been governed by a woman, with as much courage and conduct as other countries are ruled by men. I do not remember any other kingdom among the Negroes where the supremacy descends to females as well as males. This governess is so wise, that to keep the government entirely in her own hands, she lives unmarried. But that she may not remain a perfect stranger to the soft passion, she generally buys a brisk jolly slave, with whom she diverts herself; prohibiting him, on forfeiture of his head, to intrigue with any other woman: and when the youth has lost his charms, or her passion palls, he is exchanged for another, though some will not allow her so honourable as to be satisfied with one at a time; if she should, it would discover a natural chastity and virtue, since, checked by no religion or law, she is so perfectly mistress of her favours, that she may confer them on whom she pleaseth without fear or scandal.

About the middle of Agonna the English built a small fort in the year 1694; it is covered with a flat roof, and hath four batteries, so large that a man may easily leap over them without a stick; and the guns are of a proportionable bigness, one of them discharging a half pound ball: in short, it is like our forts at Boutry, Zaconde, Chama, and Apam, and theirs at Dickjeschoof, a fort which wants another to defend it. The adjacent village, by some called Wimba and others Simpa, is about as large as other villages commonly are, chiefly inhabited by fishermen, and very agreeably situated amongst trees. Trade is here at as low an ebb as at Apam; but when the wars in the in-land country come to an end, both places will be found well situate for commerce.

Agonna surpasses Acron in largeness, power, and riches; though in fertility and pleasantness they are very near equal, only the former is adorned with a beautiful large fresh river, which both the English and Negroes affirm to abound as plentifully with oysters and other fish, and all sorts of apes, as any on the whole coast. Having not observed it myself, I am obliged to relate this on report.

We

We come next to the last country on the Gold Coast, namely, that of Aquamboe; the greatest part of which is situated in-land; but I shall describe it among the kingdoms of the coast, because we have a daily and considerable traffic with them; and their King extends his power over the Negroes of the coast above twenty miles; and notwithstanding these are governed by several Kings, I shall venture to add them to his territories, he equally exercising an unlimited sovereignty over them and his own subjects. His arbitrary despotic power occasions the proverbial saying, that there are only two sorts of men in Aquamboe, of which the King and his friends are one, and their slaves the other; so that he wants no other attendants than those of his own house.

The Aquamboe Negroes are very haughty, arrogant, and warlike; their power is also very terrible to all their neighbouring countries, except Akim: the nations under their power are miserably tormented with the daily plundering, or rather robbing visits, the Aquamboan soldiers make them, they not daring to oppose them in the least, for fear the King, who never fails severely to revenge his soldiers' quarrels, should hear of it. Some time past the Aquamboan government was administered by two, viz. the old and young King, though the latter is excluded on pretence of his minority, by his father's brother, assisted by his own mother, so that the uncle reigned in conjunction with his father. This double hierarchy was found extremely prejudicial to the subjects, who were sure to suffer from the one as well as the other tyrant; till the year 1699, when the old King dying, the young one established himself solely on the throne, utterly excluding the other, and reigning at present. The old King was a man of a wicked abject temper, and an inveterate enemy to the Europeans; and though he received from the English, Danes, and us, an ounce of gold, in recognition of the liberty given us by his predecessors to build in his dominions; yet he horridly plagued us, and that in so unreasonable a manner, that if he did but fancy any of us had injured him, he was sure to oblige us all three to satisfaction, by shutting up the passes so closely, that not so much as a single merchant could get to us: so that it is not to be doubted but his death hath, and will contribute to the advancement of the European trade here; the present King being a more intelligent and rational Negro, as well as a friend to the Europeans, especially the Hollanders; which plainly appeared in his dangerous illness, that his country-physicians could not cure, for then he confidently entrusted himself in our hands, coming in person to our fort with a few of his attendants, and resided there for some time, being roughly enough handled by our barber, but luckily almost cured: his distemper being of that nature, that he cannot expect to be entirely freed from its effects; and he is accordingly at present not only incapable of procreating children, but of the enjoyment of any of his wives; of which he hath a large number.

Excessive venery in his youth occasioned his indisposition; his wives who endeavoured to restrain him he rewarded with broken heads, though he hath too late sufficiently repented of it; and it is indeed a pity, for he is a clean well-shaped Negroe, and in the flower of his age.

In the time of the old King, we were very desirous to build a fort, and accordingly begun it at the village Ponni, at the end of the Gold Coast. But when our ship with building materials arrived at Acra, being informed that Ado was gone with his army against the enemies, for fear the old King should too much impose on us, we desisted; in which we were very fortunate by reason we should only have put ourselves to unnecessary expence, for at this time we find the trade not so considerable as was pretended, and that a lodge with a man or two are sufficient: wherefore, without a very great alteration of the posture of affairs, I do not believe that a fort will ever be built there.

I have

I have before hinted to you, that we, as well as the English and Danes, have a fort at Acra; all which three may be reckoned amongst the best forts on the coast. Steering our course eastwards, the first we meet with in our way is that of the English, which is a well-built square fort, with four batteries; its walls high and thick, especially on that side towards us somewhat thicker than ordinary: it is furnished with twenty-five pieces, the greatest part of which are so small and slight, that if they should be attacked they would do very well to exchange them for twelve good heavy guns. This, like all the English forts, is very meanly garrisoned, as if it were sufficient to build forts, furnish them with cannon and necessary provisions, without men, in which the English are every where deficient; and it were well if others did not follow too closely their example. But of that no more at present, not doubting but those whom it concerns will in time amend that fault.

Within cannon-shot below this, lies our fort Creveceur; how proper it is for the residence of a chief governor, the trade thereabouts will decide. This fort surpasses the English in largeness and good guns, though about equal in strength, except only that our walls are thinner than theirs, and consequently cannot endure so great a shock; and indeed it is to be wished that we may live in peace with that nation, for if it should happen otherwise, both have here a convenient opportunity of continually exchanging very rough and warm salutations.

Exactly a cannon-shot below ours stands the Danish fort Christiaansburg; the only one they have on this coast, which was taken from them by the Negroes, anno 1693, when they entirely stripped it and kept it for some time. This misfortune of the Danes was occasioned by the death of several of their garrison; and though we could not but bemoan their hard fate, yet it was really diverting to observe what work the Negroes made with the fortress; their commander Affammeni dressed himself in the Danish governor's habit, and caused himself to be complimented by that name; in acting which part he occasioned several very comical scenes; he thundered at all the English and Zealandish interlopers by way of salute with his cannon, as if there would never be an end of the powder, and remained in possession of the fort till two Danish ships arrived on the coast, when, by means of a very considerable present to the King of Aquamboe, but more especially by our intercession, it was re-delivered to them; which service they afterwards as basely as ungratefully rewarded, but they were no great gainers by it; for to garrison their fort, they were obliged to leave their ships so poorly manned, that they became a prey to the pirates in the sight of Guinea.

This fort would be too strong for the united force of the English fort and ours. It is a square building, strengthened with four batteries, and to the best of my memory twenty guns. It appears very beautiful, and looks as if it were but one continued battery, as it is really in effect; for the roof being entirely flat, the cannon may conveniently be planted on all parts of it.

It is now time to proceed to the more in-land part of Aquamboe. Though the English, Danes, and we have forts here, yet our authority is very small, and confined within our own walls, so that the forts only serve to defend ourselves; for if we should make any attempts on the Negroes, they would certainly end in our destruction.

Each fort hath its adjacent village, distinguished by its particular name, though the general one is Acra, the name of this country, which was formerly a kingdom, whose inhabitants were conquered by the Aquamboans, and driven to a place called Little Popo, which at present contains the remainder of the great kingdom of Acra.

It might be reasonably conjectured, that the three several companies trading here, might be apt so to clash with one another that it might be fatal to the whole commerce; but

but experience proves the contrary ; for here is such great plenty of gold and slaves, that no one is in danger of wanting his share, and each is stocked with commodities which the other hath not, which very often tends to the promotion of trade.

At this place alone sometimes more gold is received than on the whole coast besides ; and its traffic would be yet enlarged, if the Negroes of Aquamboe and Akim could agree, as they generally are at difference, the latter pretending a feudal right over the former, and subsequent thereto, demanding an annual tribute of them, which the Aquamboans will by no means submit to ; as knowing very well that a concession of that nature may in time cost them their whole country. But the King is subtle enough to know how by fair words and presents to sow dissensions betwixt the governing men of Akim, and thereby preserve his dominions in peace and a prosperous trade.

Having formerly hinted the extent of this country, I shall now add, that the King and his nobles, or rather favourites, are so very rich in gold and slaves, that I am of opinion this country singly possesseth greater treasures than all those we have hitherto described taken together : the chief employments of the inhabitants are merchandize, agriculture and war ; to which last they are particularly addicted.

Though the soil is sufficiently fertile, yet they commonly fall short of provisions towards the latter end of the year, and are accordingly obliged to fetch them from other places.

They do not trouble themselves with fishing, nor with the boiling of salt, though this country affords a vast plenty of it ; that they leave to the Coast Negroes, who are either born here, or come from other places hither to live, and are very numerous and serve to people several fine towns ; these, not content with fishing and the preparation of salt, drive as considerable trade with foreign ships as those of Axim and Fantyn. The number of slaves sold here at least equals what are disposed of on the whole coast (Annamabo not excepted) ; this country being continually in war with some of the circumjacent nations, who are very populous, and from whom they take a vast number of prisoners ; most of which they sell to the Europeans.

If I have before talked of Negroes who followed the wars, you must not from thence infer that they make that their whole employment : no, it is but one part I assure you, and all the Negroes in general are soldiers as long as the war continues, if at least they are but able to buy arms, or their masters bestow any on them ; and the war ended, each applies himself to his particular calling : but if there happens to be any of such a turbulent nature that they cannot live out of the camp, they go to serve in the neighbouring wars ; and these are in a stricter sense called soldiers. Amongst the fishermen there are very few soldiers, for they living upon the shore and under our protection, are not frequently attacked by enemies, and therefore are seldom furnished with arms.

Having run through the whole Gold Coast ; I shall now, sir, allow you time to entertain yourself with its description, designing in my next to inform you of the in-land countries whence the gold is brought to the coast, as far as they have fallen under my cognizance : in the mean-time, I hope what I have already done hath afforded you some satisfaction ; in which expectation I remain, sir, yours, &c.

LETTER VI. — *Treating of the Countries where the gold is digged; the cruel Wars and utter Destruction of some of them. — The Negroes Manner of searching for Gold. — The several sorts of Gold. — How false Gold is bought, and how detected. — Of Gold Weights: and, lastly, a Reflection concerning the digging of Gold; that it is feasible to be done more successfully and to a better Advantage by the Europeans.*

SIR,

BE pleased to accept this as a performance of my promise to describe those countries from whence the gold is brought: to which I shall add, the manner how gold is found or digged; the several species of it, and the weights it is weighed by: an account of the false gold, and whatever else falls under that head.

The first country which produceth gold is Dinkira, situate so far in-land that our servants are commonly five days in going from Elmina to it, and from Axim it is above ten days journey; not so much on account of its real distance from either place, as because of the badness of the roads, to a degree which frequently obliges them to go double the compass of ground, that would otherwise be necessary; and that the Negroes either cannot or will not help.

This country, formerly restrained to a small compass of land, and containing but an inconsiderable number of inhabitants, is, by their valour, so improved in power, that they are respected and honoured by all their neighbouring nations; all which they have taught to fear them, except Afiante and Akim, who are yet stronger than they.

They are possessed of vast treasures of gold, besides what their own mines supply them with; either by plunder from others, or their own commerce; in which they are abundantly more expert than any other Negro: besides which they have three countries in subjection to them; each of which produces some, though not so much gold, viz. Wassa, Encaffé, and Juffer; each of these borders upon one another, and the last upon Commany. The gold of these countries, their own, and what they brought from other parts, satisfied the demand of the whole coast from Axim to Zaconde, about three years past, during the Commanian wars: but since our peace with the Commanians, the roads being free and open to the merchants, the distance of several places from them, makes them not travel farther at present than to Chama, Commany, Elmina, and Cabocors: wherefore the higher coast is not extraordinarily supplied with gold; for though there are some countries betwixt Dinkira and them which have gold mines; to instance, in Eguira and Adom, besides Abocroe and Ancober, which also have a small share; yet all added together will not amount to a quantity sufficient to supply all the upper forts. In the year 1694, I heard the Brandenburghers complain that they could not receive two marks of gold in a whole month's time; nor did we fare much better in our forts, trade being extremely dull at that time.

The gold which is brought us by the Dinkirans is very pure, except only that it is too much mixed with Fetiches, which are a sort of artificial gold, composed of several ingredients; among which some of them are very oddly shaped: these Fetiches they cast, in moulds made of a sort of black and heavy earth, into what form they please; and this artificial gold is frequently mixed with a third part, and sometimes with half silver and copper, and consequently less worth, and yet we are pestered with it on all parts of the Coast; and if we refuse to receive it, some Negroes are so unreasonable that they will undeniably take back all their pure gold: so that we are obliged sometimes to suffer to shuffle in some of it. There are also Fetiches cast of unalloyed

mountain gold; which very seldom come to our hands, because they keep them to adorn themselves: so that if ever we meet with them, those who part with them are obliged to it by necessity, or they are filled with the mentioned black heavy earth; with which the unskilful are liable to be badly cheated, receiving instead of gold frequently half the weight in this sort of earth.

By what hath been said, you may imagine how rich and potent the kingdom of Dinkira was. But a few months past it was so entirely destroyed, that it lies at present desolate and waste. Certainly it cannot be unpleasant to inform you how such a fatal and sudden destruction fell upon this so potent a land, as well as whence their ruin proceeded; which I am obliged to take from the report of some of the Negroes; and the event hath given me sufficient reason to believe they told truth.

Dinkira, elevated by its great riches and power, became so arrogant, that it looked on all other Negroes with a contemptible eye, esteeming them no more than its slaves; which rendered it the object of their common hatred, each impatiently wishing its downfall; though no nation was so hardy as to attack it, till the King of Asiante, injured and affronted by its governor, adventured to revenge himself on this nation in a signal manner.

The occasion of which was this: Bosiante, the King of Dinkira, a young prince, whose valour was become the admiration of all the Negroes of the Coast, sent some of his wives to compliment Zay, the King of Asiante; who not only received and entertained them very civilly, but sent them back charged with several very considerable presents to express his obliging resentment of the grateful embassy: and being resolved to return his obligation, he some time after sent some of his wives to compliment the King of Dinkira, and assure him of the great esteem he had for his person. These Ambassadors were not less splendidly treated at Dinkira, being also loaded with presents; but the King cast a wanton eye upon one of them; and hurried on by exorbitant lust, gratified his brutal desire: after satiating of which, he suffered her, together with the rest, to return to their country, and their injured husband, who was informed of this affront: but he took care to make the King of Dinkira sensible, that he would not rest till he had washed away the scandal in his injurious blood. After he was made sensible of the King of Asiante's resolution, knowing very well whom he had to deal with, he heartily wished he had not been guilty of the crime; but since it was done, he offered him several hundred marks of gold to put up the injury. The enraged Prince, deaf to all such offers, prepared himself for a vigorous war, by raising a strong army, in order to make a descent on Dinkira; and not being sufficiently stored with gunpowder, he bought up great quantities on the Coast. The Dinkirans being foolish enough to assist him themselves, suffered his subjects to pass with it uninterrupted through their country, notwithstanding they knew very well it was only designed for their destruction. Whilst he was making these preparations, the King of Dinkira died; which might encourage a belief that the impending cloud of war would blow over. Whether the governors of Dinkira were too haughty to implore a peace of the injured Zay, or he instigated by the enemies of that country, is uncertain: but he still immoveably persisted in his purpose of utterly extirpating the Dinkirans. And about the beginning of this year, being completely ready, he came with a terrible army into the field; and engaging the Dinkirans, who expected him, he beat them; but fighting them a second time, he entirely defeated them. The Negroes report, that in these two battles above a hundred thousand men were killed: of the Negroes of Akim only, who came to the assistance of the Dinkirans, there were about thirty thousand killed; besides that a great Caboceer of Akim, with all his men, were cut off.

off. What think you, Sir? These are other sorts of battles than are usually fought betwixt the Kings here; who, if they should oblige all their subjects, even the lame, decrepit and blind to come into the field, could not raise such a number. The plunder after this victory took up the Afiantines fifteen days time, as is said, but perhaps largely enough; that Zay's booty alone amounted to several thousand marks of gold, as is affirmed by one of our European officers, who was sent on some embassy to Zay, and says he had several times seen the treasure. This messenger of ours, who is now in the Afiantean camp, hath orders to take an exact account of what he hears and sees there; of which I wish I had a transcript, which I doubt not would furnish some extraordinary matter: but to defer this to another time. Thus you see the towering pride of Dinkira in ashes, they being forced to fly before those, whom they not long before thought no better than their slaves, and themselves being now sold for slaves. We have not yet received the particulars of this whole affair; but this account of it coming to hand, I thought fit to impart it to you.

Next Dinkira, we come in order to the description of Acanny, whose inhabitants, long before the Dinkirans, were famed for great traders; and brought the gold of Afiante and Akim, together with some of their own, hither to market: and that which they vended was always so pure and fine, that to this day the best gold is called by the Negroes, Acanni Sica, or Acanny gold. They usually came in company with the inhabitants of Cabesterra, a country between them and Saboe, with their goods to Elmina, Cabocors, Mouree, Annamabo, Cormantim, and as far as the English village Simpa. Their gold was never mixed with Fetiches, like that of Dinkira, and therefore much more valuable; but they were very troublesome to deal withal, though not so peevish and positive as those of Dinkira, and always obliged us to comply with their own humour: but for three years past we have not much reason to complain of them, they not having traded for much: for they, on what account I am ignorant, falling out with the Dinkirans, were so beaten that all their governing men, and no small number of the inferior people, were killed and taken prisoners; to redeem which out of slavery, they were obliged to strip themselves of all they were possessed of in the world; by which means they were reduced to the utmost poverty and inability to defend themselves: but the Dinkirans themselves being now ruined, as well as they, and having declared for the King of Afiante, perhaps these may recover some of their ancient lustre.

Akim is the next in our way, which furnishes as large quantities of gold as any land that I know; and that also the most valuable and pure of any that is carried from this Coast: it is easily distinguished by its deep colour. Acra at present carries away the greatest part of this metal from hence; and from the Acrians also we have it very good and pure, without Fetiches or Kakeraas. Having several times heard that Akim was an extraordinary large country, I once took the opportunity of asking some of the Akimese how many days journey their country was; they replied, that very few natives knew how far it extended in-land towards the Barbary Coast; which, according to what they told me, was incredible. This country, for as far as it is known to us, was formerly under a monarchical government; but the present successor being yet but young, and betraying but too palpable signs of a cruel nature, hath not been able to make himself master of the whole land, but is obliged to be content with a part: for the governing men of the kingdom, fearing he will prove a great tyrant, to restrain him, have taken a part of the administration into their hands: so that it is a sort of commonwealth, which proves very well for Acanny and Aquamboe; for if the govern-

ment became monarchical, no divisions would arise amongst them, and they would be at leisure to prey on their neighbours.

We have always esteemed the three mentioned countries the richest in gold, but that there certainly are several more is undeniable. *Afiante* is a convincing proof of this, which being but lately known to us, we find to afford more gold than *Dinkira*; also *Ananse*, a country situate betwixt *Afiante* and *Dinkira*, as there are undoubtedly many more, with which we are yet utterly unacquainted.

Awine must not here be forgotten. I take it to be the very first on the Gold Coast, and to lie far above *Axim*. From the inhabitants of this country we formerly used to receive large quantities of fine and pure gold; and they being the civilest and fairest dealers of all the Negroes, we traded with them with a great deal of pleasure, but the *Dinkirans*, who would lord it over all their neighbouring nations, subdued this; since which time we have not received much gold of them. In the conquest of this land, the *Dinkirans* made a brave and obstinate resistance, and had no doubt been subdued themselves if the natives of *Awine* could have been unanimous; for the *Dinkirans* in one battle with a governor of theirs lost above two thousand men, and left the mentioned governor such an absolute victory, that there was not a single person left to carry the news to *Dinkira*, they being all killed with poisoned arrows, which the *Awinese* know very well how to use. Upon this defeat the *Dinkirans* got together a large army, which the victorious *Awinese* understanding, sent to his country-men for farther assistance; instead of which he met with nothing but derision, they accusing him of cowardice; and replying, that he was able to beat the *Dinkirans*, but if he was beaten then it was their turn to come and fight them man by man. Thus fighting one against one they lost their country and themselves entirely, almost in the same manner that the Chinese were conquered by the Tartars, whereas if they would have united they might easily have beaten the *Dinkirans*.

From what I have said you may collect, that the gold is brought to us on the coast from in-land countries; and from the little that hath been hinted, you may also imagine how they are situated. I cannot inform you better, because the Negroes cannot give any certain account of them, nor do any of our people go so far: wherefore, I must beg of you, my good friend, to be contented, and turn your eyes to what I shall present you concerning the gold itself.

There is no small number of men in Europe who believe that the gold-mines are in our power; that we, like the Spaniards in the West Indies, have no more to do but to work them by our slaves: though you perfectly know we have no manner of access to these treasures, nor do I believe that any of our people have ever seen one of them: which you will easily credit, when you are informed that the Negroes esteem them sacred, and consequently take all possible care to keep us from them. But to come nearer the subject: this illustrious metal is generally found in three sorts of places: first, the best is found in or betwixt particular hills, and the Negroes apprehending where the gold is, dig pits, and separate it from the earth which comes out with it.

The second place is in, at, and about some rivers and water-falls, whose violence washeth down great quantities of earth, which carry the gold with it.

The third is on the sea-shore, where (as at *Elmina* and *Axim*), there are little branches or rivulets into which the gold is driven from mountainous places, as well as to the rivers; and after violent showers of rain in the night, next morning these places are sure to be visited by hundreds of Negro-women naked, except a cloth wrapped about them to hide what modesty obligeth. Each of these women is furnished with large and small troughs or tray, which they first fill full of earth and sand, which they

wash with repeated fresh water, till they have cleaned it from all its earth; and if there be any gold, its ponderosity forces it to the bottom of the trough; which if they find, it is thrown into the small tray, and so they go to washing it again, which operation generally holds them till noon: some of them not getting above the value of sixpence, some of them find pieces of six or seven shillings, though not frequently, and often they entirely lose their labour. Thus the digging of pits, the gathering it at or about the rivers, and this last mentioned manner, are all the ways they know to come at gold.

The gold thus digged or found, is of two sorts, one is called Dust-gold or Gold-dust; which is almost as fine as flower, and is the best, bearing also the greatest price in Europe: the other sort is in pieces of different sizes, some being hardly the weight of a farthing, others weighing as heavy as twenty or thirty guineas, though of the last sort not many occur. The Negroes indeed tell us, that in the country, pieces as heavy as one or two hundred guineas are found. These lumps or pieces are called Mountain-gold, which being melted, touch better than dust-gold; but the multitude of small stones which always adhere to them, occasion a great loss in the melting, for which reason gold-dust is most esteemed. Thus much of the good and pure gold, and now to touch upon the false. The first sort is that mixed with silver or copper, and cast into fetiches, of which I have before hinted: these fetiches are cut into small bits by the Negroes, about the worth of one, two or three farthings. It is a common proverb, "That you cannot buy much gold for a farthing," yet even with that value in gold you may here go to market and buy bread or fruit for your necessities. The Negro-women know the exact value of these bits so well at sight, that they never are mistaken; and accordingly they tell them to each other without weighing, as we do coined money. They are here called Kakeraas, the word expressing something of very little value, and the gold itself is indeed very little worth: for we cannot sell it in Europe for above forty shillings the ounce, and yet it passes current all over the coast; and our garrisons are paid their subsistence-money in it. And for this they may buy all sorts of edibles of the Negroes, who, mixing it with other gold, bring it to us again; and as soon as received, the clerks are ordered to pick it out of the other with which it is mixed; so that this stuff seems to pass backward and forward without the least diminution, notwithstanding large quantities of it are annually sent to Europe by the French and Portuguese, besides what we ourselves spend: but the Negroes making them faster than we export them, they are like to continue long enough.

The Negroes are very subtle artists in the sophisticating of gold: they can so neatly falsify and counterfeit the gold-dust and the mountain-gold, that several unexperienced traders are frequently cheated, and by bought experience are taught how to know gold. Some pieces are cast by them so artificially, that quite round for the thickness of a knife they are very fine gold, and the vacancy filled up with copper, or perhaps iron. This is a new-invented cheat of theirs; but the common false mountain-gold is a mixture of silver, copper, and a proportion of gold, extremely high-coloured, which very much facilitates the cheat: for being obliged to receive one or two pounds at a time, wherein the pieces happen to be very numerous, we cannot touch every one, and it looking so well, causeth it to pass unsuspected. Another sort of false gold is also frequent amongst them, which is nothing else than a certain powder of coral, which they cast and tinge so artificially, that it is impossible to distinguish it by any other difference than that of the weight. Of this powder they also make gold-dust, but chiefly of the filings of copper, to which they give a very good tincture; though all the false tinged gold in a month or two entirely loses its lustre, and then we begin

to find that it is false : in which we are happier than in those pieces covered over with gold ; for they remain as we receive them, without any alteration, and consequently that cheat is the most dangerous.

If you are desirous to know how it is possible to avoid the reception of false gold, especially if offered at night or morning, the methods we take are, first, if it is in large pieces, to cut them clear through with a knife, which immediately discovers what it is : if the piece be small, like mountain gold, lay them upon a stone, and beat them with a hammer ; and if made of coral, they will crumble into small parts ; but supposing it stand beating, you may afterwards try them with your knife ; but in the smallest bits and dust gold, this method is not practicable, though we have a tolerable way of distinguishing the coarse from the fine ; which is done by putting it into a copper basin, and winnowing it with the fingers, and blowing it very strongly ; by which means the false gold will fly away, and the true fall into and continue in the basin : upon repeating this trial three or four times, the false is easily separated from the good.

It affords us matter of diversion to observe, that most of the raw inexperienced people (especially sea-faring men) who come hither, always bring aqua-fortis along with them to prove gold ; but if these men remembered the common proverb, that there is no gold without dross, they would soon grow weary of their weak proof, and follow the methods above-mentioned.

The sign by which they pretend to distinguish the false from the true gold is, that after they have put it into a glass or earthen vessel, they pour aqua-fortis upon it ; which, if it be false, discovers it by its ebullition ; and if mixed with false gold, by turning green. A miserable trial indeed ! which they will soon be convinced of : for example, if they take the value of four pounds in gold, a seventh, eighth, or tenth part of which is false, and pour their aqua-fortis upon it, let them, I say, observe whether their aqua-fortis doth not produce the same effect, though in less degree, as it would if the whole mass were false ; for which reason their proof is very uncertain, and the more impracticable, because the operation is too tedious, and besides very prejudicial to trade, to refuse the good gold on account of an eighth or tenth part being false. I can assure you, that the present times will not admit of such useless niceness. Wherefore the mentioned proof, by winnowing with the copper basin, being sufficient to defend us against false gold, is much to be preferred before melting it with aqua-fortis, and being at the trouble of drying it again ; which the Negroes that have good gold would scarce suffer.

Having treated of gold at large, I am now obliged to say something concerning the gold weights, which are either pounds, marks, ounces, or angels. In Europe, twenty angels make one ounce, though here but sixteen go to an ounce : here are also Pesoes and Bendoes ; the former of which contain four angels, and the latter two ounces ; as four Bendoes make one mark, and two marks one pound of gold, computed according to the common value, exactly six hundred and sixty gilders ; though this at several times differs in proportion, its worth depending on its goodness, and its rising and falling in Europe. Notwithstanding all this, we constantly here reckon three marks of pure or good gold worth one thousand gilders, and consequently judge of the other weights in the proportion which they bear to this quantity. We use here another kind of weights, which are a sort of beans, the least of which are red, spotted with black, and are called Dambas ; twenty-four of them amounting to an angel, and each of them reckoned two stiver weights : the white beans, with black spots, or those entirely black, are heavier, and accounted four stiver weights ; these they usually call Tacoes ; but there are some which weigh half or a whole gilder ; but these are not esteemed certain weights,

weights, but used at pleasure, and often become instruments of fraud. Several have believed that the Negroes only used wooden weights, but it is a mistake, all of them having cast weights, either of copper or tin, which, though divided or adjusted in a manner quite different to ours, yet upon reduction agree exactly with them.

My thoughts being taken up in describing the weights, I forget to inform you how the gold is digged or found. I would refer to any intelligent metallist, whether a vast deal of ore must not of necessity be lost here, from which a great deal of gold might be separated, for want of skill in the metallic art; and not only so, but I firmly believe that large quantities of pure gold are left behind; for the Negroes only ignorantly dig at random, without the least knowledge of the veins of the mine. And I doubt not, but if this country belonged to the Europeans, they would soon find it to produce much richer treasures than the Negroes obtain from it; but it is not probable we shall ever possess that liberty here, wherefore we must be content with being so far masters of it as we are at present: which, if very well and prudently managed, would turn to a very great account, of which I wish you no small share, and myself a long continuance of life to spend in your service, &c.

LETTER VII.—*Containing a Computation how much Gold is annually exported from this Country; to what Places it is transported; and the Division of the Trade with the Negroes.—What Officers are appointed in our Service; and the Names of other Employments: together with a general List of the whole: and, lastly, by way of Conclusion, a Description of the Government of the Coast, and of the Council or Assembly of Counsellors.*

SIR,

MY last treated of the in-land countries from whence the gold was brought; how it was digged; its several sorts; the false gold, &c. To pursue our subject yet farther, as I have told you whence it is brought, it is but necessary I should inform you whither it is carried, and how much is yearly brought to the coast. As for the last, I dare affirm it as a real truth, that they not only can, but do yearly, in time of peace, deliver the quantity of seven thousand marks of gold. This is a large sum; but it is divided amongst so many, each being sure to get some, that the whole is soon disposed of. The most just calculation of the division that I can possibly make, is as follows: viz.

	Marks.
Our West India Company yearly exports	1500
The English African Company	1200

But this is to be understood of such years in which the commerce of both Companies happens to be very brisk; and I do not believe our Company hath, for several years past, carried off above the half of this quantity.

The Zealand interlopers are sure to carry off as much yearly as our Company:

	Namely,	1500
The English interlopers about		1000

But the last have, for two or three years past, pursued this trade so vigorously, that they have exported above twice that quantity.

The Brandenburghers and Danes, in time of peace, both together, about	1000
The Portuguese and French together, at least, about	800

Which makes 7000

I say of the last at least eight hundred marks, and it is really true ; for the Portuguese come on this coast, on pretence of selling their American commodities, viz. Brazil tobacco, brandy, and rum, and are besides as richly laden as the interlopers themselves, which is not to be wondered at ; for they buy their lading, take their men on board, and fit out their ships in Holland : nay, to be short, they are frequently fitted out at the expence of Dutch merchants, wherein the Jews have no small hand, they knowing how to obtain a Portuguese pass : and these ships, when they come here to this coast, pass for downright Portuguese. How uneasy this must needs be to an honest officer in the Company's service you may easily imagine, when a factor, who commands one of our forts, shall receive certain advice, that several of the Negroe merchants are coming down, well-stored with gold, in order to lay it out with him, and that ere he arrives, is met by a Portuguese or interloper ; who, by selling cheap, sweeps a great part, if not all their gold, whilst we sit still with our goods on our hands, as if they were visited by the plague. I do not tell you more than I have, to my sorrow, experienced.

Thus I have made a rough calculation of the quantity of gold, which those who understand the affairs of the coast will, I doubt not, be pleased with ; but those unacquainted with this trade, may, perhaps, think I have computed wrong : if I happen to see these gentlemen, I shall civilly desire them to correct my computation ; which no one having yet attempted, it is imparted to you for your satisfaction, and to the best of my knowledge as near the truth as I could bring it.

According to our reckoning then, there is brought hither and carried off exactly twenty three tun of gold, reckoning three marks to one thousand guilders. But, as I told you, above all, this account supposeth a prosperous time when the passes are all open, and the merchants can pass safe and uninterrupted ; but when the Negroes are at war with one another, I do not believe that half this quantity is shipped off ; and of this small quantity the interlopers know very well how to come by their share. And supposing our Company hath one fifth of the whole, yet when trade is low they cannot get by it, but must make up the deficiency by trading to other coasts : but I hope, ere long, a way will be discovered of prosperously advancing our trade here, to the disadvantage of the interlopers, which I cannot think very difficult ; it consisting only in fixing a good government on the coast, and taking care in Holland that their ships be laden with good commodities, and proper for this place. However, I desire you would not from hence expect a particular of what merchandizes are most vendable here ; or that I should acquaint you with the state of trade here ; that would be utterly incompatible with the faithful service I owe our Company, I not knowing whether this Letter, by some unaccountable miscarriage, may not light into the hands of the interlopers, who know very well how to use it to their advantage : and indeed they sufficiently rob the Company of the right which the states have given them on this coast ; so that none of us ought to help them to further opportunities. Wherefore be pleased to satisfy yourself with an account in general, that to trade on this coast, about a hundred and fifty several sorts of commodities are necessary.

In my third letter you have been informed that the castle of St. George d'Elmina is our chief place on this coast, and that the general, principal governor, chief factor, and chief fiscal reside there ; before this castle also do all our ships which come from Europe cast anchor and unladen ; and we have accordingly very fine warehouses fitted for their reception. This great storehouse is entrusted to the charge of our chief factor, and is sometimes worth a very considerable sum ; and from hence all our other forts are supplied with their desired commodities. I would not have you conceive that

we set up a market with our wares, or send any of them to be sold without our forts : no, that is not our business ; but the Negroes come daily to our castle, or fort, with their gold ; for which, after it is weighed, assayed and purified, they receive our commodities ; none of which ever go out of our warehouses before they are paid for, and if the factor will give any credit, it is on his own account, and he is consequently liable for the value to the Company, that they may not thereby suffer ; nor can he charge the presents made to the Negro merchant to their account : but they, indeed, superadd a certain advance to all their factors ; from which they are not only enabled to make presents to the Negroes, but may be besides considerable annual gainers thereby, and this is done to encourage them to the more diligent service. Besides, the Negroes having neither carts, waggons, horses, nor any other way to carry the bought commodities to their in-land dwellings than by men, for about two or three hundred pounds value in iron, copper, or tin, have occasion for the assistance of fifty men : now whether there be not an advantage to be made of this by our men I leave you to judge, though the money got thereby is hardly enough earned, they being obliged for it to climb over hills and pass very bad ways. Those who come from the inward part of the country to traffic with us are chiefly slaves : one of which, on whom the master reposes the greatest trust, is appointed the chief of this caravan : but when he comes to us, he is not treated as a slave, but as a very great merchant, whom we take all possible care to oblige, as very well knowing that he being a peculiar favourite of his master, may at pleasure go to the English, Danes, and Brandenburgers, as well as come to us ; for which reason we pay him double the respect we should give his master.

Having heard what Negro chapmen we have to deal with, now let us consider what officers and servants are by the Company appointed on the other side ; and how many degrees of rising we have on the coast. I flatter myself that this will not prove disagreeable to you, because it will afford a prospect of what preferment your nephew may arrive to if he deport himself well.

First of all, here are the soldiers with their commanders ; out of which formerly the best qualified for merchandize and the pen were chosen to serve the Company as assistants ; by which means one with whom you and I are very well acquainted, hath found opportunity to advance himself to almost the highest post here. But for ten or eleven years last past this hath not happened ; because the gentlemen of the Company finding that not only those qualified, but such as were utterly incapable and idle drunkards, were promoted, have ordered for the future no soldiers should be preferred to the assistants places ; they may become corporals, serjeants, or officers, and stand fair for all offices amongst the train of workmen or in the sea-service ; but an assistant may, in process of time, be promoted to the government of the whole coast.

The office of assistant is the lowest among those concerned in trade or writing ; the salary appointed for this service is sixteen guilders per month, and twenty guilders more for board-wages : his first step to preferment is that of under-commissary or under-factor, with a salary of twenty-four guilders per month. By these sub-factors most of the gold is received ; for which they are accountable to the factor, or chief factor, or him to whom the trade of the place is entrusted in chief, who is also accountable to the Company ; the general accounts of the whole coast being kept at Elmina, where there is also a warehouse-keeper, who hath all moist goods, as wine, beer, and brandy, &c. all edibles, as flesh, peas, beans, oats, &c. under his keeping, and is entrusted with the sale of them : so that when a chief-factor or factor observes that his sub-factor or warehouse-keeper is inclined to extravagance, he is obliged to watch him very

narrowly ; for all that the Company suffer by him, the factor is obliged to make good : of which in less than four years past we have a fresh example, that one of my brethren, not unknown to you, in such a case was obliged to make good about seven or eight hundred pounds, which he had not in the least squandered. Thus a factor who hath such sort of men under him ought to look after them very carefully, or he may be ruined at once : it is true, indeed, that he hath his remedy against the guilty person ; but what can that avail if he hath neither effects or money ; which it rarely happens that any of these men have, for I do not believe that those who can live on their means in Holland will ever come to such a country as this ; nor is it very probable that their friends in Europe will make satisfaction for their follies : so that the factor's last refuge is to bring the offender to condign corporal punishment, which will not in the least contribute to his re-imbursement. Wherefore, as I said before, his best way is to look close after them, and stop them in the beginning of their extravagancies.

Out of the above-mentioned under-commissaries, the oldest in service, or the best qualified, are chosen commissaries or factors to reside at and command our out-forts, and take care of the trade there ; with a salary of thirty-six guilders, besides an allowance of ten guilders for a servant or two, and twenty guilders board-wages per month, besides the certain before-mentioned advance on the trade.

The oldest and most experienced of these factors is promoted to Mouree and Cormantyn, his salary being raised to eighty guilders per month ; supposing that upon being chosen by the council here, he be confirmed by the Company : who, not without good reason, have retained the supplying these important posts to themselves ; as they have also that of the chief factor of Elmina, or the second person upon the coast, who hath a salary of one hundred guilders per month. These chief factors have also the same advance on merchandizes and board-wages, as the other factors ; besides which the second person hath ten guilders per month allowed for a servant, and the general's or governor-general's table is at his service. The choice or confirmation of these chief factors being reserved to the Company, that upon the death of the governor, or second person, they may have others ready, of whose fidelity they are very well satisfied, to supply their places ; and the chief factor of Elmina having satisfactorily discharged that office three years, he may, if favoured by fortune, happen to be advanced (if it falls vacant) to the highest post of governor general, who is entrusted with the Company's authority over the whole coast ; of which he is director-general, with a salary of three hundred guilders per month, and a large perquisite advantage in whatever is traded on account of the Company on the whole coast : so that when commerce is in a flourishing condition here, his post is very advantageous.

Till within these two last years, the chief factors of Mouree and Cormantyn had also the advantage of the slave trade of Fida and Ardra, which turned to some account, and was indeed more advantageous to them than the gold trade ; the commerce there being at so low an ebb, that without the mentioned slave-traffic they could not live up to the port which the dignity of their posts required, without suffering by it. But since some ill-meaning men have prepossessed the directors of the Company in prejudice of them, by urging that by this means they became too rich ; for which reason they have thought fit to entrust the ~~slave-trade~~ to the masters of the ships which they send hither : the consequence of which time will discover ; but for my part I do not expect they will find it conduce much to their interest, for the commanders of ships, though very expert in all sea-affairs, yet being unacquainted with the Negroes, will not be able to succeed very well : besides that some of them are of such a boorish nature, that they hardly know how to preserve the honour of the Company amongst the Negroes. I would not

here

here be understood to speak of them all, for there are several men of very good parts amongst them : but the difference occasioned by this new practice will clearly appear with respect to the other Europeans trading hither ; and I cannot believe it will turn to the advantage of the Company. But of this enough : besides the officers employed in the trade on this coast, there are the following offices :

First, the chief fiscal, whose salary is fifty guilders, and ten guilders per month for a servant, besides the liberty of the general's table. Though the fiscal's salary seems very small, yet his perquisite profits, if he is diligent, are very large ; for all the gold or commodities unlawfully traded for on the coast is forfeit ; of which his share is one third part, whether the goods in question belong to Europeans or Negroes ; besides a third part of the fines set upon the latter, and the forfeiture of wages inflicted on any offending officers or servants by the governor and council : all which put together amount to a considerable sum. Next the fiscal, the book-keeper-general takes place, whose province is to keep the great books, and the counter-parts of the accounts of all our forts or lodges on the coast ; or in short, to take care of all the Company's accompts in this country : his salary is seventy guilders, besides ten guilders per month for his servants, and for a free table is allowed twenty-five guilders more. He is generally assisted by an under-book-keeper, whose salary is thirty guilders per month, and two assistants. Next him is the book-keeper or accomptant of the garrison, whose title sufficiently explains his office, and his salary, equal to a sub-factor's, is twenty-four guilders, though factors have thirty-six guilders ; so to make amends he hath the power of selling by auction the effects of all persons who die upon the coast, for which he is allowed five per cent. *ad valorem* ; he is also commonly helped by an assistant. Sometimes here is also a secretary, whose salary is fifty guilders per month, and under him he hath three or four assistants, but in my time we contented ourselves with an under-secretary, and the above-mentioned number of assistants.

The last and most contemptible office is that of under-fiscal, commonly called by us auditor, though in his walks, informer, as he really is no better ; his salary is twenty guilders per month, and to his share falls also a tenth of all forfeitures ; his person is had in utmost contempt by all, yet to honour him as much as possible he takes place of all the sub-factors, as the fiscal (who also is not the more loved on account of his office) doth of all the chief-factors, nay, even the second person on the coast, though by the governor's leave that place not only belongs to the chief-factor of Elmina, but to those of Mouree and Cormantyn.

Having run through our temporal state, we now come to our spiritual preferments, which are but two, the first a minister, with a salary of one hundred, the second a clerk, with that of twenty guilders per month, besides which, the first hath ten guilders per month allowed for a servant, and a place at the governor's table. What do you think, sir, do not we pay our clergyman pretty well ? I will assure you if you think we live licentious lives, you are in the wrong, for we are very religious ; we are obliged to go to church every day, on forfeiture of twenty-five stivers, except on Sundays and Thursdays, when the forfeiture for omission is doubled. But I know you will reply, this is a forced service of God, and consequently not always accompanied with the most sincere intentions ; and to confess the truth it is not much better, for were not the restraint laid upon us, some would rather pay a visit elsewhere than to the church.

These being all the officers and servants we have on the Coast, besides workmen or labourers and foldiers, they are commonly ranked as follows :

The director-general : — The preacher always next the director : — The fiscal : — The chief-factor : — Two or three chief-factors besides.

Seven or eight factors:—Nine or ten sub-factors:—Eighteen or twenty assistants:—(The number of these varies daily, so that there are sometimes more, and several times less of each.)

A Warehouse-keeper:—Accomptant or book-keeper-general:—Under-book-keeper:—Accomptant or book-keeper to the garrison:—Clerk of the Church:—An auditor or informer.

There not being in all upon the whole coast sixty persons, one third of which are assistants, you may easily conclude that any person who comes hither in the said assistant's place, and behaves himself well, upon the death of some of his superiors, cannot miss being preferred to a good post; but how the greatest part behave themselves, and what sort of lives they lead, will perhaps be more proper for another place. And therefore to conclude this letter, I shall only inform you how, and by whom this coast is governed.

The government or direction of the coast is principally vested in the director-general as the supreme ruler, from whom all governors of the out-forts receive their commands, and subordinate to whom they are obliged to act, they not being empowered to transact any important affairs without his knowledge and entire consent; but difficult affairs, or those of greater importance, are cognizable to, and ought to be laid before the assembly of counsellors, or council composed of the director-general; the fiscal, in other things besides criminal cases; the chief-factors; the ensign or banner-bearer, and sometimes the accomptant-general, who jointly make up the council: to which are added the factors of the out-forts as occasional or extraordinary counsellors. In this council every member is freely permitted to offer his thoughts on what is in debate; but a wary man will be apt to observe which side the governor is inclined to, and not easily be persuaded to thwart him, whatever he thinks, lest he should fall under his displeasure: this was so well observed during my stay here; that I believe there were very few resolutions of the council, which were contrary to the governor's opinion: it is no very hard matter to believe this, since some respect is due to him, and besides, many have found their accompt by this sort of compliance, not thinking themselves obliged to enquire whether it agreed with the interest of the Company or not; it was sufficient that they served themselves; the shirt being nearer than the coat (according to the proverb), they could not see any great harm in it. But though this is their opinion, I have always had other sentiments, though I have been sometimes restrained from expressing them for reasons which I shall hereafter give you. I have often smiled at the glittering title of the "Council of the North and South Coast of Africa," which you and others frequently give us, especially when I consider that we are nothing less, and though we have all the name have none of the power. I doubt not but you and most in Europe take us for a regular and well-managed council, and that nothing is transacted without our consent. Alas! my good friend, how are you mistaken! but if you would be informed how far the name and real thing agree, it is necessary you be first informed that a director-general is a person who governs all others from the highest to the lowest on the coast with an arbitrary power; who may at pleasure oblige his inferiors to submit to his will, contrary to all reason: and to go yet farther, he can discharge them their offices and send them off the coast, without giving the least reason for so doing. Such a director as I have described, coming into the council, and firmly resolved to carry the thing to be debated; I would fain know who dare take the liberty to oppose him, knowing how dear it may cost him, unless he be backed by others, which he hath no great reason to expect: wherefore every man

rather chooseth to comply with a yea brother, than by contradicting the governor, to incur his displeasure, and do the Company no manner of service.

But if you ask me why a director, resolved to take no advice, but absolutely follow his own inclinations, doth ever summon a council; I answer, first, that the directors of the Company may be informed that he did so, not knowing the use he made of that assembly. Secondly, when offenders are to be punished with capital or corporeal punishments; that not being otherwise to be done than in form of law. And thirdly, for the government of the coast, which is resolved and settled in the council, and left when any thing happens wrong the governor should want an excuse, he now being able confidently to alledge that he acted by the advice of the whole council, by whom it was also so resolved, though their real opinions were at the same time as different from their suffrages as east and west.

In short, the council is of no other real use than to participate of the governor's faults, and to shelter him from being answerable for them. Thus it clearly appears that it is impossible for the Company's affairs to succeed under an ill governor: wherefore, for the interest of the Company, I hope that its directors will for the future diminish the governor's power, charging him expressly to regulate himself more by the advice of the council; which, when the directors please to do, I cannot doubt of seeing a more regular government on the coast, and all affairs managed with more justice and discretion.

Now you are justly informed of the nature of our council, would you desire to be a member? I believe not; and for my part I assure you, that I would rather quit the honour to obtain a liberty of being in reality a counsellor, instead of bearing the name only. Yours, &c.

LETTER VIII. — *The Insalubrity of the Coast, the Author's Opinion from whence it proceeds. — The Difference betwixt the present and former Seasons. — Some Instances of violent Thunders, and the Damage occasioned by them.*

SIR,

YESTERDAY I sealed my last to you, on suspicion that the ship would fail last night: but they being staid by an unavoidable obstacle one day longer, and I at present at leisure, I have dedicated this day to your service in committing the following lines to paper, which please to honour with your perusal.

The Guinea Gold Coast is situate about the fifth degree of northern latitude, from which you may easily infer that we live in a scorching air, though not so bad as is reported: for it is become too customary for men in their relations rather to add than to diminish. Several who have lived some years here with me, must own, as well as I, that in the months October, November, December, January, February and March, the heat is very violent here, but it is not so hot in the six remaining months, but that it can be easily borne without the least inconvenience: I have known the time when we could as well have endured a fire, if we had not been ashamed, as in Europe about September; besides, the whole year is here refreshed with cool evenings, so that he that hath lived here ten years, and consequently his body become opener than in Holland, will not be apt to complain very much of the heat.

The unwholesomeness of this coast, in my opinion, seems chiefly owing to the heat of the day, and coolness of the night; which sudden change I am induced to believe occasions several contrary effects in our bodies, especially in those who are not accustomed

tomed to bear more heat than cold, by too hastily throwing off their cloaths to cool too fast.

The second and greatest cause which I can find is, that the Gold Coast, from one end to the other, so greatly abounds with high mountains, in the valleys betwixt which, every morning, a thick, stinking, and sulphurous damp or mist riseth, especially near rivers or watry places; which mist so spreads itself, and falls so thick on the earth, that it is almost impossible to escape the infection while we are fasting, and our bodies more susceptible of it than the natives. This fog happeneth most frequently in the ill season of the six months, which we here call winter, but more especially in July and August; wherefore we are more seized with sickness in that time than in the good season, or summer. The stench of this unwholesome mist is very much augmented by the Negroes' pernicious custom of laying their fish, for five or six days, to putrify before they eat it; and their casing their bodies round their houses, and all over their towns; and if this odious mixture of noisome stench very much affects the state of health here, it is not to be wondered, since it is next to impossibility, not only for new comers, but those who have long continued here, to preserve themselves entirely from its malign effects. The great difference betwixt the European air and this, is so observable, that few come hither who are not at first seized by a sickness which carries off a great many, and that chiefly because we are so wretchedly unprovided with what should comfort and nourish these poor men; for we have no help to have recourse to but corrupted medicines, and unskilful physicians, they being only ignorant barbers, who bring several into the utmost danger of their lives: whereas, nature is strong enough, by the assistance of good nourishing diet and restoratives, it might probably recover the patient. But, alas! how should he be able to get them? For our medicines, as I have before told you, are most of them spoiled; and for food, what is here to be gotten for the common people, besides fish and a dry lean hen? And, indeed, were he able to pay for better, here is nothing proper for a weak stomach; for all the oxen or cows, sheep and hens, are dry, lean, and tough: so that a sound man, not to mention an infirm one, hath enough to do to eat them. So that the best, beside proper physick, that the poor sick can get here, are culinary vegetables and spoon-meats; the director and the chief factor are abundantly furnished with the former, but they are not in every-body's reach.

There are several who would fain persuade us, that our men's sickness here is owing to their own mismanagement; urging that they might very easily prevent it by a regular life, and carefully avoiding all excesses in eating and drinking; but experience convinces us of their mistake, for we daily see the most temperate and regular men seized with dangerous and too often mortal diseases.

But it is indeed to be owned, that some people here occasion their own sickness, though that cannot be said of all. If these men were more careful of their healths, it is more than probable that so many would not sicken and die here yearly as now do; but these rash and inconsiderate wretches no sooner receive their pay, than (if not already indebted that sum) they lavish it out in palm-wine and brandy; both which, taken in excess, are very pernicious: which is not the only inconvenience, for spending their money thus idly, they do not allow themselves sufficient to buy necessary food; the defect of which they are then forced to supply with bread, oil, and salt, or at best with a little fish; so that it is hardly to be expected that these men should be healthful. This is the common course of life which the ordinary people here lead; and it were to be wished that their example was not followed by their superiors; excessive drinking being here too much in vogue; and the larger their salary is, the greater

greater their thirst appears to be, and consequently the less regard had to the kitchen. Some are also very lucky if their pay be not attached, and they entered into bonds as deep as their present and future salary will satisfy; or what is worse yet beyond all this, in hopes only that their relations will satisfy it: all which eats like a canker; and yet they are by use so bigotted to drinking, that it would be impossible to keep them from it by blows: and to make the quicker work, they are as zealous votaries to Venus as to Bacchus, and so waste the small portion of strength left them from tippling and the ill air, and then adieu health, and soon after life itself. But it is, indeed, convenient it should be so; another wants his place. If men lived here as long as in Europe, it would be less worth while to come hither, and a man would be obliged to wait too long before he got a good post, without which nobody will easily return rich from Guinea, the chief persons there being the only people who can lay up any thing, and they not near so much as is reported of them. However the money we get here is indeed hardly enough acquired: if you consider we stake our best pledge, that is, our lives, in order to it.

But to return to the unhealthfulness of this country:—Some here distinguish betwixt one place and another, and I am somewhat inclined to their opinion: if they choose those places where the wind blows continually and very fresh, and where the Negroes occasion the least stench, they are undoubtedly the most healthful; and as such, I should prefer Bontry and Zacondée in the first place.

How unwholesome soever this country is, yet we find very few of the natives afflicted with any distemper; which yet is not much to be wondered at, since their being born in this air, and bred up in the stench, are not liable to be infected with the one or the other. The national diseases here are the small-pox and worms; by the former of which, in these thirteen or fourteen years time, thousands of men have been swept away; and with the latter, they are miserably afflicted in all parts of their bodies, but chiefly in their legs, which occasions a grievous pain, which they are forced to bear till they can get the worm quite out, that being sometimes a month. The manner which the artists take to get it out is this: as soon as the worm is broken through the tumour, his head commonly first making its way, after they have drawn it out a little way, they make it fast to a stick, about which they every day wind a small part of it, till continuing this tedious method they have entirely wound out the whole, and the patient is freed from his pain. But if the worm happens to break, they are put to a double torture, the remainder part of the worm either rotting in the body, or breaking out at some other place. The Negroes are most afflicted with these worms; but though the Europeans are but seldom troubled with them, yet they do not escape them entirely. I have seen some Negroes who had nine or ten of them at once, with which they were inexpressibly tormented. This worm-disease is frequent all the coast over; but our men are most tormented with it at Cormantyn and Apam, which perhaps may be occasioned by the foul water which they are obliged to drink there. If you would know the length of these worms, Monsieur Focquenbrog obligeth you with a pathetic description, by which you are informed that they are some of them an ell long, and some as long as pikes, and have not the patience to stay till the man is dead, but seize him alive.

In the country of Ante several Negroes are afflicted with ravenous appetites, which is thought to proceed from their drinking a sort of palm-wine called Crisia.

The natives are very much to be pitied, that being shot, cut, or otherwise wounded in their wars, they neither know nor have any other way of cure than by green plants, which they boil in water and foment the part with that decoction, which proves effectual
in

in some cafes; these vegetables being endowed with a wonderful fanative virtue. But others either not knowing the simples, or being ignorant how to prepare them aright, apply their fomentations in vain: whilst the wound gangrenes, and at best turns to a running, which continues the whole life. Those seized by the venereal distemper are also incurable, except they happening to be near our fort fall into our barbers' hands; who, for a good large sum of money, cure them.

Besides the above-mentioned distempers, most of the Negroes live healthful lives, but seldom arrive to a great age: the reason of which, owing to my ignorance, I dare not pretend to assign. It is observable that there are several grey-headed people, who look as if they were old, but indeed are not so; this, perhaps, may be owing to their too early and excessive venery, by which they so enfeeble themselves, that a man of fifty (a good old age here), seized by any sickness, generally leaves this world. Nature's dictates are very early understood here; and children of eight or nine years know very well how the world is propagated, and before twelve they generally reduce their knowledge into practice: so that it is next to an impossibility to meet with a maid at marriageable years. The inhabitants for that reason, to secure a maidenhead, marry young, and perhaps then have it just as secure as a handful of flies; for the young children hearing daily such discourse as is not very proper for their ears, and which is the common conversation of the Negroes, seldom have patience till they come to years of maturity.

It will not be labour lost to say something concerning the winter and summer, or the good and bad time, as it is called here; and the great alteration of weather, which I have observed here in the space of ten years. The summer is accounted to begin with September, and continue the five subsequent months, and the winter takes up the remaining six months in the year, and is sub-divided into two rainy, two misty, and two windy months: but the season alters so much from year to year that we have in a manner left off reckoning them; the summer comes sometimes a whole month earlier one year than another, and the same is also observed of the mist and rain. In short, they come so confused and uncertain, that it is impossible to make any calculation of them.

Formerly, when I first came to the coast, summer and winter succeeded alternately, exactly at a certain time, and the latter was much severer than at present. The rains were so violent, continuing for several days successively as if the country were to be drowned, and we expected a second deluge; but at present are not either so violent or so frequent. Axim, which is but twenty miles from Elmina, is generally more moistened with rains than any place upon the whole coast: and I did not a little wonder when I was first placed there, that the rains continued so long; for asking one of our military officers how long it commonly lasted, he told me above eleven months and twenty-eight days in a year, and consequently every leap-year was blessed with one whole day of fair weather: but though the officer stretched a little, yet it is undeniably true, that it rains here at least half the year; for which reason only rice and trees can grow, the other fruits being destroyed by too much wet.

It is surprizing to observe that the storms or travadoes, as they are here called, are in a few years so very much lessened; and since I am to speak of the winds and thunder here, I shall first take notice how violent the wind used to blow here. You may be informed by Monsieur Focquenbrog, that when he was here, such a great and sudden storm arose, that the ships at sea durst not sail with full sail, for fear of being overturned or split against the rocks or shores: but at present here is not the least reason to be afraid; for though we are sometimes attacked by violent travadoes, or
storms

storms of thunder, lightning, and wind, yet they do not come upon us either so suddenly or forcibly as to occasion any very remarkable damage.

In some old papers of the director Valkenburg concerning the coast, I found that at Elmina, in the year 1651, there was such a terrible thunder, which so affrighted every body that they thought the world was at an end: the gold and silver was melted in the bags, which remained untouched; and their swords broken in the scabbards, without the latter being perceivably finged, as well as several strange accidents which then happened: but the paper being worm-eaten I could not distinctly read it, only I perceived that they were in dismal apprehensions for their gunpowder, the thunder seeming most violent where that was.

About 1691, when I was at Boutry, there was such a fierce and boisterous storm in the country of Ante, that hundreds or rather thousands of trees were either thrown down to the ground, or blasted by lightning. The stake which supported our flag was shattered into splinters from top to bottom, and yet remained standing, but so torn asunder, as if one or two hundred chissels had been driven into it in order to split it. The Negroes, in the same terrified condition with us, being of opinion that the force of the thunder is contained in a certain stone, after the storm was over, brought one, which they ridiculously believed had so shattered our flag-pole: but no wonder they were of that opinion, for in Europe, where we think we are better informed, several people do not much differ from them. But what I have observed of the effects of thunder, is sufficient to convince me that it is impossible they should be caused by a stone; nor is there any natural reason for it, and with supernatural things I have nothing to do, but had rather believe it the effects of a violent compression of air; but the manner of its operation I leave the naturalists to determine.

Not long after, a like accident happened to one of our ships cruising before Axim, very much injuring its main-mast and bolt-sprit.

In 1693 or 1694, the thunder broke all the drinking-glasses of the factor's chamber, and raised up his child with the bed under it; both which it threw some feet distant, without the least hurt done. What do you think, sir? was it possible for a stone to do this? I believe not.

Not long after this, the English fort at Acra was so roughly handled by the thunder, that its walls were left shattered with holes even to the powder-room, and some pewter-porregers were melted into a lump: it is easy to imagine with what terror they were struck when they found it come so near their powder.

When I had the government of Mouree, one of the turrets was rent several feet by a clap of thunder; and my constable being lodged there, affirmed in the morning he had received a violent shock on his arm without any farther injury: however, I was in great danger; for having the day before removed my powder, I had caused two or three thousand pounds of it to be brought into the garret, where it lay when the storm began; but I could not be easy till it was carried to a safer place, however before that could be done I was in no small confusion.

From what I have related, you may collect what sort of weather we were formerly accustomed to; which so seldom happens at present, that in the space of three or four years we have not observed any thing extraordinary of that nature to happen.

The difference betwixt the heat and cold formerly and at present, is also very great; for the heat has been here so excessive in summer-time, that we seemed to have dog-days as well as in Europe; but now it is become more moderate and supportable: the cold was also then so fierce in the nights, that we were persuaded it froze, and in reality we were not much in the wrong, for the earth, which usually is very moist by reason

of the dew, was on the contrary dry and appeared whitish. Some of my predecessors affirmed, that coming into their accompting-house in the morning, they found their ink frozen: the truth of which I will not determine, but only hand it to you as I received it.

But this I assure you, that we have felt nights so cold about September, that they made us shake, as I told you before. The present winters are indeed cold, but not so severe as formerly, though they continue longer; for we have two thirds, or at least half of the year winter: which while I am writing I believe you begin to think of, and I wish it may happen to you in due season, and be so mild as not to give you the least uneasiness, but afford you as much pleasure as is possible to be wished by, Yours, &c.

LETTER IX. — *Of the natural Disposition and Manners of the Negroes on the Gold Coast; that they are very fraudulent and crafty, idle, and careless:—Of their Clothing, Education of Children, and Compliments:—Their courteous Reception of Visitants; and their Manner of visiting amongst the great Men:—Of their manual Arts; Navigation, Fishing, and Agriculture:—The Difference of Languages on the Gold Coast:—Their Nobility; how many Degrees of Preference amongst them:—Their careless ill-contrived way of Building, and making their Roads:—Their musical Instruments:—They have no Beggars amongst them, only those shameless ones who do not want.—A Description of the Mulattoes.*

SIR,

YOURS of the 24th, reached me in very good time. But my present intended subject is likely so to over-charge this, that for want of room I shall be obliged to defer answering yours till the next opportunity, when I promise not to fail.

I design to treat of the natural temper of the natives; and if this letter doth not swell to an unusual bulk, I shall be at a loss to do justice to my subject: wherefore I must beg your excuse for crowding so many things into one letter so immethodically, for you are presented with them as they occur to me; and so, sir, be pleased to accept them.

To begin. The Negroes are all without exception, crafty, villainous and fraudulent, and very seldom to be trusted, being sure to slip no opportunity of cheating an European, nor indeed one another. A man of integrity is as rare among them as a white falcon, and their fidelity seldom extends farther than to their masters: and it would be very surprising, if, upon a scrutiny into their lives, we should find any of them whose perverse nature would not break out sometimes, for they indeed seem to be born and bred villains; all sorts of baseness having got such sure footing in them, that it is impossible to lie concealed, and herein they agree very well with what authors tell us of the Muscovites. These degenerate vices are accompanied with their sisters, sloth and idleness, to which they are so prone that nothing but the utmost necessity can force them to labour: they are besides so incredibly careless and stupid, and are so little concerned at their misfortunes, that it is hardly to be observed by any change in them whether they have met with any good or ill success. An instance of which is, that when they have obtained a victory over their enemies, they return home diverting themselves with leaping and dancing: but if on their side they are beaten out of the field, and utterly routed, they yet feast and are merry, and dance, and can cheerfully sport around a grave. In short, prosperity and adversity are no otherwise distinguishable in them than in the cloathing and shaving of their head, of which more hereafter. Monsieur Focquenbrog's description of them is undeniably true, when he informs us that they feast at graves, and if they should see their country in flames, would cry out "let

it burn," and not suffer it in the least to interrupt their finging, dancing and drinking : that they are equally insensible of grief or necessity, sing till they die, and dance into the grave.

This description is so pertinent, I believe it cannot be mended in so few words. It is true indeed, that they very greedily heap up money and goods, to which their minds are strongly inclined : but after that they set so small a value upon them, that if they meet with a very great loss, you can never perceive it by their carriage, it never robs them of an hour's repose ; and they are no sooner at their resting place, but like the beasts, they sleep perfectly undisturbed by any melancholy reflections : so that the advice, not to take care for the morrow, seems designed more peculiarly for the practice of these men.

Their young are extraordinarily vain, and desirous to pass for persons of quality, though perhaps but slaves ; notwithstanding which they mightily carefully adorn their bodies, and are very fine in their way.

But now let us see how they manage the affairs of dress. The fashions of adorning their heads are very various ; some wear very long hair curled and platted together, and tied up to the crown of the head ; others turn their hair into very small curls, moistening them with oil and a sort of die, and then adjust them in the shape of roses ; between which they wear gold Fetiches, or a sort of coral here called Conte de Terra, which is sometimes of a quadruple-value to gold, as also a sort of blue coral, which we call Agrie, and the Negroes Accorri, which being moderately large, is so much valued that it is generally weighed against gold. They are very fond of our hats, never thinking they pay too much for them. Their arms, legs and waist are adorned with gold, and the above-mentioned sorts of coral. Their common habit is made of three or four ells of either velvet, silk, cloth, Perperuana, or some sort of stuff ; and several have this sort of habit or Paan, as they call it, made of fifty sorts of stuff. This they throw about the body and roll it up into a small compass, and make it fast ; so that it hangs from the navel downwards, covering the legs half way : about their arms they also wear ornamental rings made of ivory, gold, silver, &c. and about their necks, strings or chains of gold, and coral amongst their above-mentioned dress ; and I remember to have seen several of these strings or chains worth above one hundred pounds sterling. But these are the jewels, and they who want them are no company for those who have them.

The Manceroes, or youth, do not dress themselves so pompously ; but the Coboceros or chief people are as meanly and plainly habited, choosing rather to pass for poor than rich men. They wear only a good Paan, a cap made of hart's skin upon their heads, and a staff in their hands, like the old Israelites, and a string or chain of coral about their heads : and this is the dress they daily appear in.

The commonalty, such as wine-drawers, fishermen, and such like, are very poorly habited ; some with an ell or two of sorry stuff, others with a sort of girdle only drawn through between their legs, and wrapped about them just to hide their nakedness ; to which the fishermen add a cap made of harts' skins or rushes, though most of them endeavour to get an old hat of the sailors, which serves them in hot as well as cold weather. The men here are not so very much addicted to sumptuous attire ; but pride even amongst the savage, as well as in the Netherlands and all Europe over, seems to have established its throne amongst the female sex : and accordingly the women's dress is richer than the men's. Ladies plat their hair very artfully, and place their Fetiches, coral and ivory with a judicious air, and go much finer than the men. About their necks they wear gold chains and strings of coral, besides ten or twelve small white strings

of Conte de Terra and gold ; about their arms and legs also they are plentifully stored therewith, and they wear them so thick about their waist, that their nakedness would be sufficiently covered thereby if they wore no clothes ; and the rather because they always have a garter or rather girdle. Perhaps Mr. Constantyn Huygens thought of our black mistresses, when he adviseth the men to two, and some women to three garters ; and if stockings were in fashion here, three garters would be soon thought as necessary as one is now : but this by the by. To return to our Negro ladies : on the lower part of their bodies they wear a Paan, which often is three or four times as long as that of the men : this they wind around their waist, and bind it on with a fillet of red cloth, or something else about half an ell broad and two ells long, to make it fit close to the body, both ends of the fillet hanging out on their Paan, which in ladies of quality is adorned with gold and silver lace : on the upper part of their body they cast a veil of silk or some other fine sort of stuff, whilst their arms are beautified with rings of gold, silver and ivory. These female Negroes, I can assure you, are so well skilled in their fashions, that they know how to dress themselves up sufficiently tempting to allure several Europeans ; but their greatest power is over those who make no difference betwixt white and black, especially when the former colour is not to be found.

Having done with their clothes, let us see how they educate their children, with which the men never trouble themselves in the least, nor the women much indeed : the mother gives the infant suck for two or three years ; which over, and they able to go, then it is, Turn out, brutes : if it be hungry she gives it a piece of dry bread, and sends it abroad wherever it pleases, either to the market, or to the sea-side to learn to swim, or any where else : nobody looks after it, nor is it any body's business to hinder its progress. These children are as well contented with dry bread, as ours with all manner of delicacies ; they neither think of nor know any delicacies, nor are their mothers troubled with them, but do their business undisturbed : when, on the other side, if our children can but go alone, we are continually perplexed with thousands of fears of some or other ill accidents befalling them.

Child-bearing is here as little troublesome as the men can wish ; here is no long lying-in, nor expensive gossiping or groaning-feasts. I once happened to be near the place where a Negro woman was delivered of two children in the space of one quarter of an hour ; and when she seemed most uneasy, I found it was not sufficient to urge any shrieks or cries from her, but the very same day I saw her go to the sea-side to wash herself without ever thinking of returning to her bed : and indeed most women are here equally easy in this particular, though it happens (but that is very seldom) that a woman is obliged by illness to keep her bed some days. Here is no provisions made for linen or any necessaries for the new-born infant, and yet all its limbs grow vigorous and proportionate as in Holland, except only that they have larger navels than ordinary with us ; but this is the mother's fault. If child-bearing were in all particulars so easy in our country, — but no more of this, lest you should tell your lady, and she bring the Dutch women about my ears, and it is not very adviseable to anger them. But to return to our subject ; the child is no sooner born than the priest (here called Feticheer or Confoe) is sent for, who brings a parcel of ropes and coral and other trash about the head, body, arms and legs fasten the infant ; after which he exorcises, according to their accustomed manner, by which they believe it is armed against all sickness and ill accidents ; and doubtless this is as effectual as if done by the Pope himself. By this you may observe what power the priests have over evil spirits ; but when I come to describe the marriage and married lives of the Negroes, I shall present you with something more concerning

concerning child-bearing ; and at present proceed, only informing you that these ropes and trash serve the children instead of clothes, commonly till they are seven or eight years of age ; at which period they pride themselves in a necessary lappet of half an ell of stuffs.

If the father is a fisherman or husbandman, and the child a male, he breeds him up to his avocation very early ; and the child now beginning to find that he must soon shift for himself, he is sure to secure all that a convenient opportunity will give him leave against that time, which his parents never contradict.

I have hinted with what sorry and how little food the Negroes content their children ; which would hardly be possible if they fared deliciously themselves. But they are not guilty of this sort of intemperance, but live rather too soberly, two-pence a day being sufficient to diet one of them. Their common food is a pot full of millet boiled to the consistence of bread, or instead of that, jambs and potatoes ; over which they pour a little palm-oil, with a few boiled herbs, to which they add a stinking fish. This they esteem a nice dish, for it is but seldom they can get the fish and herbs : as for oxen, sheep, hens, or other flesh, they only buy that for holidays ; of which more in another place. The Negroes are not so sparing in their diet because they do not desire better food, of which we have sufficient proof when they eat with us, for they are then sure to satiate themselves with the best at the table, at that rate, as if they were laying in for three days. Nor is it for want of money that they live thus, but only out of pure sordid covetousness.

I have been sometimes of opinion that they thought all dear things unwholesome. The diet I have described, is that of the commonalty ; nor do the rich fare much better : they allow themselves a little more fish, and a few more herbs. But for an extraordinary dish they take fish, a handful of corn, as much dough, and some palm-oil, which they boil together in water, and this they call Mallaget ; and is, I can assure you, a lordly entertainment amongst them ; and, to speak truth, it is no very disagreeable food to those who are used to it, and is very wholesome in this country.

Though the Negroes eat so poorly and so little, they drink the more, being great lovers of strong liquor ; and let the world go how it will, they must have brandy in the morning, and palm-wine in the afternoon ; and he that hath one penny in money, thirsteth after three pennyworth of drink, which is welcome to them night and day ; and we are forced to give strict orders to our men to watch our cellars at night, for they know too well how to get at them. They are so besotted to strong liquors and tobacco, that you may equally entrust bacon to a cat, as either of them within their power. The women are as guilty of this vice as the men ; and, as if it were a virtue, their children are taught it at the age of three or four years.

The salutations and civilities of the Negroes claim a place here, as being remarkably peculiar. Upon accidentally meeting each other, the salutation is pulling off the hat or cap, or uncovering the head, amongst those Negroes who converse with us ; but the in-land people do not esteem the uncovering of the head for any sign of respect. Next, they ask after each other's welfare, but not like our manner, by enquiring after one another's health ; but the first question is, " How did you sleep ? " to which the reply is, " Very well : " and the other returns the question to the first, who, if he hath slept well, tells him so. From whence we may observe, that the Negroes conceive good sound sleep to be the most necessary preservative of health. When one Negro is visited by another, he takes his guest by the hand, and nipping his two middle fingers together, he bids him welcome : this is the ceremony in use, if this be his first visit : but if he hath been there before, and is returned again, he expresseth his welcome by
telling

telling him, "You went out and are returned," intimating they wish him good fortune; to which he answers, "I am come again:" and this passeth current on both sides for refined civility. They are very obligingly civil, when they receive visits from a person who lives in another country. As soon as the compliments are passed, the wife, or a she-slave, brings water, grease or ointment, to wash and anoint the stranger, herein agreeing with the ancient times, who were accustomed to wash and anoint the feet of their guests.

The visits of kings, and those of the best rank, are accompanied with several odd ceremonies: for instance, when a lord or king of a town is advanced very near to, or reaches that king's town he intends the honour of a visit to, he dispatches one of his attendants to compliment and advise him of his coming; who, on the other side, is sure to send back a messenger of his own, with his ambassador, to compliment and assure him of a hearty welcome. While they are on their way, the king or general ranges all his soldiers in battle-array, in the market-place, or before his palace; these being frequently about three or four hundred men, who sit down, expecting the approach of their guest; who, to express his state and grandeur the most effectually, takes care to advance but slowly, and is attended by a great number of armed men, who, leaping and dancing, also make a dismal military noise,

Having at last reached the place where the other sits expecting him, he doth not make directly towards him, but detaches all his unarmed people of fashion to present their hands, by way of salutation, to the other's men, that are next or around him, as well as to himself: after all which, at last, the two kings or generals, armed with shields, make their mutual approaches; and if the visitant be of higher rank than himself, or he designs to honour him with an extraordinary reception, he embraces and bids him welcome three times successively: but if his visitant be below him, he welcomes him by barely thrice presenting his hand to him, and flipping his middle finger, which is done in three successive advances; which being ended, the guest and his attendance sit down opposite to the other, expecting him to come and welcome him and his followers, which is also soon after done, with three circular advances; after which he returns to his place and sits down, sending persons to salute and welcome the rest of his visitant's troop, to ask after their health and the intent of their coming, which the chief generally answers by messengers of his own. These mutual ceremonies frequently last an hour or two, or till the entertainer rises and obliges his guest to go into his house, where he is presented by the king and the great men of the town with sheep, fowl, jammes, or whatever is agreeable; and thus ended this tedious salutation, which I have spent too much time in describing; but I hope you will not be tired with it, for in order to abridge it I have omitted several circumstances.

In the beginning of this letter, I told you the Negroes were very idle, and not easily prevailed on to work, as well as that they had very few manual arts; all which, indeed, are employed chiefly in the making of wooden or earthen cups, troughs, matting of chairs, making of copper ointment-boxes, and arm-rings of gold, silver, or ivory, with some other trash. Their chief handicraft, with which they are best acquainted, being the smithery; for with their sorry tools they can make all sorts of war-arms that they want, guns only excepted, as well as whatever is required in their agriculture and house-keeping. They have no notion of steel, and yet they make their fables and all cutting instruments. Their principal tools are a kind of hard stone, instead of an anvil, a pair of tongues, and a small pair of bellows, with three or more pipes, which blow very strong, and are an invention of their own. These are most of their arts, besides that of making of Fetiches, which I have before informed you of; but their
most

most artful works are the fine gold and silver hat-bands, which they make for us, the thread and contexture of which is so fine, that I question whether our European artists would not be put to it to imitate them : and indeed if they could, and were no better paid than the Negroes, they would be obliged to live on dry bread.

You must not take it ill that this letter is filled up with a medley of all sorts of subjects ; that, according to our proverb, " I jump from the ox to the ass ;" for I usually write what first occurs to my memory. Having once mentioned their navigation, which is not very considerable, I shall acquaint you they use a sort of boats called Canoes, the largest of which are about thirty foot long, and six broad : from this size they go down to the smallest sort, which are about thirteen or fourteen foot long and three or four broad ; the biggest of these being capable of carrying a reasonable merchant-man's boat lading ; we generally use them in the transportation of our goods from place to place : they are rowed in proportion to their size, by two, three, five, seven, nine, eleven, or fifteen rowers ; which, when they exceed two, must always be an odd number, because they are obliged to sit in couples, and an odd one is requisite to steer. Instead of oars they use a sort of paddle, made like a spade, having a handle about the same length ; with which paddling the water, with an under-hand stroke, they keep the Canoe in a very swift course. With the least sort of Canoes, with two or three men in each, they generally go a fishing, which leads me to their fishing-tackling, consisting of great and small hooks, also harping-irons, which they use when they have hooked a great fish : they are besides furnished with casting as well as other large nets, which last they plant in the sea over-night, and draw them in the morning, when they are frequently full of all sorts of fish ; but if a sword-fish, or any other such rough guest happens to get in the net, it is sure to be torn in pieces with the sword's snout ; but this damage is easily prevented, if the Negroes are timely informed of it ; for they go two or three Canoes in company, well furnished with harping-irons ; and considering they greedily eat this sort of fish, if they can but take him, he makes amends for two or three broken nets.

I shall here say nothing of their agriculture, not only because I have already touched upon it, but by reason I hope for a better opportunity of treating that subject.

Though the Gold Coast is not extended above sixty miles in length, yet we find there seven or eight several languages, so different that three or four of them are interchangeably unintelligible to any but the respective natives. The Negroes of Junmore, ten miles above Axim, cannot understand those of Egira, Abocroe, Ancober, and Axim : there is indeed a vast difference in their languages. That of Axim is a very disagreeable brutal sound ; that of Ante very different from it, though not much more beautiful ; but more shocking is that of Acra, not having the least similitude with any of the rest. The other Coast Negroes, those of Aquamboe only excepted, generally understand one another ; but the in-land Negroes is by much the pleasantest and most agreeable ; I mean those of Dinkira, Akim, Acanny, and Adom ; this difference is easily discernible to a person but the least acquainted with their languages, and appears as that betwixt Brabanders and foreigners : and if the Negroes, whom we daily converse with, who live about our forts, expressed themselves as agreeably as the others, it would be no difficult matter to learn their language in two or three years, which we find at present we can scarce do in ten, at least not in any sort of perfection. Some of us, amongst which I dare reckon myself, have made such a progress, that we understand the greatest part of it, though we can hardly hit the pronunciation. The sound of some words is so strange, that though we have often endeavoured to express them with our European letters, yet we have never been able to do it ; and the

Negroes

Negroes can neither write nor read, and consequently have no use of letters, which renders it impossible for us to trace their faults. Dr. Dapper, who never was here, hath adventured to express their words; which, though I may pretend to some knowledge of their languages, I dare not attempt, being assured I shall not succeed much better than he.

Could the Negroes, as I have said, either read or write, we should be able to learn their tongues speedily, by observing the letters which expressed each thing; but having no other assistance than the bare sound, I think it is folly to attempt farther. Wherefore, sir, I hope you will expect no more on this head.

I remember to have met with some hints in a certain author tending to a description of several noble families; but in all the time of my residence here, I have not been able to discover what sort of people these were who put any value upon the nobility of families: I shall not take up much of your time in enquiries what difference there is betwixt one Negro and another, or why one is more esteemed than another; for if I should dwell ever so long on this subject, the result is, only the richest man is the most honoured, without the least regard to nobility.

I have observed five degrees of men amongst the Negroes; the first of which are their kings or captains, for the word is here synonymous.

The second, their Caboceros, or chief men; which reducing to our manner of expression, we should be apt to call them Civil fathers; whose province is only to take care of the welfare of the city or village, and to appease any tumult.

The third sort are those who have acquired a great reputation by their riches, either devolved on them by inheritance or gotten by trade. And these are the persons which some authors have represented as noblemen; but whether they are in the right or not, shall hereafter plainly appear.

The fourth are the common people employed in the tillage of wines, agriculture and fishing.

The fifth and last are the slaves, either sold by their relations, taken in war, or come so by poverty.

These five being the only degrees which are to be found amongst the Negroes; let us enquire by what means they arrive at any of the three first.

First, the dignity of king or captain in most of these countries, descends hereditarily from father to son, and in defect of issue to the next male-heir; though sometimes so much regard is had to his riches in slaves and money, that he who is plentifully stored with these, is often preferred to the right heir.

The inauguration of a king is not clogged with many pompous ceremonies; for coronations and coronation-oaths being here equally unknown, the new king is shewn to the people, and sometimes carried through his territories; and the whole affair terminates in one merry day: but in case of competitorship, when two pretend to that dignity at the same time; for confirmation of the loyalty of their followers, each pretender obliges his respective party to an oath of allegiance; without this happens all things run very smoothly, some offerings only made, as usual here on all solemn occasions. The principal men or Caboceros are commonly limited to a set number; but some of them dying, and the vacancies not filling, when upon assembling together they find their number too small, they chose out of the commonalty persons well advanced in years to compleat their number (for young men are seldom admitted into this honourable assembly), who are obliged to express their gratitude to their electing brethren by a present of a cow and some drink; after which they are lawfully admitted and confirmed. The custom of Axim obliges the candidate for this dignity to be a native

native of that country living at Axim, at least keeping a house there, inhabited by one of his wives, or some of his family, and sometimes residing there himself; which is somewhat like our being obliged to keep fire and light to preserve our right of citizens in Holland. If there be one alone, or several, he or they are all brought to our fort and presented to our factor, with a request that they may be admitted into their society; who, if he hath nothing to object against him, administers an oath to him on the Bible, obliging him to be and remain true to the Netherlanders, and to aid and assist them to the utmost of his power against all their enemy's whatsoever, whether Europeans or Negroes, and deport himself on all occasions as a loyal subject: after which he takes an oath, not unlike the former, respecting his own nation; both which oaths are confirmed by an imprecation, "That God would strike him dead if he swore contrary to his intentions, or doth not keep his oath;" in farther confirmation of which the Bible is held to his breast and laid on his head, which are the ceremonies used to render the oath obligatory: this done, the factor having registered his name, acknowledges him a member of their assembly, and admits him to all the rights, privileges, and advantages appendant thereto; and having made the due presents to his brethren, he is a Caboceer during his life. In other places on the coast the election of a Caboceer is somewhat different; but it being so well regulated at Axim, I shall content myself with describing that only.

The third sort of Negroes are those enriched either by inheritance or trade; who, to acquire a reputation and great name amongst their fellow-citizens, buy about seven small elephants' teeth, which they make into blowing-horns; upon which they cause their family to be taught all sort of tunes usual, according to the extravagant course of the country: which, when they have learned, they inform all their relations and acquaintance that they intend to shew their blowing-horns publicly, that they may come and make merry with them for several days together; whilst they, their wives, and slaves appear with as much pomp and splendour as is possible, borrowing gold and coral of their friends to make the greater show, and distributing presents amongst them: so that this extravagant ceremony becomes very expensive. This initiatory festival being over they are free to blow upon their horns at pleasure, which none are permitted who have not thus aggrandized themselves; but if they are inclined to divert themselves are obliged to borrow them. How contradictory is the course of things in this world! in some places men are obliged to beg hard and make interest for horns, whilst they come home to the houses of others as unexpected as undesired.

A Negro thus far advanced in honour, usually makes himself master of first one and then another shield: of which he makes a shew as public and pompous as that of the horns; and is obliged to lie the first night with all his family in battle array in the open air, intimating that he will not be afraid of any danger or hardship in defence of his people. After which he passes the next and the remaining days of the feast, which are generally about eight, in shooting and martial exercises, as well as dancing and all sorts of mirth; himself, his wives, and family being as richly drest as they possibly can; and all that he hath in the world exposed to public view, and removed from place to place. But this festival is not so expensive as the former; for instead of making presents, as usual in that, he here on the contrary receives very valuable presents; and when he designs to divert himself, or go to the war, he is permitted to carry two shields: a favour not allowed to any who hath not thus qualified himself.

These are the nobility which authors boast of on this coast; but that in reality they are not so is plain, because no person can ennoble himself, but must be so by birth, or by creation of another: in which they are both deficient; for by birth they are only

slaves, and consequently widely distant from nobles, and they owe their advance only to themselves and their money; their port of honour here being always open to him who is rich enough to bear the expence. Besides, in other places nobility engages those honoured with it firmly in the public service of their King or country; which these are not the least concerned for, applying themselves to nothing but trade: but if any are foud of having them gentlemen and noblemen, I shall let them remain so. And it will not a little redound to my honour, that I have for several years successively been waited on by one of these noblemen in the capacity of a footman, without having the least respect to his nobility.

The fourth and fifth fort need no other account to be given of them, than that they are common people and slaves.

These blowing-horns naturally lead me to a description of the musical instruments with which they divert themselves. But I shall first inform you that the Negroes, in building their villages, have not the least regard to the pleasantness of the situation. With us, indeed, it is usual, and is doubtless very reasonable to put a high value upon a fine prospect and pleasant walks; but these lumpish wretches frequently choose a dry and disagreeable place to build on; neglecting at the same time well-planted hills, charming valleys, and beautiful rivers; which they have in great abundance, and serve them for no use nor afford them any diversion. They are full as indifferent and negligent in the making of their roads, they being generally as rough and perverse as the people themselves: a road which need not to be above two miles in length, frequently becomes three by its crookedness and unevenness; and though they have been often made sensible of this inconvenience by us, and a very little trouble would mend them, yet they will not alter them; the way once made ~~must~~ still remain, though it leads them twice as far out of the way.

Their musical instruments are various, and very numerous; but all of them yield a horrid and barbarous shocking sound; the chief of them are the mentioned horns, made, as I have already told you, of small elephants' teeth; though not so very small but some of them weigh betwixt twenty and thirty pounds, and others more: to adorn these they cut in them several images of men and beasts; and that so finely that it seems to be done literally in obedience to the second commandment: for, indeed, it is difficult to discern whether they are most like men or beasts; at the lower end of these horns is a piece of rope coloured black with hen's or sheep's blood, and at the small end is a square hole; at which by blowing they produce a sort of extravagant noise; which they reduce to a sort of tone and measure, and vary as they please: sometimes they blow upon these horns so well, that though it is not agreeable, yet it is not so horrid as to require a whole bale of cotton annually to stop one's ears, as Focquenbrog has it.

Their second sort of instruments are their drums, of which there are about ten several sorts, but most of them are excavated trees, covered at one end with a sheep-skin, and left open at the other, which they set on the ground like a kettle-drum, and when they remove it they hang it by a string about their necks: they beat on these drums with two long sticks, made hammer-fashion, and sometimes with a straight stick or their bare hands, all which ways they produce a dismal and horrid noise; the drums being generally in concert with the blowing of the horns, which afford the most charming asses' music that can be imagined: to help out this they always set a little boy to strike upon a hollow piece of iron, with a piece of wood, which alone makes a noise more detestable than the drums and horns together.

Of late they have invented a sort of small drums, covered on both sides with a skin, and extended to the shape of an hour-glass: the noise they afford is very like that our boys make with their pots they play with on holidays, with this difference only, that these have iron rings, which makes some alteration in the sound. It would be ridiculous to tire you with all the instruments of the Negroes; I shall therefore take leave of this subject, by describing the best they have, which is a hollow piece of wood, of two hands-breadth long, and one broad; from the hinder-part of this a stick comes cross to the fore-part, and upon the instrument are five or six extended strings; so that it bears some sort of similitude to a small harp, or, if you will, is not very unlike the modern Greek musical instruments, and affords by much the most agreeable sound of any they have here. Having said enough on this subject, let us turn ourselves to another.

What is most commendable among the Negroes, is, that we find no poor amongst them who beg; for though they are never so wretchedly poor, they never beg; the reason of which is, that when a Negroe finds he cannot subsist, he binds himself for a certain sum of money, or his friends do it for him; and the master to whom he hath obliged himself, keeps him in all necessaries, setting him a sort of task, which is not in the least slavish, being chiefly to defend his master on occasion, and in sowing time to work as much as he himself pleases. So that, as I have before told you, here are no beggars obliged to be so by poverty; but shameless beggars, without the least necessity, are so plentiful, that they all undistinguishably deserve that name: a king himself is not ashamed to beg, and that for such mean things as he might buy for one penny or two-pence; they are so scandalously importunate, that it is impossible to get from them without giving them something.

Though I have been tedious in this, I hope you will pardon it; for I must own my itch of scribbling is not yet over, and I cannot help giving you an account of a wonderful and extraordinary sort of people, I mean the Tapœyers or Mulattoes, a race begotten by Europeans upon the Negro or Mulatto women. This bastard strain is made up of a parcel of profligate villains, neither true to the Negroes nor us, nor indeed dare they trust one another; so that you very rarely see them agree together. They assume the name of Christians, but are as great idolaters as the Negroes themselves. Most of the women are public whores to the Europeans, and private ones to the Negroes; so that I can hardly give them a character so bad as they deserve. I can only tell you, whatever is in its own nature worst in the European and Negroes, is united in them; so that they are the sink of both. The men, most of which are soldiers in our service, are clothed as we are, but the women prink up themselves in a particular manner: those of any fashion wear a fine shift, and over that a short jacket of silk or stuff, without sleeves, which reaches from under the arms to their hips, fastened only at the shoulders: upon their heads they wear several caps, one upon the other; the uppermost of which is of silk, plated before and round at the top, to make it sit fast; upon all which they have a sort of fillet, which comes twice or thrice around the head. Thus dressed, they make no small shew: on the lower part of their body they are clothed as the Negro-women are; and those who are poor are only distinguishable by their dress, they going naked in the upper part of their body.

The whole brood, when young, are far from handsome, and when old, are only fit to fright children in their beds. If a painter were obliged to paint envy, I could wish him no better original to draw after than an old Mulatto-woman. In process of time their bodies become speckled with white, brown, and yellow spots, like the tigers, which they also resemble in their barbarous nature; but I shall here leave them, for

fear it may be thought that I am prejudiced by hatred against them ; but so far from that, that there is not a single person who hath any thing to do with them, but he must own they are not worth speaking to. Well, as disagreeable as it is to be obliged to such company, I have this satisfaction, that it cannot be so irksome to me here, as it will be agreeable to me to tell you in a few months, *viva voce*, how much I am yours, &c.

LETTER X. — *Describing the several Religions of the Negroes ; their Opinions of a Deity, and different Sentiments concerning the Creation of Man. — Manner of solemn swearing on several Occasions ; the Manner of asking Questions of their Idol, how it is managed, and the Frauds of their Priests on that Account ; how, and on what Occasions, public and solemn Exercises of Religion are here enjoined ; every private Person hath his particular false God, and Holidays which he appoints in honour of that ; the Offerings to it. — Which would be the most effectual Way to convert the Negroes to Christianity. — Of their forbidden Meats. — Their Opinions concerning their false Gods ; the Reward of Good and Evil. — Of Murder and Adultery, &c. wherefore amongst them. — Various Opinions of a future Life. — Miraculous Priests living in the in-land Country. — What the Negroes think of Devils, Conjurers and Apparitions ; how they eject Devils. — Only two Festivals among them. — The Difference betwixt fortunate and unfortunate Days. — They are very superstitious ; an Instance thereof.*

SIR,

MY last was very long, and if I treat the subject largely, this will not be much shorter. For the religion of the Negroes, of which I design to speak, will afford matter enough for a book alone, by reason of the numerous and different sorts of it ; for there is no village or town, nay, I had almost said no private family which doth not differ from another on this head ; but not thinking it worth while to recount all the various opinions, I shall therefore pass them over, and only speak of their public religion and worship, in which they almost all agree.

Almost all the Coast Negroes believe in one true God, to whom they attribute the creation of the world and all things in it, though in a crude indigested manner, they not being able to form a just idea of a Deity. They are not obliged to themselves nor the tradition of their ancestors for their opinion, rude as it is, but to their daily conversation with the Europeans, who from time to time have endeavoured to implant this notion in them. There are two reasons which confirm me in this sentiment ; first, that they never make any offerings to God, nor call upon him in time of need ; but in all their difficulties they apply themselves to their Fetiche (of which more hereafter), and pray to him for success in their undertakings : the second is, the different opinions of some of them concerning the creation ; for a great part of the Negroes believe that man was made by Anansie, that is, a great spider : the rest attribute the creation of man to God, which they assert to have happened in the following manner : they tell us that in the beginning God created black as well as white men ; thereby not only hinting, but endeavouring to prove, that their race was as soon in the world as ours ; and to bestow a yet greater honour on themselves, they tell us that God having created these two sorts of men, offered two sorts of gifts, *viz.* gold, and the knowledge or arts of reading and writing, giving the Blacks the first election, who chose gold, and left the knowledge

knowledge of letters to the White*. God granted their request, but being incensed at their avarice, resolved that the Whites should for ever be their masters, and they obliged to wait on them as their slaves. Others again affirm, that man at his first creation was not shaped as at present; but that those parts which serve for the distinction of sexes in men and women, were placed more in view, for the convenience of propagation: What think you, sir, is not this a ridiculous notion? Would it not be very obliging to the Turks to sometimes gratify their bestial appetites with women in an unnatural manner, not to mention their Sodomy with men.

I have found very few Negroes of this sentiment; but having asked those who are its assertors, when the shape of men was altered to its present state; they replied, that God had done it out of respect to modesty, when the world became so well peopled that the present shape was sufficient to preserve the race of mankind. Others on the Gold Coast would persuade us that the first men came out of holes and pits, like that at present in a great rock on the sea, near our fort of Acra. But it is time to stop my hand, for if I should particularize all their notions concerning the creation, the moon and stars, instead of being short I should grow insupportably tedious. I shall only tell you, that Father Kircken would not find it very difficult to persuade them that the planets are peopled, or at least the moon; for they have already discovered a fellow beating a drum in her.

I promised just now to explain the word Fetiche, which is used in various senses. Fetiche or Boffum in the Negro language, derives itself from their false God, which they call Boffum. Are they inclined to make offerings to their idols, or desire to be informed of something by them, they cry out, Let us make Fetiche; by which they express as much as "let us perform our religious worship, and see or hear what our God saith." In like manner, if they are injured by another, they make Fetiche to destroy him in the following manner: they cause some victuals and drink to be exorcised by their Feticheer or priest, and scatter it in some place which their enemy is accustomed to pass; firmly believing, that he who comes to touch this conjured stuff shall certainly die soon after. Those who are afraid of this, coming to such places, cause themselves to be carried over them, for it is the wonderful nature of this exorcised trash, that there it does not in the least affect the person, nor can it at all affect those who carry him, or any body else besides him. So that though the art of poisoning is a favourite peculiar to the Italians, yet they have always found themselves obliged to endanger the innocent to come at the guilty, and never yet could hit on so distinguishing and discreet a poison as this of our Negroes; though I must confess I like that of the Italians so little, that I had rather walk over all that the Negroes can lay for me, than have any thing to do with theirs.

If they are robbed, they make use of much the same means for the discovery and condign punishment of the thief: they are so obstinately bigotted to this opinion, that if you should produce a hundred instances of its impotence, it would be impossible to alter their sentiments, they having always something ready on which to charge its contrary success. If any person be caught throwing this poison, he is very severely punished, nay, sometimes with death, though it be on the last account of thieving, which is here freely allowed. Obligatory swearing they also call making of Fetiches; is any obligation to be confirmed, their phrase is, "let us as a farther confirmation make Fetiches."

* The Negroes believe that there is no gold in any other countries besides their own; and that no Blacks have any knowledge of the art of letters; nor have they any notion of the extent of the world but what they recollect from our informations.

When they drink the oath-draught, it is usually accompanied by an imprecation, that the Fetiche may kill them if they do not perform the contents of their obligation. Every person entering into any obligation is obliged to drink this swearing liquor. When any nation is hired to the assistance of another, all the chief ones are obliged to drink this liquor, with an imprecation, that their Fetiche may punish them with death, if they do not assist them with utmost vigour to extirpate their enemy. But oaths on this occasion are so frequently taken and broken, that they themselves have no great opinion of them; besides, they have found out a way to absolve themselves from their oaths, take the money of those who have hired them to the assistance, and act directly contrary to their obligation; for having entered into this solemn engagement or oath, in the presence of their priest, they doubt not in the least but that it is in his power to free them of the obligation. This, you will be apt to say, looks a little like the papacy; but I will assure you it is in reality, as I have represented it. But of late years some Negroes are so refined, that before they take their contradictory oaths, they oblige the priest to swear first, and drink the oath-draught, with an imprecation, that the Fetiche should punish him with death, if he ever absolved any person from their oath without the unanimous consent of all interested in that contract. Oaths taken in this manner are generally kept unviolated and punctually performed. If you ask what opinion the Negroes have of those who falsify their obligations confirmed by the oath-drink, they believe the perjured person shall be swelled by that liquor till he bursts; or if that doth not happen, that he shall shortly die of a languishing sickness: the first punishment they imagine more peculiar to women, who take this draught to acquit themselves of any accusation of adultery; and if I may be allowed to make a comparison, this drink seems very like the bitter water administered to the women in the Old Testament by way of purgation from the charge of adultery. Thus, in the description of the religion of the Negroes, I find myself insensibly fallen upon their oaths; but since even that is a part of religious worship, I have some excuse for pursuing that subject yet a little farther. If any person is suspected of thievery and the indictment is not clearly made out, he is obliged to clear himself by drinking the oath-draught, and to use the imprecation, that the Fetiche may kill him if he be guilty of thievery. The several ways of taking oaths are so numerous, that I should tire you as well as myself with a repetition of them: wherefore I shall content myself with adding only one esteemed the most solemn and obligatory, which is only used on important occasions, and is in the following manner:

Each priest or Feticheer hath his peculiar idol, prepared and adjusted in a particular and different manner, but most of them like the following description:—They have a great wooden pipe filled with earth, oil, blood, the bones of dead men and beasts, feathers, hair, and, to be short, all sorts of excrementitious and filthy trash, which they do not endeavour to mould into any shape, but lay it in a confused heap in the pipe. The Negro who is to take an oath before this idol, is placed directly opposite to it, and asks the priest the name of his idol (each having a particular one), of which being informed, he calls the Fetiche by its name, and recites at large the contents of what he designs to bind by an oath, and makes it his petitionary request that the idol may punish him with death if he swears falsely; then he goes round the pipe, and stands still and swears a second time in the same place and manner as before, and so a third time likewise: after which the priest takes some of the mentioned ingredients out of the pipe, with which he touches the swearer's head, arms, belly and legs, and holding it above his head, turns it three times round; then he cuts off a bit of the nail of one finger in each hand, of one toe of each foot, and some of the hair of his head, which he throws

into the pipe where the idol is lodged : all which done, the oath is firmly obligatory. But to turn to another subject.

When the Negroes design to begin a war, to drive a bargain, to travel, or attempt any thing of importance, their first business is to consult their false god by their priest, concerning the event of their undertaking, who very seldom prophesies ill, but generally encourages them to hope for prosperous success ; which they take on his word, not doubting the issue in the least, and obsequiously perform all the priest's commands, which generally oblige them to offer up sheep, hogs, fowls, dogs and cats to their idol ; or at other times perhaps, cloaths, wine and gold ; by which the priest is sure to be the greatest gainer, for he sweeps all to himself, only presenting garbage and the excrements of the slaughtered sacrifice to his god to divert himself withal : and thus, besides the money given him, he makes a shift to pay himself very well out of the offerings for his small trouble.

If the priest is inclined to oblige the querent, the questions are put to the idol in his presence, and generally in one of the two following methods : — The first way is by a bundle of about twenty small bits of leather, in the middle of which they bind some trash of the same nature with that they fill the mentioned pipe ; some of these ingredients promise good success, and others threaten the contrary. This bundle the priest shuffles together several times, and if those which preface a good issue happen to come frequently together, he assures the querent that his undertaking shall end well. But it is here to be observed that the dexterous priest can, by flight, make which he pleases of the leathers come together ; and that if he ever gives them an unlucky or discouraging answer, it is only to extort more offerings from them, on pretence of appeasing the incensed god, but in reality to redouble his own perquisites.

The second way of consulting their idols, is by a sort of wild-nuts ; which they pretend to take up by guess and let fall again : after which they tell them, and form their predictions from the numbers falling even or odd. In short, the priests, who are generally sly and crafty, encouraged by the stupid credulity of the people, have all the opportunity in the world to impose the grossest absurdities and fleece their purses ; as they indeed do effectually. For if the event confutes their preface, they never want an excuse ; the sacred rites were not carefully performed, this or that part of it was slubbered over or omitted, the God is therefore enraged, and it is for that reason the affair hath succeeded so crossly. This is glibly swallowed. The priest is never accused of falsehood ; if the whole land be ruined, his reputation remains secure and untouched : but if by chance his auguries come to pass, there is not in the world a wiser or holier man, and he is sure not to want his reward.

Public general religious exercises of a whole nation or town are customary on account of unseasonableness or unfruitful weather in floods, or a great drought : when the chief of the town or nation assemble and advise with the priest what course is most proper to remove the present public calamity ; and what they order is immediately ridiculously commanded or forbidden through the land by a public crier ; and whoever dares presume to act contrary to this order, is sure to incur a large pecuniary penalty. When their fishery is at low ebb, they make offerings to the sea : but this generally happens about August or September, when experience tells them that a vast quantity of fish is commonly taken, and yet this is always believed an effect of the offering.

Almost every village hath a small appropriated grove, where the governors and chief people frequently repair to make their offerings ; either for the public good, or for themselves. These groves are esteemed sacred, no person presuming to defile them, pluck,

pluck, cut, or break off any branches of trees; who, besides the accustomed punishment, is not willing to lay himself under an universal malediction.

Each particular person hath his peculiar false god, which he or she worships after their manner, on that day of the week on which he was born. This they call their *Bossam*, or in their Portuguese *Sande-Day*, on which they drink no palm-wine before sun-set: they are habited all in white, and as a sign of purity smeared with white earth. Most of the Negroes, especially the principal, have besides this another weekly day sanctified to their *Fetiches*. On these days they kill a cock, and sometimes, if they are rich, a sheep, which they offer up to their God in words alone; for they immediately fall upon it and tear it to pieces with their fingers; taking it for granted, that it is sufficient to say it was killed for him: and as he hath none of it, so the owner, when a sheep is killed, on this account, hath the least share of it; for his friends and acquaintance fall like a dog upon a sick cow, each as greedily as narrowly watching his opportunity of seizing a piece, which goes immediately to the fire, foul or clean it is no great matter, they are not very nice: the guts they cut into small pieces, and squeezing out the excrement with their fingers, they boil it together with the lungs, liver, and hearts, with a little salt and Malaget, or Guinea-pepper, without washing it from the blood. This they call *Eyntjeba*, and it is esteemed the greatest delicacy that can be dressed up.

If it was possible to convert the Negroes to the Christian religion, the Roman Catholics would succeed better than we should, because they already agree in several particulars, especially in their ridiculous ceremonies; for do the Romanists abstain one or two days weekly from flesh; these have also their days when they forbear wine; which, considering they are very great lovers of it, is somewhat severe. The Romanists have their allotted times for eating peculiar sorts of food, or perhaps wholly abstaining from it, in which the Negroes out-do them; for each person here is forbidden the eating of one sort of flesh or other; one eats no mutton, another no goat's-flesh, beef, swines-flesh, wild-fowl, cocks with white feathers, &c. This restraint is not laid upon them for a limited time, but for their whole lives: and if the Romanists brag of the antiquities of their ecclesiastical commands; so if you ask the Negroes why they do this, they will readily tell you, because their ancestors did so from the beginning of the world, and it hath been handed down from one age to another by tradition. The son never eats what the father is restrained from, as the daughter herein follows the mother's example; and this rule is so strictly observed amongst them, that it is impossible to persuade them to the contrary.

I have already informed you of the signification of the word *Fetich*, that it is chiefly used in a religious sense, or at least is derived from thence: before I proceed to inform you how they represent their gods, I shall only hint that all things made in honour of their false gods, never so mean, are called *Fetich*: and hence also the artificial gold mentioned in my sixth letter derives its name.

How their gods are represented to them, or what idea they form of them, I never yet could learn, because, indeed, they do not know themselves: what we are able to observe is, that they have a great number of false gods; that each man, or at least each house-keeper, hath one; which they are persuaded narrowly inspects their course of life, and rewards good, and punishes wicked men; but their rewards consist in the multiplicity of wives and slaves, and their punishments in the want of them; though the most terrible punishment they can imagine is death, of which they are terribly afraid: and, indeed, it is this which inflames their zeal in religious affairs, and occasions their abstinence from forbidden meats and drinks, fearing they should die if they

but

but once tasted it. Murther, adultery, thievery, and all other such like crimes, are here accounted no sins, because they can expiate them with money; which they cannot do in any other misdeeds, which still remain charged to their account. Mr. Frederic Cojet, describing the opinions of the inhabitants of Formosa, relates the same concerning them.

Their notions of a future state are different; most of them believe that immediately after the death of any person he goes to another world, where he lives in the same character as here, and makes use of all the offerings of his friends and relations made here after his death: but they have no idea of future rewards or punishments, for the good or ill actions of their past life; except some of them, who take it for granted, that the deceased are immediately conveyed to a famous river, situate in the in-land country, called Bosmanque: (supposing this to be taken in a spiritual sense, because it visibly appears that the body is left with them). It is here their god inquires what sort of life they have lived: have they religiously observed the holy-days, dedicated to their god, abstained from all forbidden meats, and inviolably kept their oaths; they are gently wafted over the river, to a land abounding in all kinds of happiness, not unlike Mahomet's Paradise: but if, on the contrary, the departed hath sinned against any of the mentioned rules, his god plunges him into the river, where he is drowned and buried in eternal oblivion.

Others are persuaded, that, after death, they are transported to the land of the Blacks or Whites, and changed into white men: this is somewhat like the metempsychosis of Pythagoras, and serves to hint how much more honourable they account the white men beyond themselves.

The in-land Negroes inform those Blacks who live amongst us, that a great Feticheer or priest lives in a very fine house far in-land; of which they relate nothing but miracles: they affirm, that the winds and weather are at his command, and that he can change them at pleasure; that though his house is without any roof, yet it is always sheltered from rain; that he not only knows all things past, but can as accurately foretell all future events as if they were present before his eyes, and cures all sorts of distempers: in short, he knows so much, and does such wonderful things, that Father Marcus Avianus would be obliged to stand bare, and was indeed nothing compared with him. His countrymen assert, that all those near his abode must appear before and be examined by him; upon which, if they are found to have led a good life, he sends them away in peace to a happy place: but if on the contrary, he kills them a second time with a club made on purpose for that use, and placed before his dwelling-place, that it may always be ready at hand. From hence you may easily infer, whether this Negro is not incredibly revered and esteemed by his countrymen; and, indeed, they look upon him as a sort of demi-god: so slyly hath this arch-cheat insinuated this great opinion of himself into the minds of his neighbours, that (this being no old story, he at present living) they every day relate fresh miracles of him.

By this you may see, that the conjurors and miracle-mongers are no strange things amongst the Negroes; they firmly believe in them, but in a different manner from our European ridiculous opinionists; who are persuaded no conjuror can do any feats without the help of the devil: for, on the contrary, the Negroes do not doubt but that it is a gift of God, and though it is in reality a down-right cheat, yet they, ignorant of the fraud, swallow it as a miracle, and above human power; but that the devil may not in the least participate of the honour, they ascribe it all to God: and, for my

part, if there were any men endowed with such supernatural qualities, I should certainly agree with the Negroes in ascribing it to God, and not to the devil.

Since we are got on this subject, I must not forget to inform you that the Negroes believe that there is a devil, and that he frequently does them a great deal of mischief: but what authors write, that they pray and make offerings to him, is utterly false. If I mistake not, I have read in Oliver Dapper, that the Negroes never eat or drink, without throwing some portion of it to the earth for the devil; but this is a great mistake; it is true, indeed, that before they eat or drink, they are accustomed to throw away some, but this is not for the devil, they won't oblige him so far; it is for their false god, or sometimes for their deceased friend.

The devil is annually banished all their towns with abundance of ceremony, at an appointed time set apart for that end. I have twice seen it at Axim, where they make the greatest stir about it. This procession is preceded by a fast of eight days, accompanied with all manner of singing, skipping, dancing, mirth, and jollity: in which time a perfect lampooning liberty is allowed, and scandal so highly exalted, that they may freely sing of all the faults, villanies, and frauds of their superiors as well as inferiors, without punishment, or so much as the least interruption; and the only way to stop their mouths is to ply them lustily with drink, which alters their tone immediately, and turns their satirical ballads into commendatory songs on the good qualities of him who hath so nobly treated them.

On the eighth day, in the morning, they hunt out the devil with a dismal cry, all running one after another, throwing of excrements, stones, wood, or any thing they can come at, as thick as hail, at Satan's posteriors. When they have driven him far enough out of town, they all return; and thus conclude their eight days divine or rather diabolical service. From hence we may observe, that they believe there are more devils than one, because he is driven out of above one hundred towns at the same time. And to make sure that he doth not return to their houses, the women wash and scour all their wooden and earthen vessels very neat, to free them from all uncleanness and the devil.

The Negroes of Ante also drive out the devil in the same manner: but these poor wretches are tormented with a worse devil, though they call him a god. This is a giant, one side of his body being sound, the other rotten, which if any person do but touch he dies immediately (which I believe without the least scruple). This overgrown devil, or god (for the difference is not very great), they endeavour to appease with eatables; to which purpose thousands of pots or troughs of victuals are continually found standing throughout the whole Antese country; so that he must have a worse than canine appetite if he hath not his belly full.

They steadfastly believe the apparition of spirits and ghosts, and that they frequently disturb and terrify some people: so that when any, but more especially any considerable person dies, they perplex one another with horrid fears, proceeding from an opinion that he appears for several nights successively near his late dwelling.

They have no other solemn times or festivals, besides that when their harvest is completed, which we call their Fair, and that of banishing the devil.

Excepting what the Negroes have learned of the Europeans, they have no notion of the divisions of the year into months and weeks; but reckon their time by the shining of the moon; whence they likewise collect when it is proper to sow: but that they have long been acquainted with the division of months into weeks and days, seems very probable to me, by reason each day of the week has its proper name in their language. Their sabbath falls on our Tuesday, but in Ante, like that of the Mahometans,

metans, on Friday ; and differs from other days no otherwise, than that no person is then permitted to fish : but all other works are allowed without the least interruption as freely as on other days.

The in-land Negroes divide time in a very strange manner, into lucky and unlucky : in some countries the great fortunate time lasts nineteen, and the lesser (which is different from the other) seven days ; and betwixt these are seven ill or unfortunate days, which is a sort of vacation to them, for then they do not travel, till their land, or undertake any thing of consequence, but remain altogether idle. The inhabitants of Aquamboe are more bigotted in this particular than any of the rest : for besides that they will not resolve concerning any affairs on these days, they will not willingly accept any presents made them, but send them back again, or at least cause them to be kept in a certain place apart until the lucky days come.

Who first settled this distinction of good and bad days, I cannot determine ; nor do I believe any person can : all that I can conjecture of the reason of them is, that, perhaps, some leading man amongst them might have been fortunate on the one, and unfortunate on the other ; upon an observation of which he might resolve to form it into a rule, to which he would adjust the remainder of his life, and that others consequently following his example, it grew first into a custom, and afterwards into a law.

The inhabitants of one country differ very much from those of another in this particular : this nation accounting their happy days at one time, and that fixing them at another ; whilst the Coast Negroes do not trouble themselves therewith in the least, but believe all times alike.

On the Gold Coast the natives are not in the least acquainted with image-worship, but at Arbra there are thousands of idols.

Believing I have sufficiently enlarged on the religion of the Guineans, I shall take leave of that subject ; and to fill up a **small vacancy** in this letter, just hint something of their strange superstition, **nothing uncommon ever happening** which is not attributed to some miracle or another : of which I could tire you and myself with instances, that happened since I have been here ; but to avoid that, I shall content myself with one instance of a thousand.

In November 1698, the King of Commany, formerly our utter enemy, was killed at Cabocors by the English ; a few days after which our chief factor at Elmina happened to die, to the great grief of the Negroes, who all unanimously agreed, that the before-mentioned King of Commany had called him to the Elifian fields ; and that since he had no opportunity when alive to send any of our chief men thither, he had taken this opportunity after his death of obliging one to follow him, out of revenge, and that we might have the less reason to triumph, on occasion of his death. Thus far and farther extends their horrid superstition ; but we shall leave them and it as impossible to be separated, and conclude this with my hearty respect to yourself and lady, &c.

LETTER XI. — *Of the Government of the Negroes, which by reason of the small Power vested in the Caboceroes is very loosely and irregularly managed. — The Difference between monarchical and republican Government — What sort of Government that of Axim is ; how their Courts of Justice are held, and how Justice is distributed ; what Credit is to be given to Evidences. — The extensive Authority of our Factor at Axim. — Punishments of Murder and Thievery. — Respect of Persons thought no Injustice, and wherefore. — Stealing of Men and Cattle severely punished. — The Office of Judge redounds very much to the Advantage of our Factor at Axim, as appears by a farther Explanation. — The unjust Way of recovering Debts, which is two or threefold ; Wars arise from hence ; the Reasons which sometimes engage them in a War, which is very cheap ; The military Force of the Negroes living on the Coast near the Sea is very considerable : their Cowardice in Battle ; their Manner of fighting ; of their plundering ; the Authority of their Priests in War ; their usual Arms ; Power and Prerogative of their Kings ; they live in no great State, nor are in the least revered ; their Revenue ; the Poverty of some of them ; Education of their Children very mean. — The Office of a King or chief Person.*

SIR,

YOUR obliging letter, dated the 4th of October, was very welcome, and so speedily brought to me by the ship the *Flying Dragon*, that from hence only she might very well deserve that name ; though I could wish on other occasions she were not found so swift ; for when our Company's ships are just at her heels, instead of the two wings the painter has bestowed on her, she seems rather to have four by her expedition, she being no sooner discovered but she gets out of sight ; well, however, if we cannot catch her, may God grant her a safe passage rather than she fall into the enemy's hands.

It is with a great deal of satisfaction I am informed that you have received and are so well pleased with my letters, treating of this Coast, and that you like that part describing the Commanian wars so well as to thank me for my trouble, and earnestly desire that I will impart what is yet wanting to complete the design, to excite me to which you all along praise my endeavours. This is what indeed might prevail upon a person of a humour different from mine ; but I am too conscious of my own imperfections to be ignorant how far the complimentary commendations your civility bestows, belong to me, and am not in the least moved by them ; but if you would urge me to proceed, you ought to use no other arguments than that it is your desire, and the obligations I have to you are the most prevalent which can be offered. This I am writing, as a proof of my zealous inclinations to serve you, since I am not in haste likely to obtain another opportunity, is like to take in as much matter as would fill one and a half or two letters.

Our present subjects are, the government, administration of government, and wars of the Negroes ; each of which I shall but imperfectly touch upon, because the two former will naturally fall in on some future occasions, and the last you have already had a specimen of in the relation of Commany ; and to conclude this letter, I design to show you the Guinea Kings in their brightest lustre and glory.

The government of the Negroes is very licentious and irregular, which only proceeds from the small authority of their chief men or Caboceroes, and frequent wars are occasioned by their remiss government and absurd customs.

The difference betwixt the administration of the government of monarchies and commonwealths is here very great. Of the former, the power and jurisdiction being vested in a single person, I shall not say much at present; but shall only speak of the republics; amongst which that of Axim and Ante seeming the most like regular, I shall represent them as instances of the rest; though indeed the best of their governments and methods of administration of justice are so confused and perplexed, that they are hardly to be comprehended, much less, then, are they to be expressed with any manner of connexion on paper.

The government of Axim consists of two parts, the first whereof is the body of Caboceros, or chief men; the other the Manceros or young men. All civil or public affairs which commonly occur are under their administration; but what concerns the whole land, and are properly national affairs, as making of peace and war, the raising tributary impositions to be paid to foreign nations (which seldom happens), that falls under the cognizance of both parts or members of the government: and on these occasions the Manceros often manage with a superior hand, especially if the Caboceros are not very rich in gold and slaves, and consequently able by their assistance to bring over the other to their side.

Their distribution of justice is in the following manner:—If one of the Negroes hath any pretension upon another, he doth not go empty-handed; but loaded with presents of gold and brandy (the latter of which is here of a magnetic virtue), and applies himself to the Caboceros; after the delivery of which he states his case to them, desiring they will dispatch his cause with the first opportunity, and oblige his adversary to an ample satisfaction. If they are resolved to favour him highly, a full council is called immediately, or at farthest within two or three days, according as it is most convenient; and after having maturely consulted, judgment is given in his favour, and that frequently as directly opposite to justice as to any other reason than the received bribe,

But on the contrary, instead of favouring, are they incensed against the plaintiff, or have they received a larger bribe from his adversary, the justest cause in the world cannot protect him from judgment against him; or if right appear too plainly on his side, to avoid an ensuing scandal, they will delay and keep off a trial, obliging the injured person, after tedious and vain solicitations, to wait in hopes of finding juster judges hereafter, which perhaps does not happen in the course of his life, and so of consequence the suit devolves upon his heirs as an inheritance; who, whenever an opportunity offers, though thirty years after, know very well how to make use of it; as I myself have several times had such causes come before me, that one would be apt to think it were impossible they should remember so long, considering they want the assistance of reading and writing.

It sometimes falls out that the plaintiff, or perhaps the defendant, finding the cause given against him contrary to reason, is too impatient to wait to have justice done him, but makes use of the first favourable one of seizing such a quantity of gold or goods as is likely to repair his damage, not only from his adversary or debtor, but the first which falls in his way, if at least he does but live in the same city or village; and what he possessed himself of, he will not re-deliver till he receive plenary satisfaction, and is at peace with his adversary, or is obliged to it by force. If he be strong enough to defend himself and his capture, he is sure to keep it, and thereby engage a third person in the suit on account of the seizure of his effects for security, who hath his remedy on the person on whose account he hath suffered this damage; so that hence proceed frequent murders, and sometimes wars are thereby occasioned, but of this more hereafter.

But

But if the sentence of the Caboceros be just, or the cause come to our fort to be decided in presence of our factor, the dispute is amicably concluded by adjudging it against him who the evidence prove is in the wrong, and it is found has not a sufficient plea to offer in his defence to clear himself of it: but if on the other side he can clear himself by witnesses, he is discharged; and if neither of the parties have any evidence, the accused clearing himself upon oath is discharged; which, if he cannot do, he is liable to have judgment passed against him to pay what is charged on him, provided that the plaintiff has given in his charge upon oath, which he is always obliged to do.

The oath of purgation is preferred before the oath of accusation; for if the plaintiff prove his complaint by two, or but one witness, the defendant is not allowed to swear.

This frequently occasions some very ill accidents, perjury being no new thing among the Negroes; and he that is injured this way, is sure to watch all opportunities of revenge. But this injustice very seldom or never occurs any where but at distant and far in-land places, where our factors can take no cognizance of it: but all suits arising amongst or near our forts, are determined by the sentence of the factor and the Caboceros, and so remain decided for ever, their judgment being strictly obligatory, and admitting of no appeal but to the director-general, in case the factor and Caboceros have been misinformed in the cause, which scarcely ever happens; so the Negroes pay the fine they are condemned in with the utmost willingness. What these fines are, and how proportioned to crimes, I shall immediately inform you.

Thus you see, when a law-suit is begun, we can end it without the assistance of attorneys or counsellors, in a much shorter time, and perhaps with as much justice, as where those gentlemen are most employed; though I must own that the causes here are seldom so difficult and puzzling as to require the advice or assistance of council; for the causes, plaintiffs, defendants, and judges, are equally simple, and upon a level; so I leave to your judgment whether this is to be commended or blamed.

As to the usual penalties: first, murder is punished two several ways; one is by the death of the murderers, and the other by a pecuniary mulct, which again is of two sorts, with respect to the free, and those who are not so; that is, the free-born and the slaves.

It is very seldom that any person is here executed for murder, if he either hath any effects himself, or hath any rich friends to pay the appointed fine.

If anybody kill a free-born Negro of Axim, and the murder is to be remitted by a fine, the old usual sum of five hundred crowns is demanded of him, though the whole demand is seldom paid, the murderers generally getting some abatement, according as the relations of the murdered person stand affected, for it is at their choice to be contented with as little as they please, and then only he is obliged to agree with; quite contrary to what a certain writer affirms, viz. that the fines accrue to the King, which is so false, that he has no pretence to the least share, unless he hath been assistant in the getting of them, when, indeed, he is paid for his trouble only.

The mentioned five hundred crowns is to be understood of a common free Negro, but on account of a considerable person I have known the fine augmented to ten times that sum; which, indeed, should not suffice, there being too many that would willingly give five hundred crowns to remove a chief man out of the way; wherefore the fine, in this case, is left to the discretion of the judges.

The murder of a slave is usually fined six-and-thirty crowns, but it is in this case as in the first, if the murderer stand hard he obtains an abatement of the injured person, who seldom gets above a chain or string of gold of above thirty-two crowns.

But if a murderer cannot pay his fine, he is obliged to give blood for blood, and is accordingly executed in a miserable and cruel manner; for they do in a fort kill him a thousand times, by cutting, hacking, pricking, or running him through the body, and shooting him, or whatever else they can invent to torture him, unless our factor sends for him out of their hands, and orders his crime to be punished by striking off his guilty head. Next to murder, thievery and adultery is most severely punished, but at present we shall only touch on the former, reserving the latter for another place.

Robbery is commonly punished by the restitution of the stolen goods, and paying a fine; in the adjudging of which, particular regard is had to the value of the stolen goods, the place where and by whom the fact is committed: for example, one is fined twenty crowns, besides what he hath stolen, and another for robbery, every way equal, shall be fined one hundred or more, and that without the least injustice, I mean according to their ancient municipal customs, of which a factor, who sits in judgment, ought not to be ignorant, lest, according to his own opinion only, he pronounces an improper sentence. Respect of persons in the administration of justice, is not here looked upon as the least injustice, though the best effect of this is, that the rich are commonly more severely handled than the poor, which they think reasonable on two accounts: first, the rich were not urged to it by necessity; and, secondly, they can better spare the money; for nobody is here fined above his ability, unless, by an accumulation of crimes, he hath given occasion thereto, and then he is sent into slavery. This is the true reason why a discreet Negro, though he is rich, will always pretend poverty, lest he or some of his relations, falling into the hands of the judges, should be too hardly used on that account.

The stealing of men is punished with rigid severity, and sometimes with death itself; and they are equally severe against the stealers of cattle, as hogs, sheep, &c. And herein they agree with our opinion, for the dumb beast cannot defend itself, nor call any to its assistance. They will rather put a man to death for stealing a sheep, than killing a man, more especially in those places where they are free from any subjection to the Europeans, who generally punish it by a pecuniary mulct only; whether it be that they are not fond of blood, or that they love the profit which accrues to them thereby, that I leave to you to determine, since I have before informed you that the Negroes under our government had rather it should be atoned by a fine, but not extorted by avarice instead of justice. And, according to this rule, I squared my conduct in my judge's office, of which I shall hereafter give you an instance.

All fines which occur at Axim are paid into the factor's hands, who distributes them to the injured persons, first deducting his fee, which not many years past was very considerable, but not long since was diminished by a certain gentleman, and the factor strictly ordered not to demand more than eight crowns for the decision of the most important suit which should come before him; and not only that, but if offered, he was commanded to refuse it; an order really too severe, to hinder another's doing good, and not permit him to receive and use his just perquisites at pleasure. This gentleman pretended thereby to shew his tenderness to the Blacks, but myself and several others were of another opinion: its true source was pure envy, which would not suffer him to let any of the officers of the Company, his fellow-servants, to get any thing, nor indeed any but himself, of which his continual management with the Blacks was but too convincing a proof: for if he himself decided any cause for them, or fined them for any crime, he was not content to be paid eight crowns only, but, on the other hand, sometimes enhanced the price to some hundreds; and I believe the Axim factors, finding this law so exorbitantly broken by its maker, have not the least regard

regard to it: nor are they in the wrong, for it directly clashes with the old municipal customs of the country; and for my part, if it had been made before my coming into that office, I should not have taken much notice of it; but by acting consonant to their ancient usages, have gained the affection of the Blacks more than by following any innovation; and this very law-giver, on the contrary, by unjust management and his exorbitant avarice, was only exposed to their implacable hatred and inveterate curses. But enough on this head: I shall next shew what are the perquisites which accrue to the factor at Axim, by the exercise of his judicial office.

For instance, if a Negro be fined one hundred crowns for a crime, the factor's share is two-thirds, and the assembly of Caboceros have the remaining third. But on account of murder, robbery, or the forcing the payment of debts, three-fourths of the whole are the complainant's, and the remainder belonging to the factor and the Caboceros, is divided according to the mentioned proportion of one-third to the Caboceros, and two-thirds to the factor, which render it much more advantageous for the factor to be judge here than in our own country, supposing our European judges to act honestly; what they get by unlawful means, as I am ignorant, I do not desire to be better informed. These judicial fees are, or at least before this order were, paid very freely, without the least scruple by the Negroes; even those for whom the factor had got in a debt, were very well contented to pay one-fourth part of the whole receipt, and this was as firmly settled as the price of bread at Amsterdam.

I shall, according to my promise, by way of digression, insert a relation of a cause depending when I was factor at Axim. In the country of Ancober, which hath long been subject to Axim, lived two Caboceros, both considerable men, who for several years had been engaged in a dispute, each pretending that the other was born his slave, and by inheritance he had an inviolable right over him; this was a very perplexed cause, each of them seemed to back his pretence with reason, and a proof deduced from many years past; insomuch, that the Caboceros of Ancober found themselves puzzled how to decide it; and both parties being agreed to plead the cause before me, and expect my determination; not that they thought me wiser than their countrymen and honourable council, but only that it might be ended by my power; accordingly it came before my judgment-seat, and though I patiently spent one whole day in hearing the cause, yet I assure you, at the end, I was just as wise as at the beginning, each of them confirming his pretension by so many witnesses, and seeming to have so much right of his side, that I could not tell whom to give it for. But, however, to put an end to this litigious suit, I asked them if they were both contented to submit to my decision; to which he freely consenting, I spoke to them in reconciling terms, assuring them that all which they pretended, on each side, seemed reasonable; wherefore it was impossible to decide which of them was in the right, the proper witnesses of this cause being all long since dead, and that all the evidence they had brought was not valid, it being only by hear-say, and the merits of the cause consequently forgotten: having thus prepared them as cautiously as I could, and observed that they both seemed to agree to it, I made difficulties of deciding the dispute, by telling them that before they went out of my fort it was my request they should be perfectly reconciled, and own each other for free-men; and that he who should ever pretend that the other was his slave, should be liable to a severe fine.

They both seemed very well satisfied with this determination, embracing each other, and vowing an eternal friendship: and the more effectually to convince me of their satisfaction, they each of them made me a very good present for putting an end to their quarrel: and, indeed, I really believed all was forgotten and forgiven. But two

or three months afterwards one of them hired two ruffians to murder the other in his own house, which they did by shooting him through the head: at which I being very much incensed, considering it as a thing of dangerous consequence by no means to be suffered in a well-governed commonwealth, as we say, but to be exemplarily punished in order to deter others from such practices, sent some of my principal officers to Ancober with orders to have the murderers delivered over to me, that I might bring them to condign punishment: but they boldly answered them, that they were not subject to their master, and that he might exercise his authority where he had jurisdiction. This angered me yet worse, for by this not only myself but the authority of the Company was affronted and diminished; to keep up which nothing ought to be neglected. Upon which I soon resolved to go to that country, accompanied with some of our people, and being gotten about three miles from our fort, I found about five hundred armed Negroes, imagining, I suppose, the sight of them would terrify me: but on the contrary, as soon as the mutual salutations were passed, I asked them why they denied and affronted the authority of the Company, and did not consider what mischief it would pull down on their heads: to which they answered, that they were belied, for they never pretended to forfeit the protection of the Hollanders, or withdraw their obedience, since the former was so advantageous to their country. Having thus far received satisfaction, I demanded the murderers to be delivered to me in order to their punishment; but this they positively denied, but told me, perhaps they would punish them themselves. Upon this I took my leave of them and was going away, but threatened them withal, that from this time forward I should believe they all had a hand in the murder, and that I would certainly secure all of their countrymen I could get into my power, and punish them as murderers: this had such a good effect, that they immediately consulted together, and sent some of their people to desire me to give them a little time to consider of my demand, upon which they would bring me an answer. I staid about a quarter of an hour; after which they brought me the malefactors fettered, only desired me that I would not be too hasty in punishing them, but only stay till they were all present, which I promised them; and returned with the criminals, very well satisfied with my expedition.

Scarce three days after, all the chief men of Ancober came and shewed themselves before my fort, requesting that I would acquaint them how I intended to punish the murderers; they were answered, by beheading them. And to strike a great terror, I caused the executioner with his instruments to appear. Upon which they set up a dismal lamentation, and begged that I would, in compliance with the custom of their country, suffer the crime to be atoned with money: though I desired nothing more, yet I stood off as though I was not to be persuaded to that until the relations of the murdered persons, who were already appeased, came and desired me, and what was most persuasive, offered me the whole fine: this was what I aimed at; but, however, to shew myself as generous as they, I was satisfied with half the sum, and so we were both very well contented, and the criminals, who were the children of considerable people, were set at liberty. This I have related at large, to shew you how we manage ourselves here to keep up our authority and respect; which is so considerable, that no Negro is permitted, without leave of the factor, to decide any cause, upon forfeiture of all that is thereby gained. In my time a Negro came to desire me to get him a debt, which I promised, and performed accordingly; but the debtor, who was no very good friend of his, informed me that this debt was contracted by lying with the other's wife, and appointed to be paid by the Caboceros. The plaintiff coming for his money, I asked him if he did not know that it was all forfeit, he having ended the

affair without my knowledge; he frankly confessed that it was, and begged I would give him but one fourth part of it; but finding him so moderate, I gave him half; for which he very submissively thanked me, and went away very joyful.

This is intended to prevent the Negroes having any opportunity of forming any designs in opposition to us, or to our disadvantage.

But to return to where I left off: at several places on the Coast, debts are recovered in a very unjust and villainous manner, especially in those places where we have little or no power, or in some of the kingdoms. A rascally creditor in those places, instead of asking his money of his debtor, and summoning him before the judges in case of refusal, seizes the first thing he can meet with, though of six times the value of his debt, without any regard who is the proprietor, who, when he comes to ask for it, is told that he must go to such a person, who is his debtor, and must pay him for it; and this nobody can hinder, so he goes immediately to ask the other for money for his goods. This is very extravagant justice, the first creditor has six times the value of his debt, and if the second is as unreasonable as the first, and asserts that he would not part with his goods for a less price, the creditor is obliged to give him full satisfaction, in imitation of an old Roman law; by which, if any person was injured in his honour and reputation, the injurer was obliged to pay such a sum as the injured should swear he would not suffer the damages for less, if left to his choice. It is true, indeed, this course is generally taken in case of small debts: but, however, the poor wretch that is the debtor, is sometimes obliged to pay a shilling for a debt of one penny in proportion. This is not to be opposed, for the creditor is more potent than he, and is upheld in it, perhaps by the King, or the great ones: this happens daily; and several men are thereby enriched upon a poor estate; and this here bears the name of justice; but in my opinion it is abominably distorted. Some Negroes have yet another way to force money out of people: which is, that one of these insolent fellows goes to a person, and tells him that he hath received such damage by his son, nephew, slave, or somebody else depending on him; for which he comes to ask satisfaction of him, threatening him that else he will murder or sorely wound him or shoot somebody else at his cost; and if this villain have courage enough to put it into execution, as I have twice seen it happen, the other must suffer the same as if he had done it.

Besides their accustomed distribution of justice above described, they have yet a very odd sort of justice, which is under the direction and administration of the Manceros, who have erected a sort of judicial society in every considerable village, whose province it is to adjudge all trivial crimes that shall appear before them, and of these the Negroes are very frequently guilty; I mean beating, cursing, or reviling one another: upon which the person who thinks himself injured, applies to the Manceros much in the following terms, viz. such a person hath injured me, I sell or surrender him to you; punish him according to his desert. Upon which these gentlemen with utmost diligence take him into custody, and after a very superficial enquiry into his crime, lay a fine of some crowns upon him; which if he seems unwilling to pay, as being unjustly imposed on him, they not having heard what he had to say in his defence, the Manceros not at all concerned hereat, only go to the market, where they take up as much goods on his account as the amount of the fine; which he is, though unwilling, forced to pay; and they have no sooner received this money, but it is spent in palm-wine and brandy.

The offences which these Manceros usually fine are so various and ridiculous, that I have not patience enough to particularize any of them; it is enough that I inform you
that

that if these idle judges have nothing to do the whole day, and consequently get no money to make them drink; their time is only spent in contriving to bring in somebody on one pretence or another in order to furnish them with liquor.

The consultations with the Caboceros in conjunction with the Manceros principally relating to war, we shall at present touch upon.

When they are desirous of entering into a war, on account of ambition, plunder, or to assist other countries already engaged in a war, these two councils consult together: but otherwise the greatest part of their wars are chiefly occasioned by the recovery of debts, and the disputes of some of the chief people among them. I have formerly hinted something on this subject, with promise to proceed farther on it.

The firmest peace of neighbouring nations is frequently broken in the following manner:—One of the leading men in one country hath money owing him from a person in an adjacent country, which is not so speedily paid as he desires; on which he causes as many goods, freemen, or slaves to be seized by violence and rapine in the country where his debtor lives, as will richly pay him: the men so seized he claps in irons, and if not redeemed sells them, in order to raise money for the payment of the debt: if the debtor be an honest man and the debt just, he immediately endeavours by the satisfaction of his creditors to free his country-men: or if their relations are powerful enough they will force him to it: but when the debt is disputable, or the debtor unwilling to pay it, he is sure to represent the creditor amongst his own country-men as an unjust man, who hath treated him in this manner contrary to all right, and that he is not at all indebted to him: if he so far prevails on his countrymen that they believe him, he endeavours to make some of the other land prisoners by way of reprisal; after which they consequently arm on each side, and watch all opportunities of surprizing each other. They first endeavour to bring the Caboceros over to their party, because they have always some men at their devoir; next the soldiers: and thus from a trifle a war is occasioned betwixt two countries, who before lived in amity, and continues till one of them be subdued; or, if their force be equal, till the principal men are obliged to make peace at the request of the soldiers; which frequently happens, especially about sowing time, when all the warriors desire to return to till the ground; for in serving in the war without pay, and defraying all expences out of their private fortunes, they quickly grow tired; especially if they get no advantage of, and consequently no plunder by the enemy.

When the governors of one country are inclined to make war with those of another, perhaps on account that they make a better figure in their manner of living, or that they are richer; so that these have a mind to some of their effects: then they assemble together, in conjunction with the Manceros, who also give their advice, and being young, and puffed up with hopes of plunder, are easily induced by the persuasions of the Caboceros; and the joint resolution is no sooner formed than every one prepares for war; and being got ready, make an irruption into the designed country, without giving the least notice or declaring war, urging much the same reasons with a present European potentate, "It is My royal will and pleasure, and for My glory." And thus they kill and pillage each other. The injured nation, to revenge this perfidious breach of peace, if not powerful enough of itself, hires another to assist it for less than 2,000*l.* sterling; for which price the best are here to be had, well armed and appointed for an engagement: so that, indeed, war is not here very dear, though at this cheap rate you cannot imagine the armies so formidable that are hired for such trivial wages: but plunder is their chief aim, instead of which they often get good store of blows, which prove all the perquisites to their mentioned wages. These wages they

divide

divide amongst the Caboceros and the Manceros; but the former manage the affair so cunningly, that the latter have not above four or five shillings each, or perhaps half that sum; for the leading men are sure to adjust the account so well in favour of themselves, that a mighty residue is not likely to be left to make a future dividend. But as for the plunder, though particularly appropriated to defray the expence of the war in the first place, and the remainder to be divided, yet every man seizes the first part thereof he can lay hold on, without any regard to the public: but if no booty is to be come at, the Manceros, like cats that have wet their feet, make the best of their way home, not being obliged to stay longer than they themselves please. Each is under a particular chieftain in a sort, though he can command only his slaves; a free Negro not owning his authority, or submitting even to their kings, unless compelled by their exorbitant power, without which they live entirely at their own pleasure: but if their leader is disposed to march up first towards the enemy, he may, but will not, be followed by many.

War, as I have twice before told you, is not so expensive as in Europe; our four years war with the Commanyschians (except the damage done to our trade) did not cost us in all six thousand pounds sterling: for which sum we had successively five nations in our pay. But I have formerly treated this subject so largely, that I need not say any more of it at present.

A national offensive war may very well be managed here with four thousand men in the field; but a defensive requires more. Sometimes the number of what they call an army does not amount to more than two thousand. From whence you may infer of what force the monarchies and republics on the coast are, Fantyn and Aquamboe only excepted; the first of which is able to bring an army of twenty-five thousand men, and the latter a much larger. But the inland potentates, such as Akim, Asiante, &c. are not to be reckoned amongst these, they being able to overrun a country by their numerous armies; though I cannot inform you any otherwise concerning those people, than what by hints we learn from the Negroes, who are not always to be believed. But as for the monarchies situate near us, I dare affirm, that though each of the two contending armies were composed of five or six several nations, they would not together make twenty-five thousand men; upon which account, joined to their cowardice, very few men are killed in a battle; and that engagement is very warm which leaves one thousand men upon the place; for they are so timorous, that as soon as they see a man fall by them, they run for it, and only think of getting safe home. In the last battle between the Commanyschians and those of Saboe, Acanni, Cabes-Terra, and two or three other countries, I do not believe that one hundred men were killed, and yet the Commanyschians drove their enemies out of the field, and obtained a complete victory.

They are very irregular in their engagements, not observing the least shadow of order; but each commander hath his men close together in a sort of crowd, in the midst of which he is generally to be found; so that they attack the enemy man for man, or one heap of men against another; and some of their commanders seeing their brother-officer furiously attacked, and somewhat put to it, choose rather to run with the hare than hold with the hounds, and that frequently before they had struck one stroke, or stood so much as one brush; and their friends whom they left engaged certainly follow them, if in the least pressed, unless so entangled with the enemy that it is not for want of good will if they do not; but if no opportunity offers, though against their will, they get the reputation of good soldiers.

In fight, the Negroes do not stand upright against one another, but run stooping and listening, that the bullets may fly over their heads. Others creep towards the enemy, and,

and, being come close, let fly at them; after which they run away as fast as they can, and, as if the devil were sure of the hindmost, get to their own army as soon as possible, in order to load their arms and fall on again. In short, their ridiculous gestures, stooping, creeping, and crying, make their fight more like monkeys playing together than a battle.

The booty which the commonalty chiefly aim at are the prisoners and ornaments of gold, and Conte de Terra; for some, especially the in-land Negroes, are so simple as to dress themselves in the richest manner possible on these occasions; wherefore they are frequently so loaded with gold and Conte de Terra, that they can scarcely march.

Common prisoners who cannot raise their ransom, are kept or sold for slaves at pleasure: if they take any considerable person, he is very well guarded, and a very high ransom put upon him; but if the person who occasioned the beginning of the war be taken, they will not easily admit him to ransom, though his weight in gold were offered, for fear he should in future form some new design against their repose.

The most potent Negro cannot pretend to be insured from slavery, for if he ever ventures himself in the wars, it may easily become his lot; he is consequently obliged to remain in that state till the sum demanded for his redemption is fully paid, which withal is frequently set so high, that he, his friends, and all his interest, are not sufficient to raise it; on which account, he is forced to a perpetual slavery, and the most contemptible offices. Some amongst them are so barbarous, that finding their hopes of a high ransom frustrated, they pay themselves by cruelly murdering the wretched prisoner.

Wars betwixt two despotical Kings, who have their subjects entirely at their command, are of a long duration, and frequently last several years successively, or till the utter ruin of one of them ends the dispute. They frequently lie a whole year encamped against each other without attempting any thing, a few diverting skirmishes excepted: only against rainy weather they each return home without molesting one another.

Though this is chiefly owing to their priests, without whose suffrage they are not easily induced to attempt a battle; they advise them against it, under pretence that their gods have not yet declared in favour of them; and if they will attempt it notwithstanding, they threaten an ill issue: but if these crafty villains observe that their army is much stronger than the enemies, and the soldiers well inclined to fighting, they always advise to attempt it; though with such a cautious reserve, that if it succeeds contrary to expectation, they never want an excuse to bring themselves off: the commanders or soldiers have done this or that thing, which they ought not to have done; for which reason the whole army is punished. In short, let the event prove how it will, the priest is infallibly innocent, and his character always maintains its own reputation.

I doubt not but I have sufficiently enlarged on their ridiculous wars, if I have not dwelt longer on them than they deserve; wherefore I shall relate the events which happened in my time, and apply myself to the description of their military arms.

The chief of these are musquets or carabins, in the management of which they are wonderfully dextrous. It is not unpleasant to see them exercise their army; they handle their arms so cleverly, discharging them several ways, one sitting, the second creeping, or lying, &c. that it is really to be admired they never hurt one another. Perhaps you wonder how the Negroes come to be furnished with fire-arms, but you will have no reason when you know we sell them incredible quantities, thereby obliging them with a knife to cut our own throats. But we are forced to it; for if we would not, they might be sufficiently stored with that commodity by the English, Danes, and Brandenburgers;

and.

and could we all agree together not to sell them any, the English and Zealand interlopers would abundantly furnish them: and since that and gun-powder for some time have been the chief vendible merchandise here, we should have found but an indifferent trade without our share in it. It were, indeed, to be wished that these dangerous commodities had never been brought hither, or at least, that the Negroes might be in a short time brought to be content with somewhat else in their room: but this in all appearance is never likely.

Next their guns, in the second place are their swords, shaped like a sort of chopping-knives, being about two or three hands broad at the extremity, and about one at the handle, and about three or four spans long at most; and a little crooked at the top. These sabres are very strong, but commonly so blunt that several strokes are necessary to cut off a-head: they have a wooden guard, adorned on one side, and sometimes on both, with small globular knobs, covered with a sort of skin, whilst others content themselves with bits of rope fringed black with the blood of sheep or other cattle, with the additional ornament of a bunch of horse-hair, among people of condition thin gold plates are usual: to this weapon belongs a leather-sheath almost open on one side; to which, by way of ornament, a tiger's head, or a large red shell is hung; both which are valuable here. These sabres they wear when they go out at their left hip, hanging in a belt, which is girt about their waists for that end, or stuck in their Paan, which is round about their bodies, and comes betwixt their legs, that they may run the swifter; besides which, they are girt with a bandalier belt, with about twenty bandaliers. They have a cap on their heads made of a crocodile's skin, adorned on each side with a red shell, and behind with a bunch of horse-hair, and a heavy iron-chain, or something else instead of it, girt round their head. Thus appointed, with their bodies coloured white, our heroes look liker devils than men.

Their other weapons are first a bow and arrow; but these are not much in vogue amongst the Coast Negroes, those of Aquamboe alone excepted, who are so nicely dextrous in shooting, that in hare-hunting they will lodge their small fine arrows in what part of the hare's body is desired. These arrows have feathers at their head, and are pointed with iron. The Negroes of Awinee usually poison them; but on the Coast that pernicious custom is not practised, nor do they so much as know what poison is.

Next follow the Aslagay or Hassagay, as some call them, which are of two sorts; the smaller sort are about a Flemish ell, or perhaps half an ell longer, and very slender, and these they cast as darts; the second, or larger sort, are about twice as long and large as the former, the upper part pointed with iron like a pike; some of them are covered for the length of one span or two, though in all manner of shapes. The Aslagay serves them instead of a sabre, that having their shield in the left hand, they may the more conveniently dart the Aslagay with the right, for they have always somebody or other to carry them after them.

Last of all are their shields, which serve only as a defensive covering of the body, and not to the offending any person. I have seen Negroes wonderously dextrous in the management of these shields, which they hold in their left hand, and a sabre in the right; and playing with both, they put their body into very strange postures, and so artificially cover themselves with the shield, that it is impossible to come at them. These shields, which are about four or five foot long, and three broad, are made of osiers; some of which are covered with gold leather, tigers' skins, or some other materials; some of them also have at each corner and in the middle broad thin copper-plates fastened on, to ward off the arrows and the light Aslagayes, as well as the blows of the sabre, if they are good, though they are not proof against a musquet-ball.

I think these are all the weapons used amongst the Negroes, without I should tell you that some of them also are possessed of a few cannon; it is indeed true, but they use them in a very slovenly manner. The King of Saboe hath a very small number, with which he has been in the field, but he never made use of them. Some of them, after once firing them, have suffered the enemy to take them, as it happened to the Commanyschians; after which, those who took them were ignorant of the use of them; so that these monarchs' cannon only serves to shoot by way of compliment and salutation, of which the Blacks are very fond.

Promises create a debt; and at the beginning of this letter you have my word that it should conclude with the grandeur of their Kings; in pursuance of which, let us see wherein it consists.

The extent of their territories is so small, that some of them have not more land under their jurisdiction than a single captain or bailiff of a village, and bear the same name accordingly amongst the Negroes: for before the arrival of the Europeans in this country, no higher title was known amongst them than that of captain or colonel, with this only difference, that the one was appropriated to a country, but the other to a village. But since their conversation with us, they, or rather we, make a distinction betwixt a king and a captain. The first word by which it was expressed, was Obin or Abin, which signifies captain in our language, but they always understood by it a commander of a country, town, or nation, for our masters of ships generally assume the same title; and by the same appellation would also be applied, without any distinction, to our director-general and chief of forts, if we did not better inform the natives of the difference. Kings are obliged in this country to preserve their power by dint of force; wherefore the richer they are in gold and slaves, the more they are honoured and esteemed; and without those, they have not the least command over their subjects; but on the contrary, would not only be obliged to pray, but pay their underlings to execute their commands. But if the goddess Fortune has endowed them with a rich share of treasure, they are naturally cruel enough to govern their people tyrannically, and punish them so severely in their purses for trivial crimes, that they cannot forget it all the remainder of their lives; and this is done with a seeming colour of justice; for the King, having any thing to charge on another, delivers the matter into the hands of the Caboceros, and submits it to their decision; who, knowing his mind, are sure to aggravate the crime as much as possible, and take care that their judgment be consonant to his royal will and pleasure.

The Kings in their dwellings, or, if I may so call them, courts, do not distinguish themselves by keeping any state. There is no guard at their palace-gates, nor anybody to wait on them; and when they stir abroad in their town, it is very seldom they are attended by any more company than two boys, one of which carries the sabre, the other the stool or chair; and if they are met in the streets, they are about as much complimented as a cobbler amongst us, whom we hardly bestow a hat upon, if we know him to be such. The meanest slave never stirs one step out of the way on their account. But on the contrary, if they are going to pay a visit to any person in another town, or are to be visited by some considerable man, they always take care to shew their grandeur, and on such occasions are always accompanied with armed men; several shields are then carried for their use, and an umbrella above their heads, that the gentleman's skin be not darkened by the sun: their wives are then finely dressed with gold and other rich ornaments, and have a long string of gold and Conte de Terra, or coral, hung about them; though in their towns they and all their wives are so wretchedly
habited.

habited, that their cloaths are sometimes not worth one shilling, nor sufficient to distinguish them from the meanest slave.

These great Princes are so miserably covetous, that there is not one of their subjects so poor, from whom they would not catch at a present. Hence it is, that Their Majesties' kitchens are not much better furnished than those of the common Negroes; bread, oil, and a little stinking fish makes up their bill of fare, and water is their drink for the greatest part of the day; in the morning, if they have it, they drink brandy; and in the afternoon, palm-wine: in one word, their manner of living is indistinguishable from the meanest amongst them.

At the time when the palm-wine comes from the in-land country, they go in the afternoons altogether, viz. slaves and all as companions, to the public market-place, where they sit down and drink very sociably; every one that pleases, bringing his own stool, adds himself to the croud: here they tittle till they have even burst the lice on their head; but when they are a little warmed, and their thirst somewhat slackened, they drink like Caboceros, whole bumpers and pints; for the calabash, out of which they drink, holds a pint, quart, or sometimes a pottle, which, when they come to be merry, is half or perhaps quite filled, which they set to their mouths to drink, straining to about two-thirds through their beards in order to fall to the ground, making by that means a sort of rivulet of wine on the place where they sit, and this is esteemed a great piece of magnanimity. The Europeans (amongst whom I do not pretend to be singular) are very good at this sport; but it is well for them it is not Rhinisch or French wine, for that would be too expensive; and here, for four or five shillings, they may get drunk and throw away large quantities.

When these drunken brethren come together, they are as impertinent and noisy as the Smouse or German jews at their synagogue at Amsterdam; but you must not imagine the discourse to turn on serious subjects or state affairs, not in the least, it is generally rank bawdy, of which they are so full, that it continually runs over; and though the women come amongst them, this is no reason for interrupting the discourse, for they are always ready to bear their part, being very richly furnished on this head; nor is it ever thought scandalous for them to display this sort of talent. In short, this is a perfect babbling and scolding-school, where each person freely gives his neighbour his own, as they call it; but in a much better manner than in Europe, where railing is the business of the private entertaining rooms, for here the persons exclaimed against are present, and consequently may vindicate themselves: but hold, I shall run too far; it is fit, I tell you, that though the Kings live thus in common with their slaves, yet on very slight occasions they frequently give them broken heads, from which those only are excepted who have acquired a reputation amongst the people; and indeed I have observed that some of these slaves had more authority than their masters; for having long exercised a command over their masters' dependents, by their own trading, they are become possessors of some slaves themselves, and in process of time are grown so powerful, that their patrons are obliged to see with their eyes only; and what is yet more, it is not seldom that they so obstinately oppose their masters, that they will not be appeased by any other means than a present.

A King here is always very ready to be hired to the assistance of any of his neighbours in their wars, because the greatest part of the money agreed for falls to his share; after the receipt of which, he is not much concerned whether the promised assistance be punctually ready at the appointed time or not; if he has received the gold it is enough, he always knows how to satisfy his customers with one lie or other; in which they are so subtle, that they will, unobserved, defraud even those who are very well
upon

upon their guard. Though this is an advantageous sort of trade, they are yet more fond of being mediators betwixt disagreeing nations; for on this account they get money from both parties, and keep the breach open as long as possibly they can, in order to get the more money from each. It is upon these incomes that they chiefly subsist, for their revenue is very inconsiderable. It is indeed true, that they impose a toll on all goods passing through their country; but the collectors being always some of the principal men amongst them, make sure of the largest share of it, and collect so well for themselves, that the King has very little of it. In a word, he is obliged to subsist on exorbitant fines, fraudulently extorted from his subjects, or on the manual labour of himself and slaves: wherefore those Kings are unfortunate who have but few slaves, and consequently are not very rich or potent. I have known some of these so poor, that they had neither money nor credit to command a bottle of palm-wine to treat their visitants. Hence you may collect how rich and potent these wrens of state are (as Monsieur Doudyn calls them in his Mercury). But perhaps being already tired with this account of the pomp and grandeur of their wives, slaves, and household, as well as themselves, you would gladly be informed how the illustrious princes and princesses, their royal offspring, are educated. I have formerly given you some general hints concerning the Negro children; it is then sufficient to assure you, that I never could observe the least difference in this particular betwixt the royal and common education. The princes being arrived at years of maturity, to get an honest livelihood, either plough the land or draw palm-wine, which I can assure you they are not ashamed to carry to the market themselves in order to sell it; but if they are not employed in these occupations, it is in something else equally consistent with their character; from whence, in process of time, they ascend the royal throne of their ancestors. If you reflect on this, it will somewhat abate your wonder, how husbandmen, shepherds, or potters, as Agathocles was, should ever wear royal crowns, as histories inform us: it daily occurs here; nay, what is yet more, the throne is often filled with those who, when young, have served us as foot-boys, or in a meaner capacity; wherefore you may imagine we cannot be brought to have a very great esteem for these potentates: no, I can assure you the meanest of our factors thinks better of himself than one of these kings: and indeed his authority is much more considerable, if we consider him to exercise that of the director-general and council, in whose name he acts; but leaving that as it is, I had rather refer you to Monsieur Focquenbrog than say any more of our grandeur.

As for the ladies, the princesses, perhaps you will be apt to think them too tender for the fatigues of agriculture; no, not in the least, they must also lay their hands to the plough; but if it happens that one of these illustrious ladies is too haughty to stain her high birth by working like a slave, she generally takes up a trade more likely to maintain her genteelly, which requires no more than what madam Nature has liberally bestowed on her; and if she does not get so much as the ladies of her profession in Europe, she has not such extravagant wants as they, and is consequently very well satisfied. Several of these are married in their young days, without the least regard to high birth or family, every body pleasing themselves in their choice; for a marriage between a King's daughter and a slave is not at all thought disproportionate, but is indeed somewhat better than for a King's son to marry a slave, which daily happens; since the common proverb, that the children follow the mother, is here passed into an unalterable rule, and consequently the issue of the former (viz. the princess married to a slave) are free, and those proceeding from the latter, slaves. Thus you have a view of the whole royal family: it remains now that I should give you some account of the

great officers under the King, which consist of Braffoos or ensigns, Sabre-bearers, Tie-ties, that is, public criers or proclaimers, attendants on their wives, horn-blowers or trumpeters and drummers: which offices the following lines will elucidate. That of Braffoo I have already explained to be a sort of marshal, who is to charge first in battle, which if he have but courage enough he always does. The second are the sabre or sword-bearers, of which these monarchs have generally about four. Whether these agree with the antient armour-bearers, I cannot certainly tell, though I believe them very near alike. This, whatever you may think of it, is no mean post; for the gentlemen to whom it is entrusted, sometimes become honoured with the character of ambassadors to foreign courts; though, to do justice, that more properly belongs to the Tie-ties or public criers, who are also made use of on this occasion, and sent by their masters on national errands to friends or enemies, their caps being an effectual free-pass every where, supposing them to be sent by their master, but otherwise they cannot protect them; they being in effect not unlike our European trumpeters in time of war. Each town hath one or two of these officers to cry what is strayed, lost or stolen; and to proclaim the orders made by the governors or Kings: besides all which, when sitting in council, they are obliged when the voices run too high and confused, to cry out, Tie-tie, or Hearken, from whence the name of their office is borrowed. They wear a cap made of a black ape's skin, whose hair is about one finger's length, and in their hands they have a bunch made of the hair of an elephant's tail, and small rushes; with which they defend their master from the flies. The fourth and last as well as most considerable officers, are the attendants on the King's wives; their chief province is to take care that no strangers pluck the fruit of their master's orchard: though I am apt to think when these happen to be tolerably handsome fellows, that they make better use of their posts, than their master of his propriety. They are also entrusted with all the King's treasury; of which they carry the keys, for they are not trusted to any besides them, and consequently they are the only persons who after the King's decease are able and obliged to give an account of his treasury. Besides these, our monarchs have no other officers. But I ought also to inform you that they are not Kings alone who are thus served, but every principal man has the same sort of officers to attend him, being herein equal with the King; or if he is very rich, perhaps he will out-vie him.

I dare say you will not complain that this is too short; if its length is not tiresome it is well; I have only the importance of the subject to plead: in short, that it prove agreeable, is the wish of yours, &c.

LETTER XII. — *Of the Negroes' Manner of marrying; the Bride brings no Fortune, and the Bridegroom but a very small one; Wedding-Charges very easy; how many Wives they have; what Work they do, and the Idleness of the Men; Merchants' Wives live the best; some drive a Trade with their Wives; the particular Subtlety of the Women; Fines for lying with another Man's Wife, and how the Cause is tried. — Married People have no mutual Propriety in Money or Goods, nor does the one inherit any Effects of the other, nor do the Children inherit their Parents' Goods. — How the Right of Inheritance devolves. — Adultery is severely punished in the in-land Country, each Person there being chiefly his own Judge; Wives not permitted to punish their Husbands for Adultery; fruitful Women honoured and respected; ridiculous Ceremonies on a young Woman's being with Child the first time; what Name they give their Children; wonderful Separation of the Women of Ante when they have borne ten Children; menstruous Women unclean. — Circumcision usual amongst them; a Conjecture from whence they derived*

derived that Custom ; of the unmarried ; early Marriages ; why Women remain longest unmarried ; Multitude of Women ; common Prostitutes initiated to Trade ; how highly they are valued, if found ; unmarried Women are Whores, though not called so ; a Description of the common Whores of Ardra.

SIR,

MY former treated of wars and the arts of destruction, and in this I shall touch upon a subject which supplies the devastations the other makes ; that is, I shall inform you in the first place how the marriages go here, and of every thing naturally falling under that head. Marriage here is not overloaded with ceremonies, nor have they any notion of a previous courtship to bring on a match ; here are no tedious disputes on account of marriage-settlements, but if a Negro fixes his eye upon a young woman (virgin I scarcely dare say), nothing is more requisite than to apply to her father, mother or nearest relations, and ask her of them, who very seldom deny a request of that reasonable nature, if it be but the least agreeable only to the daughter.

If the young woman is marriageable, he takes her home with him, but if yet too young, he leaves her some time with her parents, which some are not very willing to, for reasons hereafter to be told. The bride brings no other fortune than her body, nor does the man want much ; it is sufficient if he has enough to defray the expence of the wedding-day, which consists of a little gold, wine, brandy, a sheep for the relations, and new cloaths for the bride, which are proportioned to the circumstances of the bridegroom, who keeps a very exact account of every thing he bestows on the bride or her friends, that if she ever comes to be so far disgusted at him as to leave him, he may demand all again, which she or her friends must pay to the utmost exactness, together with the wedding charges. But if he puts her away, the account is settled, and he has no pretence to demand any thing of her or her relations, unless he produce very good reasons why he left her : in which case the mentioned disbursements must be refunded.

The wedding-day is not accompanied with feasting and jollity ; the bride is somewhat extraordinarily dressed for several days successively with fine cloaths, gold and other ornaments, which are frequently borrowed or hired on these occasions ; not unlike those in Holland, who, to render their funeral feasts the more splendid, adorn themselves with other's feathers. Each man marries as many wives as he pleases or is consistent with his circumstances, though they seldom exceed twenty, but are commonly contented with a number betwixt three and ten, and those who would appear very great, complete the mentioned number of twenty. Most of these wives are obliged to till the ground, plant Milhio or Jummes, or otherwise work for their husbands, and to take care that he finds something to eat when he comes home ; the best of which is, that they can very cheaply satisfy him : whilst the man only idly spends his time in impertinent tattling (the women's business in our country) and drinking of palm-wine, which the poor wives are frequently obliged to raise money to pay for, and by their hard labour maintain and satisfy these lazy wretches their greedy thirst after wine. Though others are not quite so beastly, particularly the traders in palm-wine, and fishermen ; the former of which sell palm-wine, and the latter either go out to fish, or hire themselves to us to row according as opportunity offers ; and these keep house the most peaceably and pass the most reputably through the world.

Those who are rich, have two wives perpetually exempted from labour ; the first of which is the oldest and principal wife, here called La Muliere Grande, or the chief woman ; to whom the house-keeping and command over all the rest is entrusted. The

second is she who is consecrated to his god, and thence called Boffum, of whom he is very jealous, and so much enraged if any man kisses her, that if he could do it privately, he would so severely punish her that she would not be able to serve him so again; but as for the remainder of his wives, he doth not watch them so narrowly, especially if he can get any money by them.

These Boffums are slaves, bought with design to be consecrated to their god, and therefore generally none of the most disagreeable. With these they lie on their birthday or night, and that day of the week dedicated to their god; it is on this account that they esteem their fortune better than that of other women.

The principal merchants' or traders' wives are the happiest, because not obliged to much labour out of the house, and they are well provided for by their husbands.

Several Negroes are so brutal that they marry many wives only to get a good living by them, and to wear gilt horns. These give their wives full order to entice other men to lie with them; which done, these she-brutes immediately tell their husband, who knows very well how to fleece the amorous spark. It is inexpressible what subtleties these Phædras use to draw men, but especially strangers, into the net; to those they will pretend they have no husband, and are yet unmarried and free.

Others, whose admirers very well know they are married, the better to allure them to their embraces, will promise, and if required, swear eternal secrecy; but most of them keep their words like women, and are sure not to tell their husband before they see him; and indeed it would fall very hard upon them if their husband came to the knowledge thereof by any other means, which is some excuse for their disclosing their lover; it being highly reasonable and a natural law, that a woman should further the interest of her husband; since by this means they avoid the danger of punishment, which they ought to expect from their husbands for concealment.

The fine for lying with another man's wife amongst the common people is about four, five or six pounds sterling; but the rich must bleed a greater sum, especially if he has lain with a considerable man's wife; on which occasion it costs a hundred pounds or two.

These causes are very accurately pleaded and defended before the courts of judicature. I, during my residence, acted the part of a chief judge on this occasion above one hundred times. You know that to deny is the first rule in law, and the Negroes are so well skilled in this, that they commonly deny the accusation the first thing they do, and oblige their accusers to confirm it by evidence, which the woman being most capable of, is obliged to appear in full assembly, and display the whole action in its most natural broad terms and colours, with all its attending circumstances of time, place, how the criminal deposed himself, and what he gave her: in a word, without forgetting the least particular. What think you, sir, is not this a rare trial, and very proper for the ears of those old gentlemen of which this assembly or court is composed? Especially considering that besides all this, sometimes the accused urges in his defence, that it is true that he was indeed just ready to perpetrate the charged crime, but timely thinking of the consequences, withdrew without reducing his intentions into action. In answer to which, the lady is obliged to declare all particulars, and to give all possible proofs of his completing the fact, inasmuch that both stick so close to their assertion, which they back with so much probability, that the old men are perplexed what sentence to give without putting the man to his oath, and if he forswears it, he is clear; but if he refuses that, sentence passes against him, since on these occasions there are not many witnesses.

Married

Married people here have no community of goods, but each hath his or her particular propriety; the man and his wife generally adjust the matter together, so that they are to bear the charge of house-keeping, while the cloathing of the whole family is at his sole expence.

On the death of either the man or the wife, the respective relations come and immediately sweep away all, not leaving the widow or widower the least part thereof, though they are frequently obliged to help to pay the funeral charges.

Some Negroes, besides wives, have also their concubines, which they several times prefer before their wives, and take more care of them; but their children are deemed illegitimate, and are not reckoned amongst the relations.

If a Negro has a child by his slave, whether married to her or not, his heir will look upon it and keep it only as a slave, on which account those who love their slaves will take care to make their children free with the usual ceremonies before they die: after which they are in every particular treated as free persons.

The children they have by their wives are indeed legitimate, but all along the Gold Coast never inherit their parents' effects, except at Acra only. The eldest son, supposing the father a king or a captain of a town, succeeds him in his office only; but besides his father's shield and sabre, he has nothing more to pretend to; so that it is here no manner of advantage to be descended from rich parents, unless (which seldom happens) paternal love obliges them to bestow somewhat on their children in their lifetime, which must be very privately done, otherwise the relations, after their father's death, will oblige the children to return it to the utmost farthing.

The right of inheritance is very oddly adjusted; and as far as I could observe, the brothers and sister's children are the right and lawful heirs, in the following manner. They do not jointly inherit, but the eldest son of his mother is heir to his mother's brother or his son, as the eldest daughter is heiress of her mother's sister or her daughter: neither the father himself, or his relations, as brothers, sisters, &c. have any claim to the goods of the defunct, for what reason they cannot tell: but I am of opinion that this custom was introduced on account of the whoredom of the women, herein following the custom of some East Indian Kings, who (as authors say) educate their sisters' son as their own, and appoint him to succeed in the throne, because they are more sure that their sisters' son is of their blood than they can be of their own; for being obliged to trust a woman no way related to them, if she commit adultery, the child may be entirely estranged from their blood.

In deficiency of the mentioned heirs, the brothers or sisters take place; but if none of them are in being, then the nearest relation to the mother of the defunct comes in. But their account of this subject is so perplexed and obscure, that hitherto no European has been able to obtain a clear description of it, as I am certain they never will; notwithstanding that the Negroes are so accurately perfect in it, that they never commit any error on this head: not but that great disputes arise sometimes amongst them on this occasion; but these are never owing to their ignorance who is the heir; but happen from the next heir's being too potent in men and arms, and therefore stretching beyond the due bounds of inheritance.

I have already told you how many wives the Negroes marry; and herein they place the greatest glory and grandeur, as their riches consist in the multitude of slaves, though they frequently conduce to their ruin, because every man is obliged to make good the injury which his slave does; if he is guilty of theft or adultery, his master is obliged to pay the fine imposed for his crime.

The Negroes are also responsible for their sons, nephews, and other relations; though in this case the relations help each other by a mutual contribution, each giving something towards it according to his circumstances; which, if he should not do, the criminal would be condemned to death or slavery.

Having at large described the marriages of the Coast Negroes, let us see how the in-land Negroes behave themselves in their marriage-state, and what punishment they inflict on adultery; since freed from any subjection to the Europeans, they are more severe on this occasion.

He who debauches a Negro's wife here, is not only generally entirely ruined, but his relations often suffer with him: for if the injured person be a rich and great man, he is not contented with ruining the malefactor only, but will not be quiet till he hath removed him out of the way. If the guilty person is a slave, his death is undeniably determined, and that in the most cruel manner that can be devised, besides a fine laid upon his master; and the men here detesting the foregoing sordid manner of trading with their wives usual on the Coast, a woman caught in adultery is also in great danger of her life, unless her relations pacify the enraged husband with a large sum of money. But she who lies with her husband's slave is infallibly condemned to death, as well as the slave her paramour: besides all which, her relations are obliged to pay a sum to her husband.

Every considerable Negro is in this case for the most part his own judge; and is he too weak alone to avenge himself, he calls his friends to his assistance, who readily lend him their helping-hand, each being sure to get something of the compensation which occurs.

These Negroes are richer than those who live amongst us; and therefore a person guilty of this crime is punished with utmost severity. I have heard of fines amounting to above five thousand pounds sterling paid on account of adultery. Besides Accra, Apam, and Coromantyn, there are very few places on the Gold Coast where I have not lived, and I do not remember in any of them ever to have met with a Negro who was possessed of so large a fortune; or with any King but what, after having sold all he had in the world to raise such a sum, would find himself not able to do it: but when I talk at this rate, I would except the King of Aquamboe, and according to report also him of Acron; which two being joined, possess more gold than all the rest together.

It is undeniable that jealousy is always accompanied with love; these two passions being so inseparable, that though they produce contrary effects, yet they seem in reality but the same thing. But however jealous the Black women are of their husbands, yet they have no satisfaction to pretend to, if their husbands, by diverting themselves with other women, rob them of their right; their only remedy is to wean him from this vice, by agreeable, soft and tender means; for none of them, besides his chief wife, dare pretend to chide him for it: she, indeed, when opportunity offers, will charge him severely on that account, and threaten him that if he pursues that course she will leave him: but this must be when the man is in a good humour, otherwise he won't take it very well.

Before I advance any farther, I ought to inform you, that all I impart to you concerning the in-land Negroes, is not the result of my own observation, I never having been at those places; but is only collected from the relation of the Negroes that come from thence: but they are such people, that in this and other things I dare assure myself of the truth of what they say. However I do not hand it to you as my own.

Each wife is fure to do her beft to pleafe and charm her husband, in order to be preferred above the reft in his love.

The wife, who is fo fortunate as to be big with child, is very much refpected by her husband, and waited on; befides which, if it is the firft time, rich offerings are made to the falfe-god, to obtain her fafe delivery. The ceremonies ufed on occafion of a woman's being big with the firft child, are very foolifh and ridiculous. As foon as they find themfelves pregnant, they are brought to the fea-fhore in order to be wafhed; though before fhe can get thither, fhe is followed by a great number of boys and girls, who fling all manner of dung and filth at her in her way to the fea, where fhe is ducked and wafhed clean. Why this is done I cannot tell, unlefs it be becaufe they vainly believe that if it is omitted, the mother, the child, or fome of the relations, will certainly die foon after.

As foon as the child is born, and the prieft has confecrated it, if above the common rank, it hath three names beftowed on it (though always called by one); the firft is that of the day of the week on which it is born; the next, if a fon, is his grandfather's; if a girl, her grandmother's name; though this is not ftrictly obferved by the Negroes, fome of them giving their own, or the names of fome of their relations to their children: after which, their names increafe with their years: has any perfon behaved himfelf valiantly in the war, he obtains a name derived from thence, as he doth by killing a chieftain of the enemies: does he kill a wild ravenous beaft, he gets a new name by it. But it would be a day's work to recite all their names, and the occafions of them; it is fufficient to tell you, that the number given to fome men amounts to twenty; the chief of which, and by which he is moft honoured, is that given him when they are drinking palm-wine together in the market-place. The common name by which they are called, is one of thofe given them at their birth. Some are called after the number of children that their mother has borne, as the eighth, the ninth, or tenth child; but this is only when the mother has borne above fix or feven children.

In the country of Ante, if a woman has borne ten children, fhe is obliged to be feparated from her husband, and live in a folitary hut, remote from all the reft of mankind, for the fpace of a whole year, where fhe is carefully furnifhed with all neceffaries of life; after the expiration of this term, and the performance of all customary ceremonies, fhe returns to her husband, and lives with him as before: this is a cuftom fo particular, that I do not know any nation befides where it is in ufe; and why it is praftifed here I am alfo ignorant, unlefs it be grounded on fome fuperftitious opinion, that it will defend them from fome evil.

When the cuftom of women is upon the female fex, they are not only efteemed unclean, and feparated from their husband, but they are not fuffered to go into another man's houfe, at leaft to lodge, and are confequently obliged to remain in a fmall hut near their father's or husband's houfe.

The children are not circumcifed any where on the Gold Coaft, but at Acra. But whence the cuftom of holding women unclean, and circumcifing the children, fhould be derived from, I own I cannot tell; to carry it up as high as the Judaic times, feems to me too far; though feveral Europeans favour this affertion, urging, that the Negroes ftill retain feveral laws and cuftoms which favour of Judaifm, as that laft mentioned, the honouring of the moon at the time when the Jews begin their feftival, the marrying of their brother's wife, and feveral more, which feem the fame in effect, as well as the names, of which here are feveral which occur in the Old Teftament. But all this cannot, in the leaft, incline me to their opinion; I fhould be more eafily perfuaded that they had all thefe from the Mahometans, whole religion is a mere rhapsody of
Christianity,

Christianity, Judaism, and Heathenism ; which, extending itself from one country to another, might probably reach hither : this conjecture being considerably strengthened from the natives of Adra and Fida, their being accustomed to trade several hundred miles inland, till they come to the Barbary coast, and not improbably to the Moors country. Which being granted, it is not unnatural to suppose they may have learned and brought home some fragments of their religion.

But to return to our subject. Several of each sex here live unmarried, at least for some time, though commonly the number of single women exceeds that of single men, and that for reasons hereafter to be told ; and yet very few Negroes die, unless it be very young, unmarried. The men marry as soon as they can raise money to defray the wedding charges, which, being so very inconsiderable among the common people, they get a wife very soon. The children of the chief or rich people, whose relations are inclined to it, and want no money, are frequently married before they become acquainted with the distinction of sexes : further, several families, willing to be more nearly allied, interchangeably marry their children as soon as they are born, without any other ceremony than the agreement of parents on both sides.

The reasons why the women here continue longest unmarried, is, first, because that they live a more free life than when married, being now at perfect liberty to admit the embraces of any or several men, if they please. These sort of women generally marry amongst common people, and seldom content themselves with their husbands alone.

The second reason is, the vast multitude of women ; their number much exceeds that of the men, which obliges them to stay till they are asked. Though this long waiting becomes less irksome, because it is no manner of scandal to stay their appetites as often as they think fit ; nor are they therefore rudely accounted whores ; but on the contrary, are always thought as fitting to be those for wives as any other ; and accordingly, in their turn, get husbands as well as the rest.

In the countries of Egnira, Abocroe, Ancober, Axim, Ante, and Adom, are several women who never marry, and who only are called whores, being regularly initiated in that trade, and set apart for it.

Each of the above-mentioned towns has two or three of these miserable wretches, according to their largeness. The money that they get they bring to their masters, who return them so much out of it as is necessary to subsist them in cloaths and necessaries.

These women are very miserable, when they have caught any venereal infection, from which they seldom escape long free ; for prostituting themselves as well to the unsound as sound, they are in continual danger ; and being once seized by that distemper it must take its course ; for it seldom happens that any-body is touched with any concern for her, not so much as her own master, to whom she belongs ; for as soon as the gain begins to cease, they withdraw their hands, and never so much as take the least care of her ; and thus these unhappy creatures come to a miserable end.

But as long as they are sound, and in their flower, they are in very great esteem : and it is impossible to afflict a land or town more sensibly than by seizing those creatures. For example, if our factor at Axim have any dispute with his subordinate Negroes, no way will more effectually bring them to reason than by taking one of these whores into custody, and confining her in the fort ; for as soon as this news reaches the Manceros ears, they go with flying sails to the Caboceros, and earnestly desire them to give the factor satisfaction, that they may have her set at liberty again ; urging as a reason why they request it in such a pressing manner, that during their imprisonment those men who have no wives will be put to the utmost necessity for a woman, and be

prompted to run the danger of lying with men's wives. This I can assure you of the truth of by my own experience, having had more than one proof of it; for at one time securing five or six Caboceros, and at the other two or three whores, I found hardly any-body besides their own relations concerned for the former; but on account of the other, the whole village came upon their knees; and every-body, though he had no particular interest in it, was very much concerned for their liberty.

The countries of Commany, Elmina, Fetu, Saboe, Fantyn, &c. have none of these whores, and yet there is no want of unmarried women, and they without any distinction, than that of being too young, are almost all whores, though they indeed do not bear that name.

In Fida and the country about it, and in all the land of Fida, is a very great plenty of these whores, and at a cheaper price than on the Gold Coast. In Fida I have seen a vast multitude of huts, not above ten foot long and six broad, placed near the great roads throughout the whole country, in which those women are obliged to ply at their appointed days in the week. It is customary for some of the most considerable and rich Negro ladies, when lying upon their death-bed, to buy some of these foreign female slaves, and make a present of them to the public; which these tender-hearted gentlewomen take for a great work of mercy and charity, as some people in Europe do the buying masses for the souls in purgatory.

Thus I have detained you a tedious while on the marriages of the Negroes, and exposed to your view all our venereal warehouses, and all their contained stores.

LETTER XIII. — *How the Negroes deport themselves to the sick; they do not depend on medicinal Remedies alone, but make Offerings to their Gods on account of the sick; what these consist of; their Gratitude to Physicians, which they frequently change, and renew their Offerings. — The Slaves also make Offerings for their European Masters, and the Mulatto Women for their Husbands; which is likewise approved by some Europeans; their usual Remedies, which, though they seem contradictory to the Ends for which they are administered, yet frequently succeed. — The great Efficacy of green Vegetables in Diseases, and even in Wounds. — The Enquiry after the Cause of any Person's Death; their Questions put to the dead, and their false God, with the Responses; an Accident on that account which befel one of the Author's Servants. — The Assertion of some who affirm that the Negroes ask Advice of the Devil, confuted; and a Relation how their Questions to the Dead are managed. — The shaving of the Women on occasion of the Death of their Husbands; cleansing the dead Body. — A Description of their Manner of burying the Dead; pompous Funerals of the principal People. — How they preserve the Corpse from rotting several Months above Ground. — Living Men sacrificed for the Dead; the Cruelty attending that Custom, as the Author himself has observed. — Their building of a Hut on the Grave; and the Opinion of some Writers on that subject contradicted. — The funeral Ceremonies renewed one Year after the Decease. — The Negroes very desirous to be buried in their own Country, or at least that their Bones may be brought thither; and how that is managed.*

SIR,

THE letters which I have sent you since those you have already received of mine, are five in number: treating of, 1st, The infalubry of this country, and wherein it consists. 2d, Concerning the nature of the inhabitants at large. 3d, Of their religion. 4th, Of their government, wars, power of their Kings: which is followed

by the fifth and last, treating of their marriages, &c. I hope you have received some of them before now, and that the remainder will follow in due time: but for fear any should unhappily miscarry, I herewith send you the copies of them.

Death being the period of all human affairs, I shall conclude my description of these nations with a short discussion of that subject, after which you will not be troubled with any more than three letters from me; one, concerning the wild and tame quadrupeds of this country; the second, of the fowls, insects and fishes; and the last, of vegetables: unless I can think of any other thing, and then you may be sure not to fail of it.

But to return to our design. Let us examine what customs are usual amongst the Negroes on occasion of sickness, death and burying.

Any Negro falling sick here is diligently enough attended, in proportion to his circumstances: for, as I have formerly hinted, they are all very much afraid of death; in which they are not much in the wrong, considering that but once to die, is for ever to be buried in oblivion. Actuated by this principle, they leave no means untried which may contribute to the extending the thread of life to as great a length as possible: and had they the same notion of the three fatal sisters as the ancient Greeks, I doubt not but there would have been the goddesses to which the greatest part of their offerings would have been directed.

In sickness (in which they agree with all the rest of the world), they first have recourse to remedies; however, not thinking them sufficient alone to preserve life and restore health, they apply their false and superstitious religious worship, as more effectual to those ends; and what contributes to the promotion of this custom, is, that he who here acts the part of a doctor, is also a Feticheer or priest, who consequently does not find it very difficult to persuade the patient's relations that he cannot be recovered without some offerings made to the false god in order to appease him; and they being strongly bent to superstition, and immediately ready to follow the priest's advice, accordingly desire him to enquire of their god what he would please to have. The priest to be sure is not negligent in this affair, where the profit accrues to him, but as soon as possible puts his cheats in practice; and after his pretended enquiry, he informs them that they must offer a sheep, hog, cock, dog, cat, or whatever he likes best; which sometimes may be gold, cloth, drink, and other such like good things besides, which are always proportioned to the ability of the person to be served; for that alters the measure of these cheats, who always consider whether the man be in condition to bear this charge; and herein they are indeed to be preferred to some Romish priests, whose undistinguishing exorbitant price of soul-masses ruins several families.

Whatever the priest requires, the Negroes freely part with; and he knows to what use to put it. If the patient shortly after recovers, either by virtue of nature's kindly assistance, or the efficacy of the medicines administered, the priest or doctor is sure not to remain unrewarded; for whatever Mr. William Godschalk-van-Fokkenbroeg may pretend, that when cured, the sight of the doctor and the devil are equally welcome to them; they on the contrary are very far from ingratitude on these occasions.

And indeed his sense, turned quite contrary, is rather true of them, they being no sooner recovered, but they extol their physician up to the heavens.

But does the disease increase, and the patient grow worse, fresh offerings are made, which are more expensive than the former; so that these continue till the patient is restored to his pristine health, or dies.

It frequently happens that one physician is discharged with a good reward, and another called in his stead, who begins a-new, and knows very well how to make his advantage of his patient's misfortune.

His

His first business, just like the physicians in Europe, is to condemn his predecessor's method, and decry him as an ignorant pretender; upon which new and very expensive offerings are to be made; for this new comer, fearing the fate of him in whose place he came, endeavours to make as great advantage as is possible in his time; to this end he makes use of such cunning frauds, that our Europeans, though bad enough, would be put out of countenance by them. But pray, sir, do not take this to be aimed at you; no, it cannot touch the honest physician, and such I take you for.

This change of physicians sometimes happens twenty times or more successively, and at a continual and greater charge than with us; the Negroes are so strangely bigotted to these offerings, that they several times force the priests to make them.

The boys, which are either slaves or servants to the Europeans, if they think they have a good master, will, as soon as he is seized by the least indisposition, without his knowledge, go to the priests to make offerings for him that he may recover his health; and accordingly we have found upon the beds or in the chambers of some of our principal people, some things consecrated or charmed by the priest, laid there on purpose to defend their master from death; and because they know we are always displeased at it, they always do it in private, and conceal it so well, that it is impossible for us to discover it before the person is dead, and they have had no time to remove it.

The Mulatto women (of whom I have formerly said something), who would fain pass for Christians, than which they are nothing less, are extravagantly addicted to this superstition; if one of them is married to, or kept by an European, who loves and pays her well; if he falls sick, she never fails to make rich offerings to the priest, with much warmer zeal and stronger reliance on the success of them than the Negroes themselves: but what is most deplorable and detestable, is, that here are even some Europeans, who not only think favourably of, and believe this idolatrous worship effectual, but instigate their servants to it; and are likewise grown very fond of wearing some trifles about their bodies, which are consecrated or conjured by the priest.

The chief medicaments here in use, are first and more especially lemon or lime-juice, Malaget, otherwise called the grains of Paradise, or the Cardamom, the roots, branches, and gums of trees, about thirty several sorts of green herbs, which are impregnated with an extraordinary sanative virtue.

The remedies used here frequently seem pernicious in the case wherein they are given, and yet are found very successful, as an instance of which, please to take one of the most common medicaments.

In case of a violent cholic, they give to drink morning and evening for several days successively a good calabash of lime-juice and Malaget mixed, and in other diseases full as contradictory ingredients. But this is out of my province to talk of these things: wherefore I shall rather leave it to you and others, better judges than myself; and only add, that how contradictory and improper soever these medicines may seem, yet I have seen several of our countrymen cured by them, when our own physicians were at a loss what to do.

The green herbs, the principal remedy in use amongst the Negroes, are of such wonderful efficacy, that it is much to be deplored that no European physician has yet applied himself to the discovery of their nature and virtue; for I do not only imagine, but firmly believe, that they would prove more successful in the practice of physic than the European preparations, especially in this country, because before they reach us they have lost all their virtue, and are mostly corrupted: besides which, our constitution is in some measure changed here by the climate; and therefore this country-remedies, in all probability, are better for our bodies than the European.

Those who are to come to this country, may, if they please, endeavour to explore these plants; for my part I shall here take my leave of them, with only informing you, the better to evince the strange efficacy of these herbs, that I have several times observed the Negroes cure such great and dangerous wounds with them, that I have stood amazed thereat.

After all the above-mentioned methods have been tried and prove ineffectual, and the patient expires, this furnishes his relations with fresh business; they are now to enquire into his death, or why he would die: for though it is probable and apparent that he died a natural death, occasioned either by sickness, extreme old age, wounds, or some mortal distemper, this will not satisfy them in the least; it must certainly proceed from some other cause, according to the proverb, "Death is never without a cause;" which is no-where in the world better believed than here. Immediately the priest and the relations must enquire whether the deceased was ever perjured in his life; if he was, they believe they have discovered the cause of his death, which was a punishment to the perjury: but if he be found innocent of this, the next inquest to be made is, whether he had any powerful enemies, who may have laid *Petiches* in his way, which might occasion his death (these *Petiches* I have before described), upon which sometimes some of his enemies are attacked and examined very closely; and if he has been accustomed to such practices, though never so long past, he will hardly come off with a whole skin.

I cannot here pass by what happened to myself eight years past, when I was at Axim: I was advised, in order to the advancement of the Company's trade, to send a messenger to the King of Dinkira; in pursuance of which, I sent one of my servants with a handsome present to him, who received him and the present very civilly, and was very well pleased with both. The Brandenburgers had also sent one of their young men with a present to him at the same time; whom this King received, as well as his present, with very great marks of friendship, he desiring to live in a good understanding with the Europeans. Both these servants waited at this prince's court, expecting that he by the first convenience should dispatch them both to their masters; but after residing there in expectation about six weeks in vain, he died: which accident exposed their lives to the utmost danger; for the relations of the deceased, ridiculously supposing they had occasioned his death, seized and bound them; after which they made enquiry by their priests whether the presents they brought were not poisoned or conjured: but these cheats were at this time so honest, that in appearance, according to their religious rites, they pronounced them innocent and declared them free; upon which they were immediately released, and delivered from their dreaded death, and afterwards dispatched back to us with presents. By this you may see how we fall into danger here in this country, without the least reason to suspect or fear it. But now to return where I left off.

If there be no suspicion of poison, then enquiry is made if his wives, children, and other persons about him, and his slaves, have attended him with due care, or been liberal enough in their offerings: but if no deficiency can be here found, and consequently the cause of the person's death is yet undiscovered; then they have recourse to the most common and last refuge, which is always at hand; the man died because he was deficient in the performance of his religious rites; which we have already described at large.

Then the priest goes to the dead person, and asks him why he died: if you ask who is the respondent, I believe that Simon de Ures, who always brings the devil in for a share of the play, as very frequently conversing with men, would say, or rather swear, that

that he, in the shape of the deceased or their false god makes the answer: but if you would have my sentiments, I really believe the dead, the devil, and the false god, are all three equally dumb, and therefore incapable of answering: but the true answerer is the roguish priest himself only; who informs the relations as it best suits his interests, that his god and the dead have made such answers; which to be sure, as before, are those which agree best with their ends, and seem to have the greatest appearance of truth. This decisive answer of the priest passes for unquestionable truth; and according to what he says they always adjust their affairs.

But now I remember, that I have found it in a certain author, or rather more than one, laid down as a positive assertion, that the Negroes in doubtful cases directly apply themselves to the devil and ask advice of him, governing themselves according to his answer: but on my own experience, I can assure you that it is utterly false and groundless; and what is most commendable in them, is, that they do not desire such a near acquaintance with the devil; and all their questions of moment in time of need, are addressed to their false god, or rather in effect to their priests, without ever so much as thinking of the devil or his attendants; much less in hidden or doubtful cases do they ask advice of him, or oblige themselves to square their affairs to the rule of his answer.

The customary questions to the dead are put in several manners: for instance, some men take the dead body in presence of the priest upon their shoulders; and then it is asked, "Did you not die for such a cause?" If he did, the men who hold him, by I know not what hidden impulse, are obliged to incline the body towards the querent; which is taken for an affirmative answer: otherwise they stand still.

As soon as the sick person is expired, they set up such a dismal crying, lamentation, and squeaking, that the whole town is filled with it; by which it is soon published that somebody is lately dead: besides which, the youth of the deceased's acquaintance generally pay their last duty of respect to him, by firing several musquet-shot.

If the deceased be a man, his wives immediately shave their heads very close, and smear their bodies with white earth, and put on an old worn-out garment; thus adjusted, they run about the street like mad women, or rather she-furies, with their hair hanging upon their cloaths; withal making a very dismal and lamentable noise, continually repeating the name of the dead, and reciting the great actions of his past life: and this confused tumultuary noise of the women lasts several days successively, even till the corpse is buried.

If a principal man is killed in battle, and his companions have no opportunity, by reason of the continuance of the war, to secure, hide, or bury his body (for the funeral rites must be performed in their own country), his wives are then obliged in all that interval, to be in mourning, and a shorn head.

A long time after, perhaps ten or twelve years, as opportunity offers, the funeral ceremonies are renewed, with the same pomp and splendour as if they had died a few days past: on which occasion also his wives again put on their mourning, cleanse and adjust themselves as before.

Whilst the women are lamenting abroad, the nearest relations sit by the corpse, making a dismal noise, washing and cleansing themselves, and farther performing the usual ceremonies: the distant relations also assemble from all places, to be present at these mourning rites; he that is negligent herein being sure to bleed very freely if he cannot urge lawful reasons for his absence.

The town's people and acquaintance of the deceased come also to join their lamentations, each bringing his present of gold, brandy, fine cloth, sheets, or something else;

elfe; which, it is pretended, is given to be carried to the grave with the corpse; and the larger present of this nature any person makes, the more it redounds to his honour and reputation.

During this ingress and egress of all sorts of people, brandy in the morning and palm-wine in the afternoon are very briskly filled about; so that a rich Negro's funeral becomes very chargeable: for after all this, they are richly cloathed when put into the coffin; besides which several fine cloaths, gold Fetiches, high-priced corals, (of which I have several times spoken), Conte de Terra, and several other valuable things are put into the coffin to him, for his use in the other life, they not doubting but he may have occasion for them.

The value and quantity of his coffin furniture is adjusted in proportion to what the deceased left his heir, or perhaps to the heir's conveniency. All this being over, and the relations and friends met together, after two or three days the corpse is buried; before which a parcel of young soldiers go, or rather run, continually loading and discharging their musquets, till the deceased is laid in the ground: a great multitude of men and women follow without the least order, some being silent, others crying and shrieking as loud as possible, whilst others are laughing as loud; so that all their grief is only in appearance.

As soon as the corpse is in the ground, every one goes where they please, but most to the house of mourning, to drink and be merry, which lasts for several days successively; so that this part of the mourning looks more like a wedding than a funeral.

They sometimes keep a King, or a very great person, a whole year above ground; and to prevent putrefaction, they lay the corpse upon a wooden utensil, like a grid-iron, which they put over a very gentle clear fire, that by slow degrees dries it: others inter their dead privately in their own houses, though they give out that they preserve the corpse in the former manner, and that in due time they will see the funeral rites solemnly performed. The day being come, when the King is to be publicly buried, public notice thereof is given, not only to the people of his own nation, but other countries, which occasions such a vast concourse as is really surprizing, each being curious enough to come to see the funeral solemnities, and it is certainly very well worth while; since, on this occasion, every-body is as richly habited as possible, and one may see more pomp and splendour in one day, than at other times in several years.

In such funerals as these, several slaves of the deceased are killed and sacrificed on his account, in order to serve him in the other world; as are also some of his wives and especially the Bossums, or those which he in his life had dedicated to his false god, being one of his wives, and one of his principal servants: but what is most abominable, is, that several poor wretched men, who, through age or inability, are become incapable of labour, are sold on purpose to be made victims in these accursed offerings.

It is a most deplorable spectacle to see these miserable creatures killed in the most barbarous manner in the world; what with hacking, piercing, tormenting, &c. they endure a thousand deaths.

It was not without the utmost horror that I saw eleven persons killed in this manner; amongst which there was one, who, after having endured a great deal of exquisite torture, was delivered to a child of six years of age, who was to cut off his head, which it was about an hour in doing, not being strong enough to wield the sabre.

These human sacrifices are in use amongst those Negroes who are not fully subject to our government, and live very distant from our forts; but where we have any authority we do not suffer them, though they will privately remove to other places, in order to perpetrate this villany.

The Negroes generally build a small cottage or hut, or else plant a little garden of rice on the grave, into which they throw several worthless goods of the deceased, but not household stuff or other valuable moveables, as authors would have it: there is no such custom at present; and, I believe, if I can judge of their nature, never was in use, unless in the days of Methusalem, which is a little too far for either they or me to look.

At Axim, and other places, they place several earthen images on the graves, which are washed one year after the funeral; when they renew the funeral ceremonies in as expensive a manner as at the interment itself.

The Negroes are strangely fond of being buried in their own country; so that if any person dies out of it, they frequently bring his corpse home to be buried, unless it be too far distant, in which case they bury him there; and if he have any friends or acquaintance there, they cut off his head, one arm, and one leg, which they cleanse, boil, and carry to his own country, where they are interred with fresh solemnity, as creditably as suits with the circumstances of the defunct.

LETTER XIV. — *Describing the tame and wild Quadrupeds; and first the tame, viz. Bulls, Cows, Sheep, Goats, Horses, Asses, Hogs, Dogs, Cats, Rats, and Mice: after having treated of the Nature of these, the Author passes to the tame feathered Kind, as Hens, Ducks, Turkeys, and Doves: after which he comes to the wild Beasts. — A complete Description of the Elephant, and some Writers on that Subject charged with Errors: of the Buffaloes, Tigers, Wood-bounds or wild Dogs, Caymans, wild Boars; several Sorts of Harts, Hares, Porcupines, Hedge-hogs, Sluggards, wood or wild Rats, Boutees, Civet-cats, wild Cats, Musk Mice, Berbes, Squirrels, Kokeboes, Legnanes, Arompos; several Sorts of Apes, various Kinds of Lizards, Salamanders; and a large Account of the Camelion, extracted from Monsieur de Bruyn's Travels; with the Difference betwixt those of Africa and those of Smirna.*

SIR,

PURSUANT to my promise in my last, to give you a description of the animals of this country, I intend in this to treat of the four-footed beasts and tame birds; the insects and wild fowl being reserved to another opportunity.

Beginning to describe the animals of this country, the first which offer themselves to our view amongst the tame kind, are the horned cattle, such as the bulls, oxen, cows, goats, &c. Dinkirka, Asiante, Akim, and other in-land countries, abound with great numbers of these; but by reason of the distant situation of these places, only a few bulls and cows are brought to the coast: but at Axim, Pocquesou, Elmina, and Acra, great quantities are bred, and more especially at or about Acra, because the opportunity is there very convenient to bring them from the countries of Aquamboe and Lampi.

In all other places of the Gold Coast we only find bulls and cows, for the Negroes are ignorant of the way of gelding bullocks into oxen. At Axim these cattle have indifferent good pasture, and accordingly thrive and fatten very well, as also amongst the Brandenburghers at Pocquesou and Acra; but at Elmina and the circumjacent country, they are always dry and lean, and consequently do not prove very delicate. This is the only place, by reason of the Negroes ignorance, where the cows are milked; but they yield such a quantity of wretched milk, that twenty or thirty are scarce sufficient to supply the director-general's table.

These

These are so very light and small, that one of the best cows, in her full growth, doth not weigh above two hundred and fifty pounds, though by their bulk they might reasonably be thought to weigh one half more; but all animals in this country, whether human or irrational, however they may be indifferent large, yet are very light, which I am apt to think proceeds from their sorry food, which, instead of a firm, produces only a spongy, loose, and tough flesh; hence all their beef is of an ungrateful taste; notwithstanding all which, about twelve pounds sterling is commonly given for one of these beasts.

The calves, which might reasonably be expected to be good, are but very indifferent, by reason of the poor milk they suck from the cows; so that both beef and veal prove here but very sorry meat.

There are great numbers of sheep, if I may so call them, all over the coast, but yet they are very dear. These sort of cattle are shaped like ours in Europe, from which they differ only in size, being not above half as big: they have no wool, but that want is supplied with hair; so that here the world seems inverted, for the sheep are hairy and the men woolly; that excrement in the Negroes being more like wool than hair.

Our mutton here does not bear the least similitude to that of Europe, this being very dry, insomuch that a nice eater will very seldom eat of it, and the common people, who are not very good at distinguishing tastes, are obliged to forbear it, because their purses will not reach it. Well, let them be as bad as they will, the price is generally about seven or eight and twenty shillings sterling. If any person is a great lover of mutton, he may improve to a tolerable degree, by gelding a young ram, and fattening him with fried barley meal; after which, though he is not comparable to European mutton, yet a curious palate may just bear it.

Goats are here in innumerable abundance: they differ from those in Europe chiefly in shape, being very small, but much fatter and more fleshy than the sheep; for which reason some men prefer them, especially the he-goats, which, gelt young, in a short time grow bigger and very fat: the price of a full-grown goat is here about twelve or thirteen shillings English money.

I cannot omit a ridiculous opinion of the Negroes concerning the goats: they tell us, and also believe themselves, that in the beginning of the world there was a certain goddess, who used to anoint herself with odoriferous ointment and oil; which the he-goats perceiving, applied themselves to her, desiring that she would please to anoint them with the same ointment, which she seemed to consent to; but, indeed, instead of the odoriferous, designedly took a box of stinking ointment, with which she anointed their bodies, whence they smell so strong to this day. The he-goats, knowing no better than that it was the true unguent, were very well pleased with it, and their breed continuing in the same opinion, whenever it rains, fly always to shelter themselves somewhere, lest the water should wash off their delicious scent. What think you of this, sir? Dare you affirm that beasts, in former days, did not speak, after such convincing proof as this?

You must not expect that their horses should be like Sejanus's horse, or Alexander's Bucephalus: and as their riders have no reason to fear the accident occasioned by the former, so they must not expect the courage of the latter. They are somewhat more like the northern horses in size, though nothing near so well shaped. On the Coast we have none, but there are great numbers in the in-land country; they are very ill-shaped: their heads and necks, which they always carry downwards, are very like those of an ass; they go as if they were falling, and will not stir forwards, unless forced

forced on by blows, without which they would move but very slowly : they are so very low, that a tall man, sitting upon their backs, may very near touch the ground with his feet : but I shall say no more of them.

There are also asses enough here, which are somewhat higher than the horses, and in their kind handsomer. We formerly had three or four on the shore, but they do not live long, for want of good feeding, as I suppose. I do not find that the Negroes use them to carry burthens, but only to ride upon ; for which purpose, indeed, they are as good as the horses here.

Nor is there any want of hogs in the least ; but those bred by the Negroes, are really worth nothing, the flesh is so flaggy and the bacon so sorry ; but those which we fatten ourselves may pass for tolerable ones, though they are not comparable to those of Fida ; which, for the delicacy of the taste and firmness of their bacon, are not only as good as the European but better : a hog of ninety pounds weight is here sold for about three pounds sterling, notwithstanding they are so indifferent as I have told you.

To complete our tame quadrupeds, I shall touch upon their dogs, cats, rats, &c.

The Negroes are great lovers of dog's-flesh ; hence it is, that those who bring a dog here may sell him dear enough, the Negroes willingly giving a sheep for him, if any thing large, and some will add something to-boot, in order to put him into their barking or dog-school ; out of which they sell their puppies at the dearest rate. They prefer dog's-flesh for their eating to that of cattle, and accordingly esteem a meal of that the best treat they can take or give.

In process of time our dogs alter strangely here ; their ears grow long and stiff, like those of foxes, to which colour also they incline ; so that in three or four years they degenerate into very ugly creatures ; and in three or four broods their barking turns into a howl.

The cats are also esteemed useful by the Negroes, but I never found that they eat them, unless forced thereto by necessity, as some of our slaves, being under confinement, often kill and eat of them, if they can catch them ; but we do not find that the cats are subject to change like the dogs ; on the contrary, they continue the same.

To augment the plagues of this country, it is pestered with such prodigious numbers of rats and mice, but especially of the former, that they are not a little formidable, and do us no small injury, gnawing and stealing all they can come at.

Taking our leave of the quadrupeds, it is now fit we say something of the tame fowl, whose species are so few, that they will not take up much time ; they consisting of hens, ducks, turkeys, and pigeons, the two latter being in our hands ; for that the Negroes have not any.

The most common are the cocks and hens, and therefore deserve the first place : they are in great plenty all over the coast, in time of peace ; for in war-time, as if these animals were resolved to have no share in the public calamity, there is scarce any of them to be had ; and the proverbial advice of our Boors, " Take care of your hens, the soldiers are coming," seems to be very well followed here ; for, as in time of peace, four of them may be bought for about four shillings and sixpence ; so in war-time, it is well if we can get two for that price.

At Axim these fowls are very fat and good, though small ; but about Elmina and other places of the Coast, they are so dry and clean, and contain so little flesh, that a good stomach would require something else to make up a meal, after eating three of them.

Next are the ducks, which have been but few years known on this Coast. I cannot tell from what country they were brought ; but they have no manner of affinity with those

those of Europe, not indeed are they much like them; being one half larger, and of another colour, commonly white, or black, white and brown mixt. The drakes have a large red knob on their bills, almost like the turkeys, only it does not hang so loose, but firmer, and is very like a cherry: these ducks ought to be eaten young, for if they are old they are tough and insipid.

There are no turkeys amongst the Negroes, but a few kept here for the director-general; and their flesh is no very great delicacy.

We have great number of pigeons at some of our forts, all which are of the common species of field or wild-doves; which, when young, afford those who love them a good sort of food.

These are all the tame animals which I find in this country; our next task is to consider the wild beasts.

It is but reasonable that I should begin with that wonderful beast the elephant, who is endowed with so many different, good and remarkable qualities, that, to rob him of the first place among the beasts, is a piece of injustice. I shall not recite a great many particulars concerning him; either because I cannot relate them upon my own observation, or that several have done it already: besides which, some authors have allowed themselves to tell us several very strange and ill-digested stories concerning its copulation, pregnancy, bringing forth its young, its age, changing its teeth, and several other follies; and it is not without reason that I call them so. For, as far as I can learn, no man in the world ever saw how they engendered, nor can tell how long they go pregnant, in what separable places they cast their young, or whether they change their teeth or not. These are all wild guesses, of which we can get no information by tamed elephants, and, therefore, this knowledge must come out of the woods; but how they come to converse so long with these wild beasts there as to obtain such an accurate account of them, I can scarce believe any-body, except good old Pliny can pretend to it. The famous writer concerning all sorts of books and histories, says, according to my best remembrance, in one of his books, that Pliny has long since been a fabulous writer; but that, at present, several of his relations have been confirmed by the discoveries of judicious travellers.

None, I believe, will deny that Pliny describes some things truly; but, on the other side, is, beyond contradiction, wild, groundless, and false. The fore-mentioned famous author has frequently been too credulous on account of what he hath heard or read concerning foreign countries, as a great many examples in his works clearly prove; which is no small fault in an author; for, in my opinion at least, it seems inconsistent with a good writer, to lay down as truth all which he can get by hear-say of other countries, for he ought first to consider, whether the relater of such strange things ever had a good opportunity of being well informed concerning them. But this carries me wide from my subject; we shall let Pliny alone, and return to the elephant, whom we find here in Africa to be a beast of twelve or thirteen foot high, and, consequently, much less than those in East India, since the writers concerning that country assure us, that its height there amounts to more cubits: besides this difference, they do not differ in their nature or shape from those in other places.

These beasts prove very prejudicial to the fruit-trees, especially orange-trees, Bananas, and another sort of figs; of the last of which, they eat both fruit and stem.

The Negroes also affirm, that the elephants, meeting any people in the woods, never offer any violence to them; but that, if the shot levelled at them misses, they grow very wild. But I have observed directly the contrary of one of them in our garden at Elmina the last year, of which I have enough to relate to fill a whole letter; wherefore

I beg your patience till I have dispatched this and two more, when I intend to entertain you with an entire history of our elephant and tiger-hunting; not doubting but that account will afford you something uncommon and agreeable: wherefore suspend your curiosity so long, and permit me at present to recite what the Negroes and others affirm on their own knowledge, that they follow men into the water, where they put them into no small fright by their pursuit. At Rio de Gabon, four, five, and more elephants have frequently passed by me and my company without offering us any injury, but we were not courageous enough to present them with a few bullets, though very well stored; for they are very difficult to be killed, unless the ball happens to light betwixt the eyes and the ears; to which end, the bullet ought to be iron also. Their skin is as good proof against the common musket lead-balls, as a wall; and if they hit the mentioned place, becomes entirely flat.

The country here where the greatest number of elephants are found, is chiefly that before we come at the Gold Coast, and is, from the multitude of their teeth which are there traded for, properly called the Tooth, or Elephants' Tooth Coast, extending to the Gold Coast, and takes in the country of Awine, Jummoré, Equira, Abocroë, Ancober, and Axim, several elephants being daily killed in the said places; and the wilder and less inhabited the lands are, the larger quantity of elephants and wild beasts are found.

Ante also doth not want these beasts, there being not only in the in-land country multitudes of them shot, but besides that they come daily to the sea-shore, and so near our forts, that they are in sight of our people, and do a great deal of mischief.

In the tract of land betwixt Ante and Acra, there are a few, though not so many as in the former countries, because this place hath long been reasonably well peopled, except the country of Fetu, which, for five or six years past, hath lain almost waste; wherefore there is a much larger number of elephants there at present than formerly.

A great part of the country about Acra lying waste and uninhabited, a great quantity are annually killed here. In the year 1697, one of an uncommon magnitude was killed near Acra, just by our fortrefs, and no doubt but that he was at least full-aged, his two teeth weighing two hundred and twenty pounds; from which you may infer that he was not very light himself.

In Ardra and Fida there are none, though in my time one was there killed, and the Negroes affirmed it was what had not happened in sixty years before; for which reason, I believe he had accidentally strayed from some other country; for the in-land countries of Benin (which borders on Ardra), Rio de Calbary, Camerones, and several other adjacent countries, are so incredibly overcharged with these beasts, that it is to be admired how the inhabitants live there.

The vast numbers of teeth traded for in these countries, clearly evince the great abundance of elephants here; but whether all those are taken from slaughtered elephants, or some of them are found in the woods, or elsewhere, I cannot determine: though I am apt to think that here they come by them both ways; from whence it should seem that, as some tell us, the elephants change their teeth; but this is utterly contradicted by the great difference betwixt the teeth themselves, some of them weighing one, two, or three pounds, and others progressively heavy, till they amount to above one hundred pounds weight: nor is it in the least probable, that a solid body, composed of such hard substance as elephants' teeth, can, in about twenty years' time, grow from one to a hundred pounds weight: how this happens to encrease, I must own I am ignorant. But I have dwelled too long on this subject; it is now time to take leave and turn to a beast, which, though vastly different, yet, in size, resembles the

elephant most of any here: I mean the Buffel or Buffalo, which is to be found all over Guinea, but in such small numbers, that scarce one is seen in three or four years; but since I shall have an opportunity to speak of a place where they more abound, I shall say no more of him at present, than that their flesh is very good meat, and leave the rest to that opportunity.

Tigers, not very unlike the Buffaloes in size, though they very much differ in savage fierceness, are here incredibly numerous, of four or five sorts, which differ as well in their size as spots. Whether leopards and panthers are a species of tigers, I will not venture to determine, since I have not yet met with any-body who could herein satisfactorily inform me. Turning to Pliny, I found him so ignorantly mistaken, that I am resolved, in my description of animals, not to name him. The Negroes distinguish the tigers by several names, but how to translate them into our language, I cannot tell: wherefore, passing over the several species of them, I shall only inform you, that they are all savage, fierce, voracious beasts, by means of which, daily tragical accidents happen.

They spare neither man nor beast; but as long as they can satisfy their appetites with the flesh of brutes, they will not make any attempts on mankind; but that being deficient, the first of human species that comes in his way is certainly dead. But of this more hereafter; so I shall at present only tell you, that however fierce this beast is, the young ones may be brought up so tame that you may play with them, as with a dog or cat: like the last of which they are bearded.

I have seen about eight of these tame tigers brought up at Elmina, of which the director-general has at present two; but I have observed that in all of them their fell nature returns in time upon one occasion or another; and that, though never so tame, they are not to be trusted without great circumspection.

Next the tiger in fierceness is the jackall or wild dog; which is mostly found about Acra and Aquamboe, though there are some now also hereabouts. This beast is so bold, that it seizes and devours whatever comes in its way, whether man or beast, such as cows, hogs, sheep, &c.

At night they come under the walls of our forts at Acra to seize our hogs, or snatch a sheep out of the stall; by which means several of them are caught in the following manner:—Our garrison lay several well-loaded muskets with the lock covered with a small box, to which a cord is fastened with a piece of mutton, and so placed, that they no sooner attempt to seize it than the musket goes off; and they, in the reward of their thievery, get three or four bullets in the head. This expedient seldom misfires, if due care be taken in laying of the muskets.

The Cayman, better known by the name of crocodile, claims the next place in our description of rapacious beasts, for so I call the crocodile also, not because I have observed him to be so; not having ever heard, during the whole time of my residence here, that they devoured either man or beast; but because I have both read and believe several relations of their voracious fierceness.

All the rivers in this country are pestered with vast shoals of them, especially at Lama and Boutry; at the latter of which I have seen fifty in one day, and amongst these some that I guessed to be about twenty foot long.

The crocodile is already described by several authors; wherefore I shall only add what they have forgotten or omitted. Their bodies are covered with such a hard skin and square scales, that it is impossible to kill them with a musket-ball; and the caps which the Negroes make of it are as hard as bone, and cannot be cut through with one stroke of a hanger, being very like the land tortoise-shell. Their bellies are softer,

which, therefore, they do not frequently expose to danger; so that they can hardly be shot dead at any other place than their heads. On very hot days, when the sun shines very warm, great numbers of them lie basking on the banks of the rivers; and as soon as they perceive any men near-hand, they steal towards the rivers and plunge themselves into them with great violence, immediately sheltering themselves under water. These creatures do not seem swift enough to run after, and overtake men, who are flying from them by land, supposing them not to steer a crooked course to avoid them, though it may be possible; I should not much fear them on land, any more than I should trust them in the water, though, indeed, I never heard any mischief they did there.

Their colour is dark brown, and they may pass for very ugly beasts.

And as for their crying, and other subtleties to catch men, I believe it as much as the Jews do the Gospel.

The fierce wild boars are reckoned among the rapacious beasts; and, indeed, those in Europe very deservedly: but here on the Gold Coast we have very few, and these not near so wild as in Europe. I have several times eaten of them here, and found them very delicious and very tender meat, the fat being extraordinarily fine.

Next these voracious beasts we come to a milder sort of wild beasts: amongst which I shall first treat of the harts; with which species this country most plentifully abounds, they being found all along the Gold Coast in incredible numbers, especially at Ante and Acra, where we sometimes see droves of one hundred together.

The Negroes tell us that these beasts are so subtle, that in all marches they detach one of their number as a sentry to watch whether any man be near, and advertise the rest, for the truth of which I will not be obliged, but remember to have read something of that nature of those of other countries.

There are about twenty several sorts of these beasts here, some as large as small cows, others no bigger than sheep, cats, &c.; most of them are red, with a black list on the back, some of them red beautifully streaked with white. All of them are very good to eat, but more especially two sorts, which we also esteem very delicate. The first sort are of a pale mouse colour, and, though they are both of one species, yet they differ somewhat in their shape; the feet of one being a little higher than those of the other, though the beasts are both of the length of about two feet.

There is also a sort not above half so big, of a red colour, which are extraordinarily beautiful creatures; they have small black horns and little legs, indifferent long in proportion to their bodies, but so very small, that some of them are not bigger than the small part of a tobacco pipe; one of which I have sent you set in gold for want of drawing, and, therefore, hope your favourable acceptance.

There is a hart about four foot long, of a slender shape; his feet are very long; he hath a long head and ears, is of an orange colour streaked with white.

These harts are swifter of foot than most men know, but that sort of which you have the foot are extraordinarily swift, and strangely agile in leaping for such small creatures; some that we have caught I have seen leap over a wall of ten or twelve foot high. The Negroes call this the King of harts.

At Apam, Acra and Fida, there is a sort of hares not unlike ours, which plentifully abounds at these three places; but with reference to this I have sufficiently detained you in my letter describing Ardra.

Here are also porcupines, but no great number, or at least very few of them are brought to us. They grow to the height of two, or two foot and a half, and bite so sharply, that no wooden work can withstand them.

I once

I once put one of them into a fat, not doubting but I had very well secured him, but in one night's space he eat his way through, and that at the middle where the flaves were most bent outwards.

This beast is so daring, that he ventures to attempt the largest, and most dangerous snake; of which more hereafter. When he is provoked, he shoots his quills (which are about two spans long), at both man and beast, with such violence, that if they happen to hit on a board they stick in it. The Negroes and some Whites highly value its flesh as very nice food.

I have here also seen a sort of creatures not unlike our hedge-hogs, only they cannot roll themselves as ours are accustomed to do.

There is a creature, by the Negroes called Potto, but known to us by the name of sluggard, doubtless from its lazy sluggish nature; a whole day being little enough for it to advance ten steps forward.

Some writers affirm, that when this creature has climbed upon a tree, he doth not leave it until he hath not only eaten up the fruit, but the leaves entirely, and then descends fat and in very good case, in order to get up into another tree; but, before his slow pace can compass this, he becomes as poor and lean as it is possible to imagine; and, if the trees be high, or the way any thing distant, and he meets with nothing on his journey, he inevitably dies with hunger, betwixt one tree and the other. Thus it is represented by others, but I will not undertake for the truth of it, though the Negroes are apt to believe something like it.

This is such a horribly ugly creature, that I do not believe any thing besides so very disagreeable is to be found in the whole earth; its fore feet are very like hands, the head strangely disproportionately large; it is of a pale mouse colour, but it was then very young, and his skin yet smooth; but when old, as I saw one at Elmina in the year 1699, it is red and covered with a sort of hair as thick set as flocks of wool. I know nothing more of this animal, than that it is impossible to look on him without horror, and that he hath nothing very particular but his odious ugliness.

There are a sort of beasts which lurk in the fields here, like rats, but bigger than cats; we call them wild rats. They are continually amongst the sowed corn, and do a great deal of damage.

Their flesh is by some Europeans and the Negroes held a great delicacy; and, indeed, nothing hinders its passing for such but its disagreeable aspect and shocking name, which create some aversion in the eater: but those who can step over this, like it extraordinarily well; and to remedy as much as possible its ugly figure, some cut off the head, feet, and tail, before they bring it to the table; and then it certainly passes on those who do not know what it is, for a very grateful dish; for they are fat, tender, and very agreeable.

There is also another sort of wild rats, which are chiefly found at Axim; they are as long as the former, but their bodies are very slender, and they are otherwise called Boutees: very few besides the Negroes eat these. They do an incredible deal of damage to the stores of millet and rice, that the Negroes have laid up in their houses; and in one night spoil more sowed corn, than it is possible for one hundred domestic rats to do; for they are not content to satiate themselves, and carry off some with them, but they besides spoil all where they come.

Here are three or four sorts of wild cats; of which the Civet-cat is one; which at present is so well known in Holland, that I need only acquaint you that they are brought to be sold to us very young, and then we give about eight or nine shillings sterling for one.

A large

A large share of trouble and careful attendance is requisite to breed them up: their food is pap boiled or made of millet, with a little flesh or fish. They produce civet when even very young; of which that of the males is better than that of the females, because the latter cannot avoid urining into the civet bag, which spoils it.

I can say nothing particular of the remaining wild cats, but that they are spotted like tigers, and are as fierce, doing a great deal of mischief amongst the hens where they can come at them.

I have seen very small mice, which afford a pleasant and odoriferous musky scent, but cannot find that they have any bags like the civet-cats; which inclines me to believe that the pleasant odour proceeds from the skin.

Here are yet three or four sorts of small quadrupeds; the first of which is a kind of cat, only its snout is much sharper, and the body is smaller, and spotted like the civet-cats. The Negroes call it Berbe, and the Europeans Wine-bibber, because it is very greedy of palm-wine.

The second sort are not much bigger than a domestic rat; of a red and grey colour, mixed with small white specks in their hair; the tail being of long hair, so speckled, and about three fingers broad; so that it very agreeably may reach from behind to their head: these are also called Wine-bibbers, though the name of squirrel would fit them better.

The third sort, when full-grown, are about as big again and red. This is a very mischievous creature, and bites very violently; and flies at man and beast without any distinction, if driven thereto by necessity. It is called Kokeboe, and is a cruel persecutor of cocks and hens, though not in the same manner as Mr. Focquenbrog informs us.

They have no need of such subtilty, being swift enough to catch the hens and strong enough to carry them off when they have them. I have had several, but never found any of them with red buttocks, though I have diligently enough examined them.

What Focquenbrog says farther, concerning this animal, I dare not confirm; not only because I have not found it so myself, but never yet saw the European or Negro who agreed with him.

The remaining beast or beasts, for there are more than one sort of them, we are here so little acquainted with, that I shall pass them over without any description, and endeavour to give you an account of an amphibious animal, that lives as well in the water as on land; this is the Leguaen: it is shaped almost like a crocodile, but seldom exceeds four foot in length; its body is black speckled, with round sort of eyes, and the skin very tender. He injures neither man nor brute, the hens only excepted; among which he sometimes makes a great slaughter. Several Europeans eat their flesh, and all unanimously agree that it is much finer meat than cocks or hens.

There is an animal who keeps in the woods; his body is long and slender; to which is joined a long tail; at the end of which is a hairy sort of brush: he is of a pale colour, somewhat inclining to brown; his hair is long and thin. The Negroes call him Arompo or Man-eater, because his food is dead men, to come at which he greedily grubs out the earth of their graves, as if he had notice of some persons there hid.

The Negroes report that having dug to a dead body, he does not immediately fall on it, but goes round it several times; to what end I cannot tell; but they explain it, that he thereby hints the unlawfulness and a certain sort of impossibility of seizing another man's goods, without doing something, or giving himself some trouble on that account first.

The mystery of this is not hard to unravel. I am apt to think that this beast is seized with a fear natural to all brutes; and therefore only looks round about to see if there be any man likely to force his prey from him.

It is time we say something concerning the apes, which are here above one hundred thousand in number, and of so many various species, that it is really wonderful as well as it is impossible for me to describe them all; wherefore I shall only touch on some them.

The first and most common sort, are those we call Smitten, of a pale mouse colour, and grow to a wonderful size. I have myself seen one of five foot long, and not much less than a man; they are very mischievous and bold. It seems incredible what an English merchant here affirmed to me for truth; that behind the English fort at Wimba, (where there is a terrible number of these apes; that are so bold, that they will attack a man, as he related,) amongst others they fell upon two of their Company's slaves, which the apes had overpowered, and would have poked out their eyes, if they had not been timely rescued by some Negroes; for they, to complete their design, had gotten some sticks ready.

You, as well as myself, are at liberty what credit to give to this story. But, indeed, these are a terrible pernicious sort of brutes, which seem to be made only for mischief.

Some of the Negroes believe, as an undoubted truth, that these apes can speak, but will not, that they may not be set to work; which they do not very well love: this is their opinion of them.

As the former sort of apes are very ugly, so the next are exactly like them, only four of them put together would not be so large as the other; and their best quality is that they are so docile that they will learn whatever they are taught.

The third sort are very beautiful, and generally grow to the height of about two foot; their hair is as black as pitch, and above a finger's length: they have a long white beard; whence they are called bearded little men, or bearded monkeys. Of their skins are made the Tie-tie's caps; mentioned in another letter of mine. The Negroes sell these monkeys to one another for about eighteen or twenty shillings; and when they bring them to us, we do not refuse them at that price.

There are, besides this, two or three sorts of monkeys, each alike handsome, but one half less than the other, with short hair of a mixed colour, partaking of grey, black, white, and red: and for the most part they have a white breast and beard. But hold, instead of a sheet or two of paper, I could fill a whole book in describing the various sorts of apes; which I cannot think worth while, and so had rather dispatch this subject out of hand; only informing you, that of the smaller apes there are not above twenty sorts: all which are very fine; but what is most unhappy, so extraordinarily tender, that it is very rare that we can rear any of them, much less bring them to Europe.

I must yet add, that their thievish nature, which seems to come into the world with them, is common to all of them; and I have seen them go very subtilly to work in the stealing of millet and fruit: in each paw they take one or two stalks of millet, as much under their arms (if I may so call them), two or three in their mouths; and thus laden they march away, continually leaping upon their hind legs; and if they are pursued, they hold that in their mouth fast, but throw away the rest, that it may not hinder them in their flight.

But their carrying so much Milhio or millet together, is not to be compared to their nice curiosity in stealing it; for every stalk of millet they pluck is narrowly examined; and if they do not like it, they throw it away and pull another: so that
this

this delicacy of theirs, occasions more damage than their thievery. And now I shall bid the apes farewell.

Here are every where thousands of lizards; especially all along by the walls of our forts; whither they come in quest of food, which chiefly consists in spiders, worms, flies, and other such like. There are various species of them; some of the largest having a tail about a foot long, and a hand broad; of a dark colour, and half their head red: the rest are about the same size, and differ only in colour.

They are almost all of them ugly and that to a shocking degree, except those that follow, which may pass for somewhat more tolerable.

These are chiefly a sort about half as big as the other, and are green; next to which is another sort one half less than the last; they are of a grey colour, and creep all up and down our chambers, cleansing them from all small vermin: these we call salamanders.

That the lizards forewarn men against snakes and other venomous creatures, I believe to be as true as that the salamanders continue alive in the fire: unless one would affirm that this report is owing to the antipathy betwixt the salamander and the fire, that being much of the coldest nature of all the lizards; and this opinion I could easily subscribe to, at least for so long till such are found, which according to the ancients live in the fire.

To conclude this letter, I shall add two small animals; which former times have presented us with large, but very wild accounts of.

The peculiar natural colour of the one is green speckled with grey; and the other green, and fire-colour and grey mixed together. These animals are very rare, and deserve a more particular description.

Several have already undertaken it, but amongst them all I like none better than Father N. N. and Monsieur Cornelius de Bruyn in his travels in Asia. What he hath told us I must entirely confirm, without being able to add any thing; these here being exactly of the same nature with those he describes: wherefore, not being able to present you with a better description, I shall give it you in his own words, somewhat abridged.

"Whilst I," said he, "with great satisfaction, not much encumbered with the pressing necessities of life, passed my time at Smyrna, I had an opportunity of getting some camelions into my hands; and being curious to discover how long they would live, I commonly kept four of them in a large case, and sometimes let them run loose in my chamber, and frequently brought them into the great hall of the house, where the wind breezed through from the sea-side, when they seemed brisker than before, and opened their mouths to imbibe the fresh air.

"It is firmly asserted by naturalists, that these creatures live on air: and, indeed, experience confirms it in some measure; for I never saw mine eat or drink any thing except a few flies; of which hereafter.

"It is also true, that they frequently change their colour; I have myself seen their colour alter three or four times in half an hour, without any colour being thereabouts; which I soon drew both in miniature and oil-colours.

"The colour which they chiefly change to, is a very fine green spotted with yellow, as beautiful as any pencil can express it; sometimes also it is spotted with brown spots: and thus is the whole body adorned, tail and all. Sometimes, they change to a brown colour like that of moles.

"Their ordinary colour is grey, or rather pale mouse colour; the skin very thin and almost transparent: they mostly change to a lizard colour. But as to their changing

to the 'colour of all things, which are placed near them, experience has informed me that the naturalists are here in the wrong, for they do not change to red, nor several other colours; though I must own that I have observed sudden changes in them on that account.

"I never could keep them alive above five months, and most of them die in four. I was very curious to know what their intestines consisted of: wherefore I opened one; in which I found some eggs, about as big as those of small birds, being all joined together as if in a thread, but no guts or any thing else. The tongue was the most remarkable of all, being as long as the whole animal. With this they catch flies, as they tell us; which is done in the following manner:—The camelion holds himself very still, and when a fly comes in his way, he darts out his tongue with utmost swiftness, grasps them with the sharp point of it, and draws them in; to which purpose his large wide mouth, which he opens, is very convenient.

"If this beast is desirous to descend from any height lower, he very carefully advances, first one foot and then the other; which are afterwards followed with the same caution by the hind feet, his tail curling about one thing or other in the meanwhile; by which he can hold fast; which continues as long as he finds any assistance by it, and then falls flat to the ground. Their march is very slow.

"Some would have it that the camelion mostly keeps his mouth open; but I have very seldom observed it, and scarce ever when I did not carry them to a place where they could have the pleasure of imbibing the air; then, indeed, they stretched their mouths wide open, and discovered by their motion and frequent changing their colour, the pleasure they were sensible of. Their eyes are round, very black, and observably small; but what is most remarkable, is, that they can direct one of them to one side, and the other to another: so that at once they can look upwards and downward."

Thus far Monsieur de Bruyn; to which I shall only add the difference which I have observed betwixt those of Smyrna and this country; which chiefly is first, that they here live as many years as Monsieur de Bruyn says months: but then we put them in a garden upon one of the trees; upon which they continue sitting some time before they descend. They have also several times been sent to Europe, and got over alive.

The second difference is, that I have not observed any of these here with their mouths open, and consequently have not seen the tongue or fly-catching; which yet does not disengage me from believing Monsieur de Bruyn: but on the contrary, I take it for undoubted truth what he says on that head; for his description being so exact, it is probable enough that he observed it.

In all other particulars they entirely agree; so that I neither can nor will say any more of them, than that Monsieur de Bruyn might better have compared their eggs to those of lizards, than of small birds; for I have observed in all quadrupeds and creeping animals which do not bring forth their young, but lay eggs, for instance, lizards, camelions, leguanes, snakes, and tortoises; that their eggs are not covered with any hard shell, but rather with a thick flesh, which is pliable and weak. What do you think, sir, is not this letter fairly lengthened? I think it is: wherefore it is high time to end the same; having at present nothing more than that I am with all my heart, Yours, &c.

LETTER XV. — *Treating first of the feathered Kind, viz. of two Species of Pheasants, Partridges, wild Ducks of two Sorts, Turtle-doves, Crooked Bills, Snipes, and other edible though unknown Birds ; of Crown-Birds, beautiful green Birds, blue and white Herons, Portuguese*, Eagles, Kites ; a certain River-Bird, very fine ; Crown-Birds on the Gold Coast ; Pokkoe, a large Fowl so called by the Negroes, and valued for his Ugliness ; as also another about the same Size, but handsomer : — Of four Species of granivorous Birds ; a small beautiful River-Bird, Parochites, Parrots, Star-birds†. — Of Frogs and Toads, some of which are very large. — Of the great Numbers and various Sorts of Snakes, some of which have two Heads : of Scorpions ; a Sort of Scolopendria, or many-footed Worms, and several other Species of Insects. — Of Bees. — Multitudes of Ants, and their strange Nature. — Of the several Sorts of Fish, as Brazilian Cod, Jacks, Plaice, Flounders ; a Fish called Sisse Pampher by the Negroes ; C-coverer, and several other large Fish ; several Sorts of Bream, Stompneuses or flat Noses, Boardmanetjes or Pouts, Mackerel, Saffer, Aboci, Ray, Soles, Dabs, Lobsters, Crabs, Prawns, Shrimps, Sprats, Karmou, Mulletts and Batavia ; also three voracious Fishes, viz. Noordkapers, Sword-Fishes, and Hays or Requiens.*

SIR,

IN my last having at large described the wild quadrupeds and tame fowl ; it remains that I should treat of birds, reptiles, insects, and fish.

To begin our account of birds, with those which are edible ; I shall bestow the first place on the pheasant : of which vast numbers are found about Acra, in the province of Aquamboe, in and about Apam in the Acrase country ; being extraordinarily beautiful, and about the size of a hen ; their feathers speckled with a bright blue and white, encircled with a sky-coloured ring about their necks, about two fingers broad, and adorned with a very fine black tuft on their heads : in a word, it is as beautiful a bird as nature furnisheth among the terrestrial species, and next to gold (which I always esteem the most precious) is the most charming rarity that Guinea produces.

There is a bird which we here call the Fidasé pheasant, because they are most frequently observed in that country, though they are besides sometimes caught on the Gold Coast.

This bird is almost as big as the former, though not near so beautiful. His body is grey and white, a little speckled with blue : his head is bald, and covered with a hard callous skin, which is all over knotty : his bill is yellow ; from whence to the head grows out on each side a red jollop.

To the pheasants it will be proper to add the partridges ; of which there is a vast quantity all over the Gold Coast, though we have no great numbers of them to eat, by reason of the want of sportsmen : but at Fida they are as plenty as can be desired, and at a very low price ; and when in season are very good food.

Nor do we want wild ducks, which are here very delicate, and only differ from those in Europe by being somewhat smaller.

There are here two sorts of them ; of the first of which, during the whole time of my residence on the Coast, I have seen but two, which were shot by the director's trumpeter : in shape and size they were not unlike other ducks ; but they were of a very beautiful green colour, with fine red bills and feet : their colour was so deep and charming, that if they had been alive and to be sold, I should not have boggled to have

* Birds so called by the Hollanders.

† In Dutch Stier or Stervogel.

given ten pounds sterling for them. It is remarkable that before nor since that time none of that species have been seen.

And for about four months past, I have seen but one of the second sort; which was also shot by one of the garrison, and was shaped like the former: his feet and bill were yellow, and his body adorned with an equal mixture of green and grey; but not near so fine as the former.

There are here two, or rather three species of turtle-doves; the first are small, of a bay colour, and eat very well, being much tenderer than the second, which are of a much brighter colour: the third sort, being as tough and large as these, are of a very beautiful green; their bills and feet are yellow; they have a few red feathers, and their eyes are encircled with large white speckled rings; some of which are intermixed with blue.

There is a very large rock above our fort at Axim, two or three musquet-shot from the ramparts; which is very thick grown with underwoods, where thousands of these two last sorts of turtles harbour, and by reason the rock is so closely covered with those plants, we can catch but very few; for if we shoot them, and they fall down, they are never found. Every evening they come there to roost, and in the morning take their flight in quest of food.

Crooked-bills and several sorts of snipes are very common here; several of them prove good food, but most are so tough that they are not very much valued.

We have here also multitudes of all sorts of large and small birds, which are shot and eaten; but besides that we are unacquainted with them, they are not distinguished by any particular names.

As for those which are not edible, but are only kept for beauty and rarity (supposing them to be caught), of the most common there are several at Fida, and in the whole country of Ardra, and also few at and about Acra.

Their legs and body are about the size of a stork, and they are called Crown-birds, from the great yellowish tuft or crown intermixed with speckled feathers, strutting like hogs' bristles, with which their heads are adorned: their bodies are chiefly covered with black feathers, and their wings furnished with large, red, yellow, white, and black quills: their heads are beautified with purple spots, half a thumb's breadth on each side, and the forepart of their head is very closely covered with a perfect black downy sort of feathers; which at a distance seems to be black velvet.

These birds seem to be in great esteem in Europe, since we are incessantly solicited by some gentlemen to send them over: and I have been told that they presumed to present one of them to the King of England, who was also pleased to accept of it. But, for my part, I cannot perceive any such extraordinary beauty in them; for besides their head and neck, there is nothing very rare; the rest of their body being rather disagreeable than fine.

But the bird of which I have sent you the draught, on the contrary, is not less beautiful than rare; for though most of the other birds are to be found all over the coast, I never saw this any where but at Apam, where I am apt to think there are great numbers of them; because sending out two days successively, in a short time I had one brought me shot dead; for otherwise they are not easily taken.

They are very like a parrot, having exactly such a bill, which is dark yellow; the breast and whole under part of their body is of a very fine green colour; the upper part, grey, red, sky-colour and deep blue, very agreeably intermixed: the head, neck and tail, which are all green, render this bird very charming; the feathers rise on his head like a comb; he hath large eyes, above and below which are two of the most beautiful

beautiful red rays that can be imagined. To conclude, this bird is not to be paralleled for beauty.

Here are two sorts of herons observable, the blue and the white; both which we might have placed amongst the edible fowl, since several here eat them.

In these parts is also an unknown bird, as big in the body as a goose, mostly white, which we call Portuguese, which is also eaten by some few.

Nor are eagles wanting here, such as are in Europe, or at least not very different from them.

Here is also another ravenous bird on the coast, very like a falcon, and though but a little bigger than a dove, yet he is so bold and strong, that he attacks and flies away with the largest chickens.

The third sort of birds of prey on this coast, are the kites; these steal all they can discover and carry off, besides chickens, whether flesh or fish; and that so boldly, that they frequently seize the latter in the hands of the Negro-women as they are going along the street or sitting in the market.

There is a fowl which harbours near lakes and rivers, and may very well pass for a fine bird; he is about as large as a chicken, the upper part of his body black or brown, speckled with white, and the under, either deep yellow or red; he hath also a tuft of speckled feathers rising like a comb; and his bill in proportion to his body is extraordinarily thick and long.

I have presented you with a Fedase crown-bird, and wish I could also send you a draught of the sort found on the Gold Coast, and then you would observe a great difference, it being twice as fine, and of ten various colours, as green, red, blue, sky-colour, brown, black, white, &c. and what is very observable, they have a long tail, out of which the Negroes pull the feathers to wear on their heads. We call them crown-birds, because some have a beautiful blue, and others a gold-coloured crown or tuft on their heads. Monsieur Focquenbrog mentions peacocks that he saw at the river Boutry, which can be no other than these birds, for here are no peacocks on the Coast.

There is a bird, which though ugly enough may be esteemed rare; for I dare aver that the whole world doth not produce his like; he is exactly of the size of a goose, his wings are extravagantly long and broad, covered with dark-coloured feathers; the under part of his body is overspread with ash-coloured feathers, if I may so call them, for it is really difficult to distinguish them from hair: under his neck he hath a crop or maw about a span long and as thick as a man's arm, which looks like a red skin; in this he hoards his food, as the monkeys do in their Alfoaches. His neck, which is pretty long, and the red knob in the nape, is furnished with feathers as well as the under part of the body; his head, in proportion to his body, is much too large, and, excepting a very few hairs he hath, is very bald; his eyes are large and black, his bill extraordinarily thick and long; his food is fish, of which he devours as much at once as would suffice four men; he catches the fish thrown to him very nimbly, and throws them down whole into his crop. He is a great lover of rats, which he also swallows whole, and which we have often obliged him to vomit; for as he runs on the out-works of the castle, to divert ourselves, we cause him to be brought above; when, as though he designed us a service, he brings up a half-digested rat out of his crop and lays it at our feet.

It is agreeable enough to see a little boy, or our dogs set on him, upon which he will very strangely arm himself for opposition, pecking and striking them with his bill very artificially, and they repulsing him, which was like two pieces of wood struck against each other, or a pair of snappers.

These

These being all his good as well as bad qualities, I leave you to judge whether he is handsome or ugly, though I cannot doubt but you will declare him the latter: the Negroes call him Pokkoe.

Another bird is in size somewhat like the former, though his neck is much longer. When he stands on his feet and stretches his neck upwards he is much above a man's height. Our people shot him by the river of Apam, and we found his feathers black, white, red, sky, and several other colours intermixed all over his body; his eyes are large and yellow. This is all I have to observe of him; he may very well pass for a fine bird: his name is equally unknown to me and the Negroes.

Of another the bill is long and sharp, his body chequered with yellow and light blue feathers; a black semicircle about his neck, a long tail composed of yellow, blue, and black feathers, and a few feathers on his head.

There is a bird shaped like the former, and of the same species, from which he chiefly differs in that his bill is thick, short and black; the under part of his body, black, his back of a beautiful yellow, and his feet as well as bill black.

There is also a bird not very different from the first in any thing else except that grey and yellow are intermixed amongst his feathers; he hath a sharp bill, and in proportion to his size, extraordinarily long feet and claws.

Another bird is not above half so big as the preceding, and shaped almost like a sparrow; his colour renders him very beautiful, his head and breast being as black as jet, his wings and feet grey, the rest of his body of a bright red, and it is indeed pity we cannot keep these birds alive.

But one far exceeds all the other in beauty: he always harbours about the rivers, fattening himself with small fish. His wings and the upper part of his body are entirely blue, somewhat inclining to sky-colour, as are also the feathers of his neck, which are pretty long, and the tuft on his head; his breast is of a dark yellow, mixed with some blue and red feathers; his feet and bill of a bright red, and very thick and long.

Of another granivorous bird, the breast, the under part of his body and neck, is of a reddish yellow; his head is entirely black, except a beautiful yellow spot on the fore part, the upper part of his body and wings are black, and his tail is composed of black, yellow and red feathers intermixed.

Another, about as big again as the former, hath a beautiful red breast and under part of his body; the upper part of his body, wings and tail, as black as pitch, and the upper part of his head of a bright yellow.

The small parrochites, or Guinea sparrows, are like those in Europe; we have here vast numbers of the same species, without the least difference, which are also called sparrows, for what reason I cannot tell.

The whole coast, but more especially the lower part of it, as Moure, Cormantyn, Apam and Acra very plentifully abound with these birds; they are of a green colour, mixed with a beautiful red, and some of them have also a few yellow and black feathers. Their bill, like that of parrots, is red and crooked.

They are very beautiful little creatures, and daily, or whenever opportunity offers, we send great numbers of them to Holland, where they bear a good value. We generally buy them here at the rate of a Rix-dollar per dozen, but most of them commonly die in their passage to Holland, notwithstanding which, a certain author hath ventured to tell us that they live thirty, forty, or more years, but that must be once on a time, for at present of one hundred that we send over, scarcely ten survive.

We have parrots all over the coast, but not many, and most of them come from far inland countries. Those of Benin, Calbary, and Cape Lopez, are here most valued,

because far-fetched, though their admirers are not aware that they are much older than those we catch here, and consequently not so docile; but these men, like ladies, admire what comes from afar.

All the parrots here on the Coast, as also on the promontory of Guinea, and the mentioned places, are blue.

It would be to wash an Æthiopian, or at least an unnecessary task, to say much concerning these birds, since they are so common in Holland, that they are there much less esteemed than here, and bear a less price also; for I believe very few in Holland would give three, four, or five pounds sterling for a babbling parrot, which is very frequently done here.

These, sir, are all the birds which I can recollect, but you must not thence infer, that there is no greater variety of species: on the contrary, I dare aver, that these do not amount to a fifth part of what I have seen, to pass by those which never occurred to me.

But I must have patience till I hear what answer you please to send to my request: wherefore, to conclude this discourse of birds, I shall yet add one, of which I remember to have read wonders: his feathers are represented like stars, his voice as loud as that of a bull; and we are told that, when the Negroes are travelling, if they hear him on the left hand, they quit their intended journey, and return home: how far this relation agrees with truth, I leave you to judge,

This bird is about twice as big as a sparrow; his feathers are not in the least like stars, though indeed he hath a few small specks, which they will so construe; but, if that be allowed, there are a great many star-birds in the world.

His voice or lowing is hollow and piercing; but, to compare him to that of a bull, is to assert, that a bell of one hundred pounds will give as great a sound as that of ten thousand weight.

As to what concerns the third part of the account of him, I have not much to offer against it; for as the world, with respect to human life, is liable to a perpetual change, and what at present is one thing, may, in one hundred years, be altered to another; so I can easily believe that the Negroes were formerly superstitious enough to put a stop to their travels and return home upon hearing this bird on the left hand, since at present they do not take it for a good omen; but now they never break off their journey on that account, unless it be some extraordinary bigots, with which all parts are stored; but from them no rational character can be drawn.

Having said enough of this bird, and the whole feathered kind, I shall, in the next place, say something of reptiles, and whatever approximates to that sort of animals: but first of the toads.

Toads and frogs are as numerous here as in Europe, the last being also of the same size; but the first are not only in as great abundance, and shaped like ours, but they are, in some places, of a terrible largeness.

At Adja, an English village, betwixt More and Cormantyn, I have seen some as broad as a common table-plate. When I first saw them, I took them for land-tortoises, of which we have also some here; but was soon convinced of my error by their leaping. The English factor told me, that a vast number of them harboured about that place. They differ from other toads only in largeness, which renders them very hideous.

The toads here, as well as in other places, are mortal enemies to the snakes, and we have been eye-witnesses of several engagements betwixt them.

Here are great quantities and variety of snakes, some whereof are hideously great; the largest of those taken in my time here was twenty foot long, though in-land I believe

lieve there are yet much bigger ; and we have frequently found in their entrails not only harts and other beasts, but men also.

Most of them are venomous ; but the following are so to an extraordinary degree, and therefore very dangerous. These are scarcely a yard long, but about two spans thick, and variegated with white, black, and yellow.

I was once in the utmost danger of my life by one of these serpents ; for as I sat at Axim by a rock, which was overgrown with trees and under-woods, one of these poisonous animals was got very near me, when, by a great chance, I was aware of him just time enough to escape the imminent danger.

The snakes infest not only the woods, but the dwellings of the Negroes, and even our forts and bed-chambers, where I have often killed them.

Several persons besides myself have seen a dead snake with two heads ; whether both were serviceable to the body, as some affirm, since the snake, as I told you, was dead, I could not determine ; nor could I obtain any satisfactory account from the Negroes.

We have a reserve of some of their skins stuffed and kept ; one of which is fourteen foot long, and within two foot of his tail hath two claws ; which helped him to erect himself and contributed to his more expeditious march. His head is like that of a pike, and stocked with much such another row of teeth.

One snake is about five foot long ; as thick as a man's arm, variegated with black, brown, yellow, and white streaks, very agreeably mixed.

The most curious part of this reptile is his head, which is very broad and flat. He injures neither man nor beast, any otherwise than by a very small horn, or rather tooth, which irregularly from the upper jaw strikes through his nose, and is white, hard, and sharp as an awl ; and the Negroes going barefoot very often insensibly tread on them, by reason that when these creatures meet with any repast, they so satiate themselves, that they fall into such a sound sleep, that it is no small noise that can awaken them : wherefore they are very easily taken or killed.

Next to this serpent is a large scorpion ; this is also furnished with such claws and feet, and their whole bodies covered over with long hair.

Very few are ignorant how pernicious this animal is to mankind. Some of them have a small bladder full of poison, of half a finger's breadth, at the end of their tails, which they spurt out when they strike either men or beast ; and this is unavoidably fatal.

The scorpions, in my opinion, ought to be reckoned amongst the number of insects, as well as the Millepedes, or Hog-lice, which are called Centepes by the Portuguese, and are here found to be prodigiously numerous ; and though their sting is not so dangerous as that of the scorpions, yet it is certain it occasions a very sharp pain for three or four hours ; after which it ceases, without leaving the least relick of uneasiness.

No place in our ports is free from these vermin ; the longest of which are about a span ; they are flat and red interspected like other worms, having two small horns or rather claws, with which they strike. The feet are on each side of the body, and are thirty or forty : their exact number I cannot inform you of.

If I should treat of all our insects, and describe each species of them ; such as the bees, crickets, caterpillars, grasshoppers, and above twenty sorts of worms, ants, and beetles, I should fill two quires of paper ; in order to which I should want nothing but a perfect knowledge of that subject.

I wish Mr. Leeuwenhoeck, that great naturalist, had opportunity to do it ; for I believe he would meet with more rarities here than in all other parts of the world. I have

have sent you herewith, as a specimen, a box-full, containing above a hundred of the most rare species of them; be pleased to rest contented with them, and a description of a couple of insects which I have not there sent; and first of the bees.

The excellence of the Guinea honey is very well known to many; here are prodigious quantities of that as well as wax about Rio de Gabon, Cape Lopez, and farther in the gulf of Guinea; both which we have also on the Coast, though not in such plenty.

Considering the strange nature of the ants, those enemies to man and beast, I cannot avoid treating of them at large.

These vermin make nests about twice the height of a man, of the earth, which they turn up in fields and hills; besides which they build large nests in high trees: from which places they sometimes come to our forts and chambers in such prodigious swarms, that they frequently oblige us to quit our beds in the night-time; they are strangely rapacious, and no animal can stand before them. They have often in the night attacked one of my live sheep, which I have found a perfect skeleton in the morning, and that so nicely done, that the best master of the dismembering art could not succeed so well, it being impossible for human hands to have done it so artificially.

It is but one of their diversions to serve chickens and other fowl in this manner; nay, as swift as the rats are, they cannot escape them, and it is pleasant to observe that as soon as one of them assaults a rat he is inevitably gone; for attempting to run away he is attacked by several others, till so many fall upon him that they overpower him, and they are sure not to leave him till they grow to a body strong enough to remove him to a safe place.

Really if one considers the practice of those vermin, it would prompt one to conjecture that they had a sort of language current amongst themselves; for I have several times placed a worm or beetle where only one or two of these ants were, who immediately departed and returned in a minute, bringing with them above a hundred, and if they were not enough, in a moment more were called: after which they seize their prey, and march off with it in good order, all mutually assisting each other in the carriage of the burthen.

These pismires are of various sorts, great and small, white, black and red; the sting of the last inflames to a great degree, and is more painful than that of the millepedes; the white are transparent as glass, and bite so forcibly, that in the space of one night alone, they can eat their way through a thick wooden chest of goods, and make it as full of holes as if it had been shot through with hail-shot.

That the ants have a king, which is as large as a Grey-fish, as Monsieur Focquenbrog is pleased to tell us, is what I do not know, and consequently dare not aver.

Having thus, in my opinion, particularly enough treated of the animals which fly in the air as well as those on the earth, it remains only to finish this letter in running through those who inhabit the sea and rivers.

The want of flesh and other necessary provision in this country renders the sea considerable as the principal support of human life, without which it were impossible to subsist here; for not only the Negroes, but most of the Europeans live only on fish, bread and palm-oil. So that it is a very great happiness, and particular providence of God, that the sea and rivers here seem earnestly to contest which shall produce the best fish.

Both afford very good and delicious fish, the principal of which I shall here exemplify. First, the sea here produces a fish as large as our common cod, which is here called Brazilian cod, being extraordinarily fat and delicate; after which follow —

The Jacks or Pikes, great and small, which in their season are very fat and good, and not so hairy as in Holland.

Here are also plaice and flounders; and though the first but seldom appears, yet the second are extraordinarily plentiful, though neither so thick nor so good as ours in Holland, from which they also visibly differ in shape.

There is another sort of small flat fish here, which in delicacy surpasses all the rest on the coast; these fish are here called Pisie-pamphers: which are also followed by another as flat, but rounder.

Here are Hal: Koords, Corcoados, Giltheads, and other large fish, as black and white Carabins, which are cheap and good food for the meaner sort of people.

Here are bream in very great plenty, of three or four sorts; two of which especially are very fat and delicate, which are commonly called Jacob Evertsen and Roojeud.

Amongst the middle-sized fish, are first the flat-noses, so called from their very flat snouts; they taste like our haddock.

The second sort, which are much less, are a sort of Pouts, called by the Dutch Baardmannetjes, from their hairs like a beard hanging at their chops.

We have sometimes mackarel, though but very few are caught; but vast shoals are taken of the Saffer or king's-fish, as the Dutch call it; which in their season are extraordinarily fat and good, tasting like eels; gutted and dried, they are eaten instead of salmon.

Amongst the small fish, the first which occurs is the Aboei, somewhat like our trout, but much firmer and more delicate, they are taken here by thousands.

Ray or thorn-back, both great and small, are here very good and in prodigious plenty.

Soles and dabs are here extraordinary, the first exceeding ours in Holland.

Nor is here any want of lobsters, crabs, shrimps and prawns; we have also thousands of two sorts of sprats, great and small, both which are very fat when in season, though the former so stringy, that they are not much esteemed; but the last are very agreeable food, and very good either pickled like herrings or dried like red-herrings, both which ways we yearly preserve great quantities.

The river-fish, besides those which come out of the sea and stay in rivers, are of three sorts: first, Carmou, a white fish, the largest of which species are about three quarters of a yard long, and of the thickness of a man's arm; they are so far from being too lean, that they would be very delicious if not too fat and oily.

The second is the mullet, which differs from the former only in that it is less and hath not so thick a head, but it is full as good food as the other.

The rivers produce a third sort of fish here called Batavia, the largest of which are indifferently good, if they do not taste muddy, which they are very apt to do: some of us have (though very erroneously) taken them for perch, which they are not in the least like.

I could specify several other fish, but I content myself with touching upon the principal species, and assuring you that a lover of fish, as I reckon myself, may here meet with full satisfaction; he may make a satiating fish-meal at five or six-pence charge; and a soldier, or those who cannot afford to run so high, may eat their fill at half that price. I would be here understood to speak of the general course of the market, for sometimes there is at least one half difference as well in the price as goodness, and it is really very melancholy to see how the miserable meaner sort subsist when there is no fish, which commonly happens in the ill-weather, or winter, as it is here called; for at other times one sort of fish or another being in season, there never is any want.

However

However I shall yet add a description of three species more, that are found on this coast; which by reason of their rarity I cannot omit.

The first and largest are called there and elsewhere by the Dutch Noordkapers; I shall speak more particularly of these in another place, and at this time only hint that on the Coast in fine weather, when the fishermen are in the best of their caption, these fish come towards the shore, and, as the Negroes assure us, so frighten all the fish, that they immediately take their flight, and even the next day not a fish is to be seen in the sea, so that they doubtless pursue them very closely.

The second are the sword-fish, so called by reason of the flat bone, about a yard or an ell long, and a hand's breadth, which they have at the end of their snout: this bone is furnished with about seventeen, nineteen or more sharp teeth, about a finger's length, on each side, and mostly rugged, and one more on one side than the other. He is seven, eight, nine and sometimes ten foot long, though he is also extraordinarily thick. How these fish wage war against whales and other very large fish, I cannot inform you; for I shall not say any thing tending that way, because I never saw any such thing, nor have been at the place where any of these skirmishes have happened; and out of an apprehension that I should never return, I am not very solicitous to visit them, esteeming it much better to stay at home.

The third sort are Hayes or Requiens, by some (though utterly wrong) named sea-dogs, for they are not in the least like them. They are very thick as well as very long, some of them betwixt twenty and thirty foot; their head is broad, flat, and their snout very sharp-pointed; as to the rest they are very ugly. This fish is the Negro's best and most common food. They are daily taken on the Gold Coast in great shoals. The Europeans never eat them, by reason of the toughness of their flesh; to remedy which the Negroes lay them a rotting and stinking seven or eight days, after which they are greedily eaten as a delicacy, and a great trade is driven in this commodity to the in-land country.

The Hays doth not spawn like other fishes, nor lay eggs (as the tortoise does), but casts its young in the manner of quadrupeds.

These fish do no manner of damage on the whole Gold Coast, but at Fida and Ardra, where the slave-trade is managed, they are extraordinarily ravenous, and in my opinion fiercer than the most voracious animal in the world.

If any person fall over-board, he is infallibly dead, unless (which very seldom happens) none of these fish are near, or he is immediately helped.

When dead slaves are thrown over-board, I have sometimes, not without horror, seen the dismal rapaciousness of these animals; four or five of them together shoot to the bottom under the ship to tear the dead corpse to pieces, at each bite an arm, a leg, or the head is snapped off, and before you can tell twenty they have sometimes divided the body amongst them so nicely that not the least particle is left; nay, not so much as any of the entrails; and if any one of them happens to come too late for his share, he is ready to eat up the others, and they attack one another with the greatest violence in the world, and mounting their heads and half their bodies above the surface of the water, they give one another such forcible blows that they make the sea around to tremble.

When the Hays seizes his prey, he is obliged to turn himself on his back, because his mouth is placed far behind and low, wherefore he cannot come at any thing upwards.

When we sometimes take one of these fish and haul him on board with a rope, we are always obliged to keep at a distance; for besides his sharp teeth, he strikes with

his tail, which is prodigiously strong, and whoever comes near him loses either an arm or a leg, or at least hath it broken to pieces.

I take the reason why they do not fall on mankind on the Gold Coast to be, that they can here easily satiate themselves with smaller fish, which is wanting at Ardra and Fida, wherefore rather than starve they devour human bodies, which I am apt to think relish very well, since when our ships depart from those places, they sometimes follow them for three weeks or a month, waiting for more slaves to be thrown over-board.

Notwithstanding the rapacious cruelty of these fish, yet some persons told me as a certain truth, that at Cape Vert, where they are ravenous enough, it happened that one of our masters, either by misfortune or necessity (I forget which), was over-board, and not being able to swim very well, was in danger of drowning, but that a Haye, in the very lucky minute, softly caught him by the leg, and carried him on board one of our ships. If this be true, it is a greater miracle than Arion's engaging the dolphin by his melodious harp to waft him safe to shore, since the Haye saved the man without any inducement: but to believe this to be true, requires a strong faith; notwithstanding that, to engage me to it, the very man, the particular day and place are named; but two reasons strongly oppose the truth of this story; first, the innate cruelty of this fish; secondly, that whilst on his belly he cannot take any hold; so that he must have lain on his back ere he could have seized this master, after which he must have swam in that posture. But you will say perhaps that in his youth he had learned to swim on his back (as our boys commonly do), in order to practice it upon occasion. What shall I say, my friend? Nature is very stupendous in her operations; let us leave this story there; and as to the rest be assured that I passionately desire always to remain, sir, yours, &c.

LETTER XVI. — *Treating of Trees and other Plants; as first of the Palm-trees, and their Fruit, and other Properties: — Of four Sorts of Palm-Wine. — Of Cocoa-trees, wild Cocoas or Palmetos. — Oranges and Lemon-trees; their Numbers and Virtues, and where abound most. — A copious Description of the Papai-tree, and its Fruit; also of the Tree called Pisang, distinguished into Bakovens or Paquovens and Bananas. — What Sort of Fruit the Cormantyn Apples are, and why so called. — Of Pomegranates and vinous Grapes. — Of several sorts of wild Trees, some of which are very high and large; amongst others the Capot-trees, why so called. — Where Wood fit for fine Works is produced. — Of the Fruits of the Earth; and first of the Corn, or the greater or lesser Sort of Milbio or Millet, Rice, Jambes and Potatoes: — Of all Sorts of Beans: — A large Description of Ananas; concerning which some Authors are contradicted: — Of Water-Melons, a very fine Fruit. — Of Malagueta, otherwise called the Grains of Paradise, or Guinea Pepper. — Piemont, Tarragon and stinking Tobacco; of which the Negroes are great Lovers. — Of the Manner of boiling their Salt.*

SIR,

THIS shall only discharge the promise of the former, to say something concerning the trees here and their fruit, as well as the corn and plants of this country; in which, to avoid all circumlocution, as the cocoa in the East Indies, by way of excellence, is numbered amongst the first trees, so, with equal justice, the palm claims the pre-eminence here; since, with the help of bread and fish, it subsists most of the people on the Coast.

The

The first produce of this tree is its nuts; which roasted when young taste very deliciously, and when old are covered with a red husk or shell, black on the hinder-part, and contain the palm-oil, which is obtained by contusion and expression, as that of olives. This oil is naturally red, but if kept some years turns white; it is a little nauseous first to new comers here, but for him that is used to it, is no despicable sauce; besides that, it is very strengthening and healthful, and I am inclined to prefer it in several dishes before oil of olive.

After the oil is expressed, the pulp serves the Negroes for a delicacy, and if kept till old is extraordinarily good to fatten hogs, and render their flesh very firm.

The second fruit it yields is the wine itself: to obtain and draw off which, when the trees are old enough to be cut, they are bereft of all their branches, and rendered entirely bare; in which condition having remained a few days, a little hole is bored in the thickest part of the trunk, into which is inserted a small reed-pipe; and through that the palm-wine drops into a pot set under to receive it; but it distils so slowly, that in twenty-four hours scarce a pottle of wine issues from one tree. In this manner, proportionable to the goodness of the ground in which the tree is planted, it yields wine for twenty, thirty, or sometimes more days; and when it hath almost run its last, they kindle a fire at bottom, in order to draw more wine with the greater force.

This wine being drank fresh (or under the trees, as our phrase runs here,) is very delicious and agreeable, but withal so strong, that it unexpectedly steals to the head, and very speedily intoxicates. But that which the peasants bring daily to the shore is not worth much, because it is impoverished and adulterated; and I believe it is not so much coveted by the meaner sort and the Negroes for its agreeable taste as its inebriating quality, with which it is plentifully endowed, though very much vitiated by a pretty large mixture of water.

The tree thus drained of its wine, is fit for nothing but firing; but when green, its leaves are used to make ropes, nets, and other necessary things.

There are four sorts of this tree; each of which hath a particular name: we have already spoke of the right and genuine palm-wine.

The second sort of palm-wine is drawn in no country besides that of Fantyn, and is called Quaker; for what reason I have already informed you in another letter. This sort exceeds the other somewhat in pleasantness of flavour, and very much in strength; half so much of this as of the other being a dose scarcely to be carried off; and the trees from whence it is drawn are not above half as big as the right palm-trees.

The third sort is drawn at Ancober, Abokroe, Axim, and Ante, though but in very small quantities at the last; and goes by the name of Pardon: so that you may easily believe no villany here can be committed so great, but that *pardon* is easily attainable, if the person be in the good graces of the god Bacchus.

This wine, though of a very different, hath yet as pleasant a taste as the former, but not so strong.

These trees are not cut, but the wine is drawn out of them whilst growing, as the Suri is drawn out of the cocoa-tree in the East Indies; with this difference, that after the wine is there drawn off, the trees remain alive; whereas they here wither and dry: the reason of which is I believe, that in India they do not draw off all the wine at once, but leave a remainder for nourishment to encourage the farther growth of the tree; whereas here they force out the last drop: whence the tree, utterly deprived of all its moisture, must needs entirely wither and die.

The fourth kind is produced in the countries of Ante, Jabi, and Adom; and is of a very different flavour from all the other three, and utterly void of all manner of strength;

strength; but when drank fresh, tastes like milk; and nine or ten hours after it is drawn is not fit to be drank, nor is it good for any thing: this is called *Criffia*.

The Negroes report, that drinking much of this wine causes the virile member to grow to a large size; which is indeed credible, by reason that the Negroes are in no place on the Coast so subject to this distemper as in the mentioned countries. The wine is drawn from these trees as already you have been informed the Pardon is, that is, whilst growing.

The trunk of the palm-tree is in circumference about an ordinary man's height, and about as tall as he also. That called Quaker is not above half so big. Both shoot their branches upwards; some of which are in length twenty foot or above. These branches, called here and elsewhere Bamboos, are used for covering of houses, for hedges, and on several occasions. On each side of these Bamboos grow small long slips, which are their leaves.

The Pardon-trees grow like the cocoa-nuts, though on a much thinner stalk. The *Criffia*-trees grow also in the same manner, though they very remarkably differ in height and thickness of the trunk, this not exceeding the fourth-part of the height of the Pardon-tree; and out of every plant of this sort shoot generally four, five, or more stalks, from all which wine is drawn.

The perfect mature age of a palm-tree is ten, twelve, or more years; and then but ten, fifteen, or at most twenty gallons of wine are drawn off; notwithstanding which, this wine daily comes in such prodigious plenty to the shore, that it is really to be wondered at; and from hence we may naturally infer that there must be many thousands of these trees growing in this country, or the wine will soon be at end. An anchor of five gallons is commonly sold for about two shillings and three-pence English money; though at some times and places it is one half cheaper than at others.

Next the palm, the cocoa-tree ought indisputably to take place. How beneficial these trees are to mankind, is known to many, and may be seen in several descriptions of East India voyages. But here, through the ignorance of the Negroes, no other advantage results from them than the fruit, I mean the nut; the kernel of which, as well as the enclosed milk, is very pleasant to the taste.

These trees shoot up in this country to the height of thirty or forty, and sometimes fifty foot; their branches and (so called) leaves, are like those of the palm, excepting that the cocoa-branches are not so long, or fit for the uses the other are employed in. These trees bear their fruit in the fourth or fifth year, and live fifty years and longer.

The wild cocoa-trees, otherwise called palm-trees, grow also here, and bear a fruit, which but very few of the Europeans eat, though the Negroes do. This tree is very much thicker than the genuine cocoa, especially in the middle, where it is of a surprising greatness; and what adds to the oddness of the figure, is, that the top and bottom are one half smaller. At the top grows a fruit, which seems to be the pith of the tree, and is called Palm-cabbage, because it hath a sort of cabbagey taste.

In the country of Axim are vast quantities of sweet as well as sour oranges: the sweet are pretty good, but the garden of Elmina, which is extraordinarily full of them, hath some, which for agreeable taste fall very little short of those of China.

In the other countries there are very few or no orange-trees; notwithstanding Monsieur Focquenbrog hath been pleased to aver, that they grow in great multitudes along the river Boutry; in which he is absolutely mistaken, for I have several times sailed along that river, and never found any, nor according to the report of the Negroes were there ever any: there are a few indeed on the hill near our forts, but not one on the mentioned river-side.

Lemon-trees, which are here called Brambas, grow all over the Coast, especially at Moure, where they are pressed; and which place, if the season be not unusually dry, is able annually to deliver above two hundred aums of lime-juice. About twenty or twenty-five shillings English money is the price of an aum of lime-juice, or pickled small lemons.

The Guinea lime-juice and pickled lemons are too well known and esteemed in Holland to require me to insist any longer on that head.

Some authors have said a great deal concerning the Papay-tree, but without due examination: we are told that they have neither branches nor leaves, and that it does not grow above man's height, &c. But to refute these and some other opinions that are cherished, I need only describe the true and natural shape of this tree.

His trunk, being several foot thick, is composed of a spongy wood, or rather root, which it most resembles: it is hollow, and may very easily be cut through the middle with a hatchet. The fruit at first grows at the top of the trunk, without any branches; but as the tree grows older it shoots out branches also towards the top, which resemble young stocks; on which the fruit also grows. At the very top of the trunk, and of the mentioned branches, shoot other small sprigs almost like reeds, a little crooked and hollow; and at the extremity of these sprigs grow very fine broad leaves, frequently cleft, not very unlike vine-leaves, excepting the size only.

Some papay-trees run up to the height of thirty foot, which is considerably more than a man's height. The fruit, or what is properly called the Papay, is about half as big as the cocoa-nut, of an oval shape, green without and white within; but with age they turn very red within, and abound with numerous white kernels, which are the seed from whence they are produced. The papays taste rather worse than better than pompions.

There grow multitudes of papay-trees all along the Coast; and these are of two sorts, viz. the male and female, or at least they are here so called, on account that those named males bear no fruit, but are continually full of blossoms, consisting of a long white flower; the female also bears the same blossom, though not so long, nor so numerous.

Some have observed, that the females yield their fruit in greatest abundance when the males grow near them: you may, sir, believe what you please; but if you do not, I shall not charge you with heresy.

So much hath already been written concerning the Pisang-tree, which is divided into Bakovens and Banantes or Bananas, that it seems hardly worth while to detain you on that head any longer, than to confirm what others have said, as that its fruit, especially the Bakovens, are very good; that they bear in a year, though but once in all, for then the stock is cut off; and from the root there shoot out five or six fresh stocks; so that this plant may pass for a perpetual almanack, as being indeed endless.

The stock of these trees, if they deserve that name, grow to once and a half or twice man's height. Those who are of opinion that the leaves of this tree were the leaves with which our first parents covered their nakedness, are not so much out of the way, partly because these leaves are long and broad enough for that end, and partly by reason they are called Fig leaves, and these trees bear the name of Indian figs; though I must own besides that they are very unfit for cloathing or covering, for a touch of the finger makes a hole in them: wherefore they would hardly serve a live body.

Here are also several other fruitful trees, but their fruit is not only unknown to us, but eaten by very few: wherefore I shall say very little concerning them. And first,
we

we have here a sort of fruit, like our two sorts of plums, blue and white, in shape as well as colour; but they are not very well tasted, as being very sweet, mealy and dry.

But I ought not to forget the Cormantyn-apple (so called, because it most plentifully abounds in that country), which is as big as a walnut, with its green husk on; its rind is yellow, somewhat inclining to red: in the core are four large, flat, black kernels, which are surrounded by the pulp or the fruit itself; which is red and white, and of a sort of sharp, sweet taste, but most inclining to acid. It is a very agreeable refreshing fruit, and very comfortable for the sick, especially those afflicted with the bloody flux, for it is very astringent, and boiled with wine and sugar, is not only more useful, but more agreeable than tamarinds.

I have also seen a few pomegranates in the gardens of Elmina and Moure; but before they come to maturity they rot or fall off; so that they scarcely come to any thing.

I must not pass over the Mourese vine; Mourese, I call it, because, except that at Mouree, there is not one on the Coast. This produces grapes twice a year, commonly in August and January; and would doubtless yield a vast quantity, if pruned in a proper manner and season by a skilful hand; but being entrusted to an ignorant Negro, not half the grapes come to perfection, but wither or rot before they are half ripe: and it is farther to be feared that the vine itself, by this miserable lopping, will run to utter ruin.

It yields a blue grape, which is substantial and very well tasted, and not so juicy as ours in Holland: but I doubt not, if carefully looked after, but that they would be as good, if not better than the best in Europe, since they are already better than the Dutch ones.

It is observable that vines will not grow any where here but at Moure, trials being made at Elmina and other places, but without any success.

To the best of my remembrance this vine was first planted by the Portuguese, who brought it first from Brazil some years past; and the fruit thereof is so very agreeable to the European inhabitants, that it is to be wished more could be planted and raised at other places; for at present nobody is the better for it, except the factor at Moure, the director-general, and the gentlemen at his table; and scarcely one of one hundred that come here can obtain the favour of seeing it.

These are all the fruit-trees of Guinea, I mean that part called the Gold Coast: I shall then next advance to the description of the wild trees. Before which, I cannot help taking notice of another mistake of Monsieur Focquenbrog: he was very much in the wrong to tell the world that at Elmina, and several miles adjacent, there grows neither leaf, grass, nor tree. This is utterly false; for besides the trees round about Elmina and on the hills, the banks of the fresh river, but half a mile distant, are furnished with great numbers of fine lofty trees; from hence, and several other particulars, it plainly appears that gentleman was too partial in his description of this Coast. It is indeed true, that the country about Elmina is more bare of trees than other places, but not so bad as to deserve such a wretched character.

To return to my subject, I aver, that the whole coast is filled with high and low trees; and the charming shady groves serve to render the malignity of this place more supportable; and so delight those who take their progress into the in-land country, that they oblige them entirely to forget the intolerable badness of the ways.

Here are some which naturally grow up in such a surprising manner, as even art itself must blushing own, it could not have contrived any thing like it; others grow so

thick, and their shady boughs are so widely extended, that they form entire alleys, which afford an amazing satisfaction to any who are inclined to take the pleasure of walking.

I remember to have formerly read in Olearius, and other writers, of trees large enough to shelter two thousand men; and the tree of which Father Kirchen (a person that, in my opinion, should advance nothing but truth) writes, that in its fruit or shell (I think it was a chefnut), it could lodge a shepherd and his whole flock, must not be very small, but may very well pass for a wonder in nature; but, after all, it is not in the least to be compared with the trees of this country. I have seen some here that twenty, instead of two thousand, men, might stand under, supposing them close to one another: and if these authors mean so, I do not scruple to believe them; nor I believe do you. But, to pass over this; it is certain that here are extraordinarily high and large trees, which may be concluded from the great canoes, of which I formerly wrote to you; and, since these boats must be made of a straight piece of wood equally thick all over, and that very few trees grow directly so, what I offer is not incredible, that the mentioned canoes do not amount to above half the bulk of the tree.

I have seen some of these trees so high, that their tops and branches growing out of them were scarcely to be reached by a common musquet-shot. They are here called Capot-trees, because on them grows a certain sort of cotton here called Capot; which is very proper for filling of beds, especially in this country, where feather-beds are much too hot.

The wood of this tree is light and porous, and scarcely fit for any other use than making of canoes.

The tree which our countrymen, at the latter end of the fifteenth century, found on Ilha del Principe, or Prince Island, which was four and twenty fathom in compass, was, I doubt not in the least, this Capot-tree. There is also one at Axim, which ten men would have much ado to grasp; not that the body of the tree is so bulky, but that it is so vastly extended by its prodigious sprouts, which closely surround it.

If we had any Romish priests in this country, we could give them some of these branches to build them small oratories, and then the thorny prickles with which this tree is abundantly stored, would serve to correct and chastise their unruly flesh, and save them the charge of buying whips.

But to let the priests alone, and to return to our subject; we have here several trees which furnish very fine working wood. First of all in the country of Ante, near the Brandenburgher fort Acoda, or Dorothea, and behind our fort Lydsæmhøyd at Apam, is yellow wood; of which very fine chairs and tables are made. At Rio de Gabon there is also red and yellow wood, very proper for the same use, besides which, if any persons applied themselves to fell it, there is very good wood for the making of rudders, small masts and other naval necessaries: and I am apt to think that here are good large mast-trees, or at least such grow here out of which they might be made, if not for great ships, yet for barks, yatches, and other small craft.

To complete this discourse of trees, I ought to tell you that the Negroes in all parts of this country, have selected and consecrated some particular trees, under which they perform their religious worship; which are generally such, in whose production nature hath displayed her greatest perfections.

I have long since treated concerning the Negroes' idolatry in this particular, wherefore it is unnecessary to repeat it here. But taking leave of the trees, I come next to the fruits of the earth; amongst which, first of the corn here called Milhio.

The large Milhio is by most taken to be the Turkish wheat, which is so well known in Holland that it is not worth while to describe it.

The Milhio is here sowed and reaped twice every year; the first harvest is generally in August, and the other at the latter end of the year, though but small; for the Negroes do not sow much against this time, because it is not reasonable to expect much rain, without which this grain will not come up well.

It were to be wished that corn were to be produced in our country with as little trouble as here; one, or at most, two men can manure and plough as much land as one plough can turn up in Holland, besides which, the corn here very speedily takes root.

When grown up, the stalk is once and a half or twice man's height; on which one, two, three, and sometimes four ears of Milhio grow, each of which contains about three or four hundred grains; so that the millet here increases vastly more than the European corn.

When the millet is first reaped, in time of peace a thousand stalks may be bought for about a crown English money, and in some countries for about one third or fourth part less; the corn of these thousand stalks, being separated from the stalks, makes about five bushels, which is a sack and a half.

The grain of Milhio is white and red, the white is the most beautiful, but the red is by most people held for the best. When this corn is beaten small, and cleansed from the bran, it makes indifferently good bread, but somewhat heavy for want of yeast. If the millet here were ground, bolted and baked like our corn in Europe, it would doubtless become very good bread; but wanting all these conveniences, and leaven being not used, the bread here is very clammy and heavy. This shall suffice you for the great millet or Turkish wheat.

The second sort of Milhio, called by the Portuguese maize, is a grain like the coriander-seed, and is made into bread as well as the other, and very much resembles our lighter sort of rye; it tastes very well, and is very nourishing; it grows in the same manner as the great Milhio, only the stalk is not so thick, nor the ears covered with leaves as the other is, wherefore it is much more exposed to the granivorous birds than the larger, and is not sown near so much as that, for which reason it is one half dearer.

The great, as well as small, Milhio is sowed all along the whole Coast; but least of all at Axim; wherefore it is always dearest there. The country of Ante, in fruitful years and time of peace, produces prodigious quantities; I have seen it bought and have also bought myself, one thousand stems or stalks for six, seven, eight and nine Takoes, each Takoe amounting to about four-pence-farthing English money, and a sack amounting at highest not to two and twenty pence. Thus, corn, in time of peace, is the cheapest of all provisions, but in war-time it sometimes rises to an incredible price; I have known a thousand stalks sold for an ounce of gold, which is somewhat less than four pounds sterling; to which the laziness of the Negroes, which is so great that they seldom sow more than what is like to be consumed that year, contributes very much, as also the great number of English slave-ships which yearly come to this coast; for these not being so well victualled as we, they are obliged to buy Milhio, which yearly carries off many thousand sacks.

This corn generally betwixt February and harvest, rises from one crown to one pound sterling the thousand stems.

Next the tillage of corn, follows that of rice, which is not common all over the Coast; nor is there any, or at least but very little, on the shore of the Gold Coast, any more

more than at Axim or Ante; but on the higher part of the Coast, it grows in such prodigious plenty, that it is easy to load a ship with it, perfectly cleansed, for one penny or less the pound; whilst at Axim, Ante, Abocroe and Ancober, the foul and unsifted bears about the same price.

It is no small happiness for the Negroes of Axim that their soil is so proper for rice, which in some measure softens their want of Milhio.

Next rice, by reason of its great advantage to the inhabitants, is the fruit called Jammes. They grow under the earth like turnips, and are about two spans long, and as much in the girth or thickness. They shoot out a long green leaf almost like that of French beans, with little prickles. This leaf the Negroes so order, that it climbs up stakes appointed for that end, and by it they can determine when the root is come to maturity, at which time they dig it out of the earth.

It is snow-white within, and is roasted or boiled and eaten by the Negroes, as also by several Europeans, as bread; its taste is not disagreeable, being much like that of our earth-nuts, and though not quite so sweet, is drier and firmer.

In the country of Ante there grows abundance of Jammes, but Saboe is the country which produces them in greatest plenty; whence, when in season, they are sent by thousands to several other places. Those who buy them at Moure, give about fourteen shillings a hundred, and sell them again at other places to good profit.

The second subterraneous fruit here is called potatoes, which, like the Jammes, also sends forth a green leaf that runs along the ground, some branches of which, cut off and planted in the ground, in a short time grow potatoes; but the Jammes never grow without some of the fruit itself be planted.

These potatoes are of an oval shape, commonly like the large long turnips with us; they, as well as the Jammes, are perfectly white within, and boiled or roasted are also eaten for bread, especially at Fida, where they are the Negroes' ordinary diet. They are sweet, and eat much better than Jammes, tasting very much like our boiled chesnuts.

The country of Saboe produces the greatest quantities of this fruit, after next to that the country of Ante; of which we may say (considering it as a part of the Coast), that it wants nothing necessary to human life.

It is told me as truth, that before the Portuguese came to this coast, the Negroes subsisted themselves with these two fruits, and a few roots of trees; they being then utterly ignorant of Milhio, which was brought thither by that nation.

I am more strongly induced to believe this, because in the promontory of Guinea there are at this time countries where no Milhio, or at least very little, is cultivated, and the inhabitants live on the two mentioned fruits, but more especially Jammes.

Thus, having described the four fruits most necessary to the support of mankind, it is now proper to give an account what this country yields besides for food, which mostly consists in several sorts of beans; the first of which are not unlike our garden-beans in figure and taste.

The second sort are a size larger; their pods are about three quarters of a yard long, and the bean of a bright red colour.

The third sort are almost like those small species, called in Holland the Princess's beans, only they are of a deep red; these are not only very good and nourishing, but very fine food.

All these beans grow like French-beans with us, either propt up, or creeping up by a hedge.

But those which follow, grow in a very different manner ; as first, a sort of small beans, here called Jojootjes, which, like the potatoes, run along the ground, are enclosed in long slender husks, and when young and green are extraordinarily good eating.

Here are also beans which grow on trees as big as goose-berry bushes in Holland. These are shelled like green peas, so that a large number goes to make up a dish ; but they are neither sweet nor soft.

Here is also another sort called Gobbe-gobbes, which grow two together in a cod under the earth, and shoot out a small leaf above the surface of the earth ; these are the worst of all the sorts of beans, and yet they are eaten by several.

The second sort of subterraneous beans have been known to us but a few years, and are called Angola beans, by reason they were transplanted from thence to this place. They are a very agreeable sort of food, if fried, as we commonly do chestnuts.

The last sort, which also grow under the earth, are the best of all ; but indeed they can hardly pass for beans, partly because they do not grow in cods, and partly because they are not eaten as the others are, so that earth-nuts would be a more proper name for them ; for they are eaten raw out of hand, and taste not much unlike hazel-nuts. But they are commonly broken in pieces, soaked in water, and then squeezed in a cloth ; this liquor boiled with rice, every where in this country passes for milk, and if helped with a little sugar, cinnamon and butter, it would not easily be discovered to be any thing else by those who are unacquainted with this dish.

Of such fruits as may satisfy a delicate and luxurious palate, we have very few here. The Ananas are by many valued as an extraordinary fruit, and their nature and beauties have been at large described : but for my part, not to despise it, I never could find the delicacy in it that is pretended.

Notwithstanding which, I shall take the pains to speak of it at large, that you may judge how far those are in the right, who have already written so much concerning it.

Besides Linschooten and others, Simon de Vries, in his " Curious Observation on the wonderful Things of the East and West Indies," has alledged several authors, but I need only give a plain, and true account of the true nature, shape, and properties and manner of growing of the Ananas, to show whether he is in the right or not.

The plant somewhat resembles the great house-leek, or *Semper-vivum majus*, which we sometimes find amongst the curious botanists in Holland, from which it differs in the following particulars : the Ananas shoot their leaves (or that which is taken for them) upwards, being neither so broad nor so thick as the other ; besides which, the leaves are furnished with sharp prickles on each side, and are also of a deep yellow colour, and somewhat inclining to green, whereas the *Semper-vivum* is of a very beautiful green.

Between the Ananas's leaves, before the fruit appears, grows a blossom about as big as a man's fist, which is very green, but adorned with an extraordinarily beautiful red crown, and surrounded with small leaves, that render it very agreeable to the sight. This blossom by slow degrees grows into an Anana, which at first is green, accompanied with yellow leaves, but in ripening, changes to a perfect yellow ; and when we eat the Ananas, the mentioned leaves with which it is surrounded are cut off with the shell. The crown, or at least a part of it, remains firmly fixed to the fruit, though changed to a yellowish colour. Before, and round about the Ananas, small sprigs shoot out, which are planted to continue the species of this vegetable. Thus much may suffice for the plant.

The Anana or fruit is about a span long, and about the same thickness ; but as it happens to other fruits, some are large and others small.

Most

Most of the authors De Vries cites, agree in the taste of this fruit; to which I can easily subscribe, taking the liberty to add, that though it may for a little while seem a delicacy, yet, if frequently eaten, it will soon nauseate. It proves most agreeable and healthy when eaten with cinnamon, sugar and wine, like straw-berries, for it is too hot to eat alone; wherefore Monardus was mistaken in ascribing to them a cold quality, when indeed it inflames to that degree, that its sharp juice causes those to spit blood who eat them too freely. But though this sharp hot juice forces blood from the throat and gums, yet that they are so corrosive as to dissolve a knife that remains stuck in it but half an hour, is so ridiculously false, that if, instead of half an hour, the knife remained a whole year, it would not be dissolved. It is indeed true, that the knife will be blunted, which also happens in the cutting of a citron, lemon, orange, Backoven or banana, and more especially the last fruit, if it is not thoroughly ripe; so that this acidity cannot justly be appropriated to the Ananas only.

I cannot quit this subject without noting a gross mistake of the before-mentioned authors. Linschooten first tells us, that the Ananas grow a fathom above ground; and others inform us, that they grow half under. But both are miserably in the wrong; this plant really not being above one foot and a half in height, and the stalk half a foot; which together amount to two foot, which is far short of a fathom and more, if they make it grow so much under ground.

All the pains I have thus far taken in the description of the Ananas, was a force I put upon my inclinations; and if any one please to assert that this plant in Asia or America is of a different nature, they are at liberty to do it; whilst I am abundantly satisfied from travellers in both those parts of the world, that there is no real difference.

Next the Ananas I shall place the water-melons; about which, though much the nobler and more agreeable fruit, I shall not detain you so long. The immature and yet small water-melon is white within and green without; but when ripe, its green coat is speckled with white, and its internal whiteness somewhat intermixed with red; and the more it participates of the latter, it is by so much the riper and more agreeable; at which time, if eaten, it proves very delicious, watery, refreshing and cooling.

This fruit is less prejudicial to, and much more proper for a feverish person than the Ananas. When green it is eaten as salad, instead of cucumbers, to which it is not wholly unlike; being also furnished with such kernels, which when ripe are changed black, and are then fit to plant.

The water-melons grow in the same manner as cucumbers, but bear a different leaf. They are about twice as big as our melons, and if the Negroes were not too idle, this fruit would be very plentiful here; but at present they are only cultivated by some of our chief officers, so that the commonalty reap but small advantage thereby. They are in their prime in July and August, and in fruitful years we have them twice.

These are all our best fruits in this country; but that I may be able to say that I have omitted nothing, whether good or bad, I shall not pass over the following species.

The first of which is Malagueta, otherwise called Paradise-grains or Guinea-pepper; a fruit which is generally known. It grows on shrubs in red shells or husks, which at a distance afford a very pleasant prospect. Within these husks is contained the Malagueta, separated into four or five divisions, and covered with a white film. This Guinea-pepper grows also in a different manner, not unlike large grass-reeds.

Here grows also a fruit on shrubs, which in taste and figure resembles Cardamum; which I doubt not but it is.

At Benin and in-land, there is pepper in figure like that of East India.

The last sort of pepper, called here Piment, and in Europe Spanish-pepper, grows here in abundance on shrubs, almost of the same size, though somewhat lower, than our goose-berry bushes in Holland.

This piment is of two sorts, viz. great and small; both of which are first green, but afterwards change colour, the small to a beautiful red, and the large to a red and black; and are both very pleasant objects.

This fruit is much hotter than common pepper, especially the smaller sort, which is not above one-fourth part of the size of the other; in recompense of which the trees on which it grows are about six times as high and wider extended than the other.

Piment pickled in vinegar and lime-juice (but best in the last) is valued by several as a good corroborative to the stomach, and very wholesome.

This country produces none of those green herbs common in Europe, except Tarragon and tobacco; of both which here is great plenty, especially of the last, which stinks so abominably that it is impossible for one that is even not very nice to continue near the Negroes when they smoke this devilish weed; which yet agrees very well with them.

Some of them have pipes made of reeds, which are about six foot long; to the end of which is fixed a stone or earthen bowl, so large that they cram in two or three handfuls of tobacco; which pipe, thus filled, they without ceasing can easily smoke out; and they are not put to hold their pipe, for being so long it rests on the ground.

All the in-land Negroes take this tobacco, but those who live amongst us and daily converse with the Europeans, have Portuguese or rather Brazilian tobacco; which, though a little better, yet stinks to a great degree.

Both the male and female of the Negroes are so very fond of this tobacco, that they will part with the very last penny which should buy them bread, and suffer hunger rather than be without it; which so enhances the price, that for a Portuguese fathom, which is much less than one pound of this trash, they will give five shillings, or a gold quarter of a Jacobus.

Let us therefore rather praise those smokers, my good friend, who take the noble Spanish or Virginia tobacco; but as for those stupid wretches who content themselves with the Amorsfort weed, I heartily wish, as a punishment of their depraved taste, that during their lives they may never smoke better than our Negroes, and Brazil on Sundays and holidays; yet under condition they be obliged to keep company with each other, and be banished the company of genteel smokers. But this by the way only.

The tobacco-leaf here grows on a plant about two foot high, and is of the length of two or three hands breadth, and the breadth of one, bearing a small bell-flower, which when ripe turns to seed.

To conclude, I will add a fruit which grows in lofty trees, is rather larger than a walnut, and furnished with much such a shell: the kernel is divided into several parts; of which some are red, others white.

Not only the Negroes, but also some of the Europeans, are infatuated to this fruit: we call it Kool or cabbage, and the Negroes Boefi: it is chewed in the mouth; and after the juice is sucked out, the remainder is spit out.

Its taste is very harsh and almost bitter, and draws the chewer's mouth almost close: and its sole virtue is diuretick; but its admirers pretend it helps to relish the palm-wine: though both reasons are not sufficient to engage me to the use of it. It is commonly eaten with salt and Malagueta.

If I had been obliged to bestow a name on this wretched fruit, I should rather have called it the African Beetel or Anca, which would have been much properer than cabbage; since whatever I have heard concerning the Indian Beetel or Anca exactly agrees with the taste and virtue of this fruit.

I might very well leave off here, as not conscious of any important omission in the description of the Gold Coast of Guinea: but lest you should accuse my performance, as spiritless, insipid and saltless, I shall make bold, in the conclusion of this letter and the whole description of the Gold Coast, to set as much salt before you as will stock you for house-keeping for one hundred years: what think you, is not that enough?

It is not to be imagined what vast riches the Negroes get by boiling of salt; and if they were always or for the most part in peace, those who follow that employment would in a short time amass unweildy fums; for all the in-land Negroes are obliged to fetch their salt from the shore; from whence it is easy to infer that it must cost them very dear: wherefore the meaner sort are obliged to make use of a certain saltish herb instead of salt, which their purses will not reach.

Some miles in-land beyond Ardra, from whence most of the slaves are brought, one, nay sometimes two slaves are sold for a handful of salt: so that human flesh is there very cheap.

The manner of salt-boiling is as follows:—Some boil the salt-water so long in coppers till it comes to salt; but as this is the most tedious, so it is not the most profitable way, and is practiced only where the land is so high that the sea or salt-rivers cannot possibly flow over them: but at other places, where the sea or river-water frequently overflows, they dig deep pits to receive the mentioned overflowing water; after which the freshest and finest part of the water is dried up by the scorching heat of the sun. I know this contradicts the hypothesis of a certain author, but he ought to know also that the ground being here saltish and nitrous, a small quantity of water will make better salt, and that quicker than a great deal; which renders this place the more fit to produce a great deal of salt in a small time.

In other places they have salt-pans, where the sun dries up the water, so that the trouble of boiling is unnecessary; no pains being required except that only of gathering it out of the mentioned pans.

Those who are either unable or unwilling to buy copper-boilers, or when the sea-water requires such tedious boiling as would burn them; these, I say, use earthen-pots, which they set ten or twelve next another; thus making two rows, being all cemented together with clay as if they had been done by a bricklayer; and under the mentioned pots is something like a furnace of fire, which is continually supplied with wood. This is the most laborious way and produces neither so much salt, nor so much expedition as the other.

In all parts of this Coast, except Acra, the salt is very white, but more especially in the country of Fantyn, where it almost excels even snow itself.

Thus much for this time, and when another opportunity offers, perhaps I may present you with an account of the country of Ardra; though I will not assure you of any thing, but that I am really yours, &c.

LETTER XVII. — *Which, by way of Supplement to the former, describes first a Snake taken at Axim, that was twenty-two Foot long; also another not much less at Boutry. — A strange Engagement betwixt a Snake and two Porcupines at Moure. — Another Accident with a Serpent, which blinded an European with his Venom. — The Tigers here; a Boy torn in pieces by them: — The Author's Tiger-hunting, and how he came to kill him at last. — A Description of the Jackals. — A remarkable Adventure with an Elephant killed at Elmina. — A Description of a certain Spider which the Negroes call Ananse, and imagine that it created the first Man.*

SIR,

IN my former letters, I have several times promised you to speak more particularly concerning this or the other animal; and more especially our elephant and tiger-hunting. All which promises this shall discharge; but first of all I am inclined to say something concerning the serpents or snakes.

About eleven years past the Negroes of Axim took and killed a snake that was two and twenty foot long; which being opened, a full-grown deer was found in his entrails.

About the same time another was killed at Boutry, not much shorter than the former; in whose body a Negro was found.

Some of my servants once going to the country beyond Moure, found a snake seventeen foot long, and very bulky, lying about a pit of water, perhaps to divert himself; near which were two porcupines; betwixt which and the snake began a very sharp engagement, each shooting very violently in their way, the snake his venom, and the porcupines their quills of two spans long, for with such they were armed. My men having seen this fight for a considerable time, without being observed by the furious combatants (in the heat of the battle), after having loaded their musquets, let fly upon the three champions to so good purpose, that they killed them all, and brought them to Moure, where they were devoured by them and their comrades as a very great delicacy.

Whilst our fort was repairing at Moure, the work-men perceived a great snake behind a heap of stones; to get him from thence they removed many of the stones, so that half his body was cleared; a mason, the forwardest in this enterprize, laid hold of his tail, designing to pull him out from betwixt the stones, but finding that impracticable, cut off as much of his body as was in reach with his knife, and believing he had disabled him from doing any farther mischief, without the least shadow of fear removed the remainder of the stones; but as soon as the snake was at liberty to turn himself, he clung about the mason (who thought to have caught him in his hand), and spit his venom all over his face; which proved so forcible, that the fellow at that very instant became stark blind; in which condition he remained some days, but was at last restored to his sight. This I have frequently observed, especially in Negroes, who upon being struck by a serpent have swelled extremely, but soon assuaged and returned to their former estate; so that I am apt to think that the poisonous nature of snakes is very different, the bite of some being mortal, others only wounding, and that there are another sort which are as harmless as those of Fida.

Of this last species is that which hangs in the director-general's hall, which is fourteen foot long, and was taken in our garden at Elmina by an Ardrafe or Fidafe slave, with his bare hands without any stick or weapon, and by him so brought alive into the castle. We found at the lower part of his belly two claws like those of birds; which,

which, I suppose, served him either to erect himself upright, or to leap. But of him enough, since I have already said something of him in my last letter but two. Wherefore we shall now apply ourselves to the tigers, which here do the most mischief, and are extraordinarily fierce. Some years past a boy that belonged to our factor at Saccunde, going but a little way from the factory was killed by one of them.

At the same time and place, a Negro going in-land with his hatchet in his hand to cut some wood, met a tiger which fell upon him; but he being a dexterous fellow, so well defended himself with his hatchet, that, after a long scuffle, he conquered and killed the tiger; but did not come off unhurt, for his whole body looked as if somebody had begun to flay him.

In the year 1693, when I commanded in the said fort, some of my Kabriets (for so we call sheep), as well as those of my neighbour the English factor, were for several nights killed by a tiger, which at last grew so bold, that he came at three in the afternoon to the lodge, and killed a couple of sheep. I perceived him time enough, and assisted by my gunner, two Englishmen, and a party of Negroes all armed with good musquets, I pursued him, and in a short time overtook him, though not so soon but that he had opportunity to fly to a small thicket of under-woods, which we immediately beset; my gunner ventured into the thicket to find whereabouts he lurked, but in half a quarter of an hour came running back like a distracted man, having left his hat and slippers behind him, after being also bitten; but to his very good fortune, the tiger intending to have seized him, was so affrighted by the falling branches, that he gave him opportunity to make his escape, and the tiger kept the wood.

One of the Englishmen, impatient at waiting so long, resolved to march into the wood with his musquet, if possible to dislodge him; the tiger, which was but too soon aware of him, suffered him to approach close to him, upon which he fell upon him with extreme fury, seizing him with his feet by the shoulder-blade, and fixing his teeth in his side, and would, without doubt, immediately have torn him in pieces, if by crying out he had not drawn me with a party of Negroes to his assistance; which obliged the tiger to quit his prey: notwithstanding which he was so miserably handled, that he lay senseless about half a day, which was partly occasioned by the venom of the bite, and partly by the fright.

The Negroes were so terrified at the ill-success of this enterprise, that, utterly bereft of all courage, each quitted his post where he was appointed to watch, which afforded the tiger an opportunity of escape, which he soon attempted; but in his flight out of the thicket happened something very odd.

The under-factor of the English fort had long called out and promised me (for this adventure happened just under that fort) that he would come to my assistance, and the very moment the tiger quitted the wood, being as good as his word, he came with his musquet in his hand; but the tiger seeing him alone before him, made to him; upon which the Englishman, instead of coming to us, ran as fast as his legs would carry him back towards their fort; but affrighted, and tired with hard running, he fell over a stone about half a musquet-shot from home: the tiger had already overtook him, when we stood trembling at a distance, imagining he would immediately tear him in pieces; but he coming up to him, instead of attacking, turned from him and took his flight forwards in-land, soon getting out of our sight.

I can give no other reason why he did not fall on the Englishman, than that perhaps he was afraid of us who followed him with a great cry, if possible to terrify him; for it was not practicable to shoot at him, by reason he was too near the Englishman, and we might as well have chanced to have hit the one as the other: or perhaps the beast

thought he had honour enough by having his enemy under-foot, with which he being satisfied, retired.

Thus ended this chase, and I do not desire such another, for I have several times been in danger that the Negroes by their random-shot should hit me instead of the tiger.

This tiger was not hereby deterred from coming again some days after and killing some sheep, which provoked me to attempt another way to catch him that I had seen in the country of Ante.

I caused a parcel of very thick pallifadoes to be cut; of which I made a sort of cage of twelve foot long and four broad, covering it also on the top with pallifadoes, to bind which the firmer, I laid a thousand pound weight of stone on it to prevent his breaking out above; then I caused a double-plank door to be made for my cage, and in one of the corners I made a lesser cage, which took up one fourth of the room of the whole; in which I placed a couple of small hogs: after which I set the door like our rat-traps, in such a manner that the tiger could not come in to seize the hogs without throwing it down and shutting himself in, when it would be impossible for him to come at the hogs by reason of the pallifadoes which fenced them in their little cage.

This stratagem succeeded so well that three days after I had finished my trap, I caught the tiger in it at midnight; but instead of roaring, as I imagined he would, immediately he set his teeth at work, if possible to eat his way out of prison, which he had certainly done if he had had but one half hour's time; for he had soon rent the inner from the outer door, and eaten the pallifadoes half through when I interrupted him in his work; and not to dally with fruitless shooting, I clapped the muzzle of my musquet loaded with three balls betwixt the pallifadoes, at which he furiously caught, and so furnished me with a favourable opportunity to dispatch him at one shot; by which I punished his thievery and murder.

We found him about the size of a common calf, well provided with large teeth and claws.

This tiger-catching obliged us with a feast of eight days; for by the custom of the Antefe country, he that catches a tiger, is privileged for eight days to seize all the palm-wine which is brought to the market, without paying any thing for it; which accordingly we did, and the whole mentioned eight days were spent by the Negroes in shooting, dancing, leaping, and all manner of public jollity.

The country of Axim, but much more that of Ante, is full of tigers: they frequently in the night-time come not only under, but also into our forts, and do a great deal of mischief, making no difficulty of leaping over a wall of ten foot high.

Before I leave this subject, I cannot help refuting the opinion of some people, that the tiger is so afraid of fire, that without any other arms than that alone, it is possible to drive him away. I was once of this erroneous opinion myself, but have been convinced of the contrary by experience: for after having received a visit or two from a tiger, to affright him for the future, I kindled a great fire where the sheep used to sleep in the night; but not sufficiently relying on that, I ordered five of my servants to lie by the fire with loaded arms; but notwithstanding all this, the tiger came in the night and killed a sheep between my two lads, who were fallen asleep, and was moving towards the fire, when my servants, awakened with the cry of the sheep, immediately flew up, intending to let fly at him, but he immediately ran away.

From hence it appears that the tiger is just as much afraid of fire, as the devil of the cross; and this accident confirms the report of the Negroes, that this beast will never attack a man when he can come at a beast, for otherwise he could more easily have fallen on my two boys than a sheep.

Next the tiger in fierceness, is the jackal or wild dog; of which I have already spoken in the description of Acra. I had an opportunity of gratifying my curiosity with a fight of it in the year 1700, when the present King of Comman's servants having shot one, were so civil as to bring it to the castle: he was as big as a sheep, with longer legs; which in proportion to their size were very thick; whence you may judge of his strength: he was covered with short hair, which was spotted; his head was very large, flat and broad, provided with teeth, each of which was a finger's breadth and more; so that in all probability his greatest strength is lodged in his mouth and legs; joined to which he also hath terrible claws.

I will here present you with an example of the fierce boldness of this brute, which happened at Acra; where one of these beasts by night boldly came into a Negro's house, and took away a female Negro; which he flung upon his back, and held her fast with one leg, intending to proceed on his journey with his prey halting upon three legs: but the cries of the poor captive awoke a parcel of Negroes, and brought them to her relief; which they soon effected, and found her only a little hurt by the claw with which he held her fast.

I shall now add something concerning the elephant; of which I have in one of my former letters told you that unprovoked he very seldom falls on mankind, but when urged to it falls on with wondrous fierceness. Both which I shall here confirm by a couple of instances; and shew you how difficult it is to kill them.

Beyond Axim a Negro that was accustomed to the elephant-chace, and had killed several, endeavouring to shoot at one, but missing his shot by a flash in the pan, the elephant grew so enraged, that he pursued, fet on him, and broke him and his musquet to pieces.

The second accident is more remarkable, and may serve as an instruction to others that for the future they be not too rash.

In the year 1700, in December at six in the morning, an elephant came here to Elmina, walking easily along the shore under the hill of St. Jago: some Negroes were so bold as to go against him without any thing in their hands, in a fort to welcome and bring him in. He suffered them to encompass him, and very quietly went along with them to just under the mount St. Jago: where one of our officers belonging to that hill, and a Negro which came down with him, fired on him immediately; and the officer's ball hit him above his eye. This and the following shot which the Negroes poured on him were so far from provoking him, that they did not move him to mend his pace in the least; he only seemed to threaten the Negroes betwixt whiles, but still let them alone.

It was surprising, when he threatened to fall on the men, to see him prick up his ears; which were of a prodigious size: however he went on, and lastly stepped into our garden, expecting perhaps civiler treatment there.

This extraordinary accident, and our own curiosity, drew the director-general and myself into the garden; and we were soon followed by some of our people. We found him standing in the midst of the garden; where, before our coming, he had broke down four or five cocoa-trees; which number, either to divert himself or shew us his strength, he augmented with five or six more in our presence. The strength which he seemed to use in breaking down a tree may very fitly be compared to the force which a man exerts in order to knock down a child of three or four years old.

Whilst he stood here, above one hundred shot were fired at him, which made him bleed to that degree, as if an ox had been killed. During all which he did not stir, but only set up his ears, and made the men apprehend that he would follow them.

But this sport was accompanied with a tragical event; for a Negro, fancying himself able to deal with him, went softly behind him, caught his tail in his hand, designing to cut a piece of it off; but the elephant being used to wear a tail, would not permit it to be shortened in his life-time: wherefore, after giving the Negro a stroke with his snout, he drew him to him, and trod upon him two or three times; and, as if that was not sufficient, he bored in his body two holes with his teeth, large enough for a man's double fist to enter. Then he let him lie, without making any farther attempt on him; and stood still also whilst two Negroes fetched away the dead body, not offering to meddle with them in the least.

From both these instances it is sufficiently clear, that unprovoked they do not often hurt any body; but that they grow very fierce when shot at and missed doth not so plainly appear, since this elephant suffered above three hundred shot to be made at him, without any sign of being enraged or resistance: but as the same actions have not always the same success, I should be loath from hence to advise any person rashly to fire at an elephant, since this vast number of shot which were thundered at him were not sufficient to fetch him down; and those who pretend thoroughly to understand the elephant-shooting told us, that we ought to have shot iron-bullets, since those of lead are flattened, either by their bones or the toughness of their skin.

This seems probable; for after his death we found of the vast quantity of shot levelled at him very few had passed the bone into his head. Some remained betwixt the skin and the bone; most of them, more especially the small shot, was thrown off by his hide as if they had been shot against a wall. The bullets were certainly too small, since what the English factor told me, was confirmed by others, that as he was in the river Gamby, in a canoe, he killed an elephant, which pursued him, with one shot only. For to imagine that none of the balls hit him in the proper place is not very reasonable, since in such a great number one must hit right, as appeared after his death.

After the elephant had killed the Negro (which happened not above sixteen paces from us), and had been about an hour in the garden, he wheeled about as if he intended to fall on us, which made all that were in the garden to fly, each endeavouring to secure himself by getting away; but the greatest part made to mount St. Jago; thinking, indeed, with reason, that if they could reach that, they should be safe: but the elephant followed nobody out of the garden, which was very fortunate; for otherwise amongst such a number of people he had undoubtedly made a great slaughter, since nobody by swift running could have escaped him; which I believe on horseback is scarcely to be done.

We all flew out of the garden, as I have told you, through the fore-door, and the elephant took to the back-door; which, whether in his way, or whether it was too narrow for him to pass, I cannot tell, but he flung the door, though a brick and half thick, a good distance; which I had the good fortune to see a good way off, but could not observe that to do that he very much exerted himself, but rather seemed only to touch it lightly. After which he did not pass through the gap where the door had been, but forced through the garden-hedge, going very softly by mount St. Jago towards the river, where he bathed himself in order to wash off the blood with which he was besmeared, or to cool himself after the heat occasioned by so much shot. After having refreshed himself a little in the river, he came out and stood under some trees where were some of our water-tubs; where he also cooled himself, and broke them in pieces, as he did also a canoe which lay by them. Whilst the elephant stood here, the shooting began to be renewed, till at last he fell down; after which they immediately

diately cut off his snout, which was so hard and tough that it cost the Negroes thirty strokes before they could separate it, which must be very painful to the elephant, since it made him roar; which was the only noise I heard him make: after this he died under the mentioned tree; confirming the report of the Negroes, who tell us, that whenever an elephant finds his death approaching, if able, he always gets under a tree or into a wood.

For the truth of which, though I will not be obliged to answer, it hath yet thrice happened at Elmina: and at Gabon I found a dead elephant in a pleasant thicket; of which more hereafter.

The elephant was no sooner dead, than the Negroes fell on him in crowds; each cutting off as much as he could, so that he furnished a great many as well Whites as Blacks with food enough for that day.

He was not very large; his teeth not weighing above four and thirty pound. Thus we had the diversion to have a near view of an elephant, and to see him partly exert his strength; and the pleasure had been much greater, if not allayed by the misfortune of the poor Negro, though it was his own fault. Hence we began to reflect to what danger we had exposed ourselves by venturing so near the elephant; for had he but once grown furious, his rage would doubtless have cost several men's lives, and perhaps we should have fallen the first, not being so swift of foot as the Negroes; besides, all making one way, we should have been in the way, and obstructed one another's flight.

Upon this consideration we resolved never for the future to come so near an elephant; to which I would not advise any man who hath the least tenderness for his life.

Whilst I am writing this, an accident that happened to me at Moure occurs to my memory; which obliges me to add what follows:—Going to my chamber at night in order to go to bed, I found an hideous great spider against the wall. On account of the strangeness of the spectacle, I called my sub-factor, and both my assistants to see it. We found his body long, and his head sharp, broader in the fore than hind-part, but not round as most sort of spiders are. His legs were as large as a man's finger, ten in number, being hairy, and the thickness of a little finger.

The Negroes call this spider Ananse, and believe that the first men were made by that creature: and notwithstanding some of them by conversation with the Europeans are better informed, there are yet a great number, that remain of that opinion; out of which folly they are not to be reasoned. This is the greatest piece of ignorance and stupidity that I have observed the Negroes guilty of; which I have once already hinted to you.

Be pleased, sir, to take this letter as a supplement to the description of the Gold Coast; on which subject you are to expect no more. And what rests is that you continue always assured of, sir, yours, &c.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE SLAVE-COAST.

LETTER XVIII. — *Which first treats briefly of the Country of Quahoe, which is abundantly enriched with Gold; after that of the Kingdom of Ladingcour, and Country of Lampi, whose King and Subjects are submitted to the Obedience of Aquamboe: this Country affording very great Plenty of all Sorts of Cattle. — Of the Slave-trade there. — Agriculture and Fishery. — A copious Description of Rio Volta. — The small Force of Lampi, or the Cotofo King; and their continual Wars with those of Popo. — The Land is dry Sand, without Hills, and very barren. — Slave-trade there. — The Inhabitants conversible and good-natured; their Poverty; they live chiefly by Robbery. — The Multitudes of Idols here. — A Description of Little Popo; its Barrenness; of its Inhabitants, those which are banished Acra are good Soldiers: their War with those of Offra and Fida; what passed therein: they also live upon Spoil and Slave-trade; their villanous Nature; and some Instances of their Cheating: formerly a great Trade was driven at this Place. — Multitudes of Rats. — A Description of Great Popo, which was subject to Fida, but is revolted from it; their Wars occasioned thereby, in which they were victorious; Popo an Island; wants Provisions; Slave-trade there; our Company formerly had a Lodge there; Popo is accounted to be in the Country of Ardra; where the Country of Fida begins; the violent burning of the Sea before it, does a great deal of Mischief; some Instances of it; the strong Current before Fida stops the Ships; pleasant Prospect of the Entrance of that Country; Extent of it; it is well cultivated and very fertile. — Description of Fida; Nature of the Inhabitants; their Civility as well to us as to one another; their Compliments; they are very laborious; their Occupations; Women's Work; they eat and drink well; work for small Wages; great Slave-trade there; the Men marry many Wives, of which they are very jealous; severe Punishment inflicted for lying with another Man's Wife, especially the King's, which must not be touched, and some not permitted to be seen; great Number of the King's Wives, of which he sometimes sends away a good many, without his Number being diminished; the Women not fond of being the King's Wife; the eldest Son is sole Heir to his Father's Estate as well as to his Father's Wives; the King married his own Daughter; Multitude of Children here; thievish Nature of the People here; some Examples of it; their rich Cloathing; red Colour prohibited to be worn by any not of the Royal Blood; convenient Habit of the Women; all their Heads are shorn; great Offerings in time of Sickness; they are extremely afraid of Death, which must not be so much as mentioned in Presence of the King, or any of the chief Men; an agreeable Adventure of the Author's on that account; the Inhabitants of Fida make no Distinction of Time; are natural Arithmeticians; menstruous Women utterly unclean; their Circumcision; musical Instruments; they are great Gamesters.*

SIR,

YOURS of the 25th reached me in good time, and reading at the very first your thanks, I flattered myself that you were pleased with the description of the Gold Coast which I imparted to you; but going on I found myself mistaken, and that you would not be so easily satisfied, but farther desire an account of those countries where our Company, and other nations, drive their slave-trade; and that I might not want an employment, you add a supplemental request, that I would lay the whole coast of
Guinea

Guinea before you. Well, my friend, was it not enough to set me such a task, but you must also rally me, and acquaint me that idleness in this country is very prejudicial to my health? which to preserve, of consequence it is absolutely necessary to have something to do, as if I wanted employment besides this you have found me: if you think that any person of an active genius can want business here, I dare assure you that you will find yourself mistaken. Idleness here, and I believe all the world over, is only the lot of those idiots which scarce know either what they do, or wherefore they live: and to let you see that I am none of those, I shall answer your demand, by writing you not only what I have myself observed of these countries, but also whatever is considerable in those places where I have never been, nor never desire to come, though I am not willing to be security for the truth of all which I shall say; but yet I dare aver, that the persons from whom I have my informations are so creditable, that I should freely rely on their words in things of much greater importance; and therefore believe that nothing preposterous will be found in the relation.

So as I have received my information, I shall faithfully transmit it to you, without adding any thing of my own; but if their method displease me, or disagree with what I have hitherto observed, I shall make bold to change it a little, and this is the utmost alteration I intend: and that you may know before-hand what countries they are which you will find described, from the information of others, in the following recital, be pleased to observe, that the description of the country from Ardra, through the whole gulph of Guinea to Rio de Gabon, with the tract of land west of the Gold Coast, and from the Gold River to Cabo Monte, is not mine; but all the rest you may take for my own, no part of which is the result of any thing but my own observation.

This being, in my opinion, a sufficient advertisement, I shall begin with a description of the remaining part of Guinea, through which I have travelled.

Be pleased to remember, that in my fifth letter I ended the whole Gold Coast with the village of Ponni, though the gold is brought to us from the country a little lower, namely, out of Quahoe, which abounds with that metal, and is situate beyond that tract of land; but by reason of the small acquaintance I have with that country, as also because its inhabitants go through Aquamboe to Acra, where they drive the greatest part of their trade, passing over this, I shall confine myself to the sea-side only, telling you withal the tract of land betwixt Ponni and Rio Volta is about thirteen miles long, being inhabited by the Negroes of Acra, Lampi, and Aquamboe.

Those of Lampi have a King of their own, with the title of King of Ladingcour; though in reality he and his subjects (if they may be so called) depend entirely on the King of Aquamboe, according to whose will and pleasure he is obliged to regulate himself; for upon the least disgust, which he or his people give to those of Aquamboe, they are so severely punished that the remembrance of it remains for several years, which is yet styled a mild and merciful chastisement; for whenever the King of Aquamboe takes a fancy to it, he makes nothing of cutting them a foot shorter, which punishment they are forced to submit to without murmuring; he having at least as despotic a power over them as his own subjects.

The country hereabouts is indifferently populous and fertile, but extraordinarily stored with cattle, as cows, hogs, sheep, besides chicken, &c. All which are here daily bought very cheap by the Blacks of the Gold Coast, to transport to the Upper Coast.

The remaining trade of these people consists in slaves, which are also bought up by the mentioned Negroes; but most of them are transported hence by the English, French and Portuguese ships. Sometimes the slave-trade here proves very advantageous, especially about the village Lay.

It sometimes happens that when the in-land countries are at peace, here are no slaves to be got; so that the trade of this place is utterly uncertain, and it only serves to touch at in our passage this way, without depending on any thing from it.

Besides trade, the inhabitants employ themselves in agriculture and fishing; the first of which proves reasonably profitable; but the fishery, especially that on the sea, turns to none, or at most, but small account; for the shore here is very high and of very difficult access: wherefore it is sometimes unapproachable with small canoes. But the want of sea-fish is here abundantly compensated by the lakes or rivers, which are extraordinarily richly stocked with fish.

Rio Volta, probably so called by the Portuguese, by reason of its rapid course and reflux, bounds this tract of land. This is a fine wide river, discharging its waters so violently into the sea, that it is sometimes visible three or four miles from the shore. How far this river extends its course in-land is to me unknown. The extraordinary rapid reflux into the sea, continually carries great numbers of trees along with it; which sticking fast at the mouth of the river, occasion a very high burning of extraordinary violence, as well as lofty agitations of the waves: so that this place is passable with canoes but twice in the year, and that is commonly betwixt April and November, the weather being then still upon the Coast; which generally is just before the rainy season, when consequently the reflux of the river is not so swift: but after the rains it is not possible to persuade a Negro to venture, though they are continually used to pass in their boats along the shore, which here, by reason of the mentioned burnings, they cannot do.

I have four times passed by this river on board of shipping, and each time some of our people were sent aloft, that by discerning the mouth of this river, they might see whether we had passed it or no; and they commonly called to us from aloft, that they saw its mouth, and that they were right before it, and at it, or a little way east or west of it; which the masters of the ships, through ignorance, and I, as well as they, firmly believed.

But in the year 1699, coming in a canoe from Fida, I caused myself to be rowed as close to the shore as possible, and as the burnings would permit; but as curious and exact as we were in our observation, we could descry no mouth, nor the least opening; but discovered the truth of what one of my servants (who had performed this journey by land) told me, that this river, at a small distance from the shore, and throughout, is prodigiously wide; but that westward, it is thwarted by a whole tract of land, which leaves it but a small opening or passage; and it is natural enough to believe, that by reason of the wideness within, and the violent reflux of this river, the ebb which passes this small mouth must be much stronger than if this passage were proportioned to the size of the river: but enough of this.

Eastward of this river, the Cotofo country, by most called the land of Lampi, beginneth. From this river to the village Coto or Verhou, is about fourteen Dutch miles; the village having formerly been the place of residence of the King of Coto, where I saw and spoke with him in the year 1698.

This kingdom is very inconsiderable in strength, which yet abates daily by its wars with Popo, that have continued for some years successively; and they being pretty even in force, unless they make peace, their dispute is not like to be ended before one of them engages some other country to their assistance. But Aquamboe, who would keep them both on foot, takes care that neither be destroyed, by sending assistance of forces to the weakest side.

When

When Aquamboe was governed by two chiefs, as I have formerly told you, those of Popo had a strong supporter of the old, as they of Coto of the young King; thus each side was continually furnished with Aquamboean props.

But how it will go with them when the old King is dead, time will inform us. Those of Little Popo, in 1700, watched their opportunity, and, surprizing those of Coto, fell upon them and obliged them to quit their country; but I doubt not but those of Aquamboe will soon reinstate them, and clap a bridle into the mouth of the Popoceans.

The land of Coto is of a direct contrary sort of nature to that of the Gold Coast; for as the latter is full of hills, so the former hath not one: but the soil is very flat, sandy, dry, barren, and void of all trees, except the palm or wild-cocoa; of which it produceth a great number. This land is tolerably provided with cattle, at least as many as are sufficient to supply its inhabitants.

River-fish is not wanting here, but they can get none out of the sea, by reason of the violent burnings which extends from this place to Ardra, and farther along the whole Coast.

Their trade is that of slaves; of which they are able sometimes to deliver a good number, but yet not so many as to lade a ship.

I found the inhabitants here very good-natured and civil. I received several civilities from them, especially from the King: when I told him, that after having accomplished my merchandize at Fida, I designed to return by land; he offered to come himself with his whole force to receive me on the borders of his territories, and to conduct me beyond Rio Volta in order to secure me from any mischief from the strolling robbers. I thankfully accepted this kind offer, and I should certainly have made use of it, had not those of Little Popo (who had also promised to conduct me through the extent of their land) caused me to be dissuaded from it by their ambassadors, under pretence they were afraid I might be set on by the robbers before they came to me.

This dissuasive was very faint, and the said ambassadors under-hand encouraged me to this land-tour, urging it as their private advice, which naturally discovered their villany: which was that they designed to murder me on my journey, and consequently have stolen all my goods; besides which, they would yet have cleared themselves by urging that they advised me against going that way.

I was on this account frightened from undertaking my intended tour; by which I should otherwise have discovered some particulars worthy your curiosity.

But to return to the inhabitants of Coto; in politics, religion, and economics, they very nearly resemble those on the Gold Coast, except that I found here a vast quantity of idol gods. Their language is mostly that of Acra, with a very small alteration. By reason their trade is small, they are very poor; very few of them being rich. Their most advantageous trade is taking a journey in-land and stealing men, which they sell to the Europeans, that come here with their ships. This is the best part of their subsistence, and indeed all I have to say of them.

From Coto to Little Popo is about ten miles; the country being as the former, flat land, without either hills or trees, and extraordinarily sandy, even to such a degree that all victuals there dressed are continually full of sand, and not edible; of which I was very sensible during my three days continuance there: for the King richly enough provided me with victuals; but for the mentioned reason I could not eat, but was forced to fetch provisions from on board our ship to keep myself alive.

This vast quantity of sand, with which the whole land is covered, renders it so barren, that the inhabitants are forced to be victualled by those of Fida, or at least for the most part.

The inhabitants here are the remains of the kingdom of Acra behind our fort there; from whence they were formerly driven by the King of Aquamboe. Those who escaped settled here, where they may remain long enough; for it is not probable that they will ever return to the possession of their country.

I have already mentioned their wars with those of Coto. They are not very populous; but on the other hand are very warlike. Not many years since they had a brave soldier for their King, whose name was Aforri, brother to the present King. This prince, on account of his valour, was very much feared and respected; but his greatest stock of fame redounded to him when the Phidalgo of Offra rebelled against the King of Great Ardra, his lord and master, whose yoke he shook off, and besides killed our chief factor Holwerf.

To revenge these accumulated crimes, the King of Ardra persuaded King Aforri to come against him with all his force; which he did, and made such short work with those of Offra, that he conquered as soon as saw them; wasted their country, and delivered the offender into his sovereign's hands: but not content with this victory, and pushed on by the King of Ardra, he marched against the people of Fida, and encamped in their country; but wanting powder, he delayed attacking the Fidafians, in expectation of having it sent him according to the King of Ardra's promise; which he did not fail to do in large quantity under a good convoy: but the Fidafians, getting intelligence of it, fell upon the convoy with a very strong party, defeated it, and seized all the powder; which Aforri being informed of, and finding himself, for want of ammunition, not able to stand against his enemies, made a speedy as well as very seasonable retreat; for the Fidafians intended to have fallen on him with their whole force the next day, when he and all his army would probably have been very roughly treated.

His enemies, informed of his flight, were not in the least inclined to pursue him; but on the contrary did not a little rejoice to find themselves rid of such a dangerous enemy.

Aforri being returned into his own territories, was acquainted that his neighbours of Coto were ready to have assisted Fida, if he had staid any longer in their country; which he so highly resented, that with utmost animosity he took the field against them, and desiring nothing more than to come to a close engagement with them, he attacked them, though stronger than himself, but they received him so warmly, that they had quickly killed a great part of his army: upon this, furiously enraged and desperate, and careless of himself, he flew amongst the thickest of the enemy, where he was so surrounded that it was impossible for him to return; upon which, with several of his men, after a valiant resistance, he was left dead upon the spot.

The present King, though more peaceable and mild, yet prudently revenged his brother's death on the Cotofians, always attacking them in their weakest condition; which measures he pursued so long as to drive them out of their country.

The inhabitants of Popo, as well as those of Coto, depend on plunder and the slave-trade; in both of which they very much exceed the latter; for being endowed with a much larger share of courage, they rob more successfully, and consequently by that means increase their trade: notwithstanding all which, to freight a ship with slaves, requires some months attendance.

In the year 1697, in three days time I could get but three slaves; but they assured me that if I would have patience for other three days only, they should be able to deliver me one or two hundred. I seemed to approve their proposal, but went on board under pretence of fetching some goods ashore which they desired, and immediately

diately weighed anchor and set sail for Fida ; where I was informed that their incursions succeeded so well, that they returned with above two hundred slaves ; which, for want of other ships, they were obliged to sell to the Portuguese.

This nation is more than ordinary fraudulent and thievish. It is their common practice to assure the merchant or factor that they have a stock of slaves, only to draw him on shore ; which having done they never part with him without having fleeced him, and besides detained him several months.

The Portuguese are cheated by them more than any nation ; notwithstanding which they cannot avoid trading with them by reason they are loaded with such forry goods, that they can scarcely get slaves any where else.

In 1698, I found a Danish ship there, which was obliged to wait a longer time to deal for five hundred slaves, than I spent in trading for two thousand at Fida : during which time they met with such ample proofs of their villanous nature, that I do not believe any of that nation will venture thither again.

A year or two before this, they dealt in the same manner with an English ship, and besides cheated him of some of his goods ; but he coming thither again in my time, recovered his damages in the following manner : — As soon as he had dropt anchor before Popo, some of the great men, amongst whom was the King's son, came on board him ; all which he clapped in the Bilboas : from whence he did not discharge them till he was first re-imburfed and had obliged them to pay a sum besides.

In the reign of this King's brother, this nation was more easily dealt with, for when he had done his business, he would not suffer his subjects to impose on the Europeans. In his time, one of our Company's ships, in eleven days, dealt for above five hundred slaves, but that is not what is likely to happen again ; for that nation is at present so fraudulent, that undeniably every person that deals with them must be more or less cheated.

It is perfectly unnecessary to touch any further on the nature and customs of these people, since being originally inhabitants of Acra, in religion and government they do not much differ from their country-men.

During my stay here, I found such an incredible number of rats, that I thought myself bound in charity to advertise the inhabitants to be upon their guard and destroy those vermin, lest increasing upon them they should in time drive them out of their country.

Four miles eastward from hence is the kingdom of Great Popo, whose King was first in subjection to Fida, but the present King being set upon the throne by the present King of Fida, in the room of his brother whom he had banished, in reward of the favours of the Fidasian monarch, he hath withdrawn his allegiance, and thrown off that yoke ; at which the Fidasian was so much enraged, that he raised a great army, which he sent against Popo, together with the assistance and ammunition which he received from some French ships that then lay before Fida, designing nothing less than to extirpate them, which he was also encouraged to hope, because the French ships likewise failed to fall upon that country by sea : but Popo being an island situate in the midst of the river, both the French and Fidasians were forced to make use of floats to come at them ; and that nation had put itself in such a posture of defence, that it not only received its enemies warmly, but after bleeding them, put them to flight, without the loss of one man on their side ; for they fired very briskly out of their houses, and unperceived of their enemies, by which means they killed a great number of French and Fidasians, and so disordered their forces, that throwing down their arms, they run over one another to make their escape ; and if the Popoceans had followed their vic-

tory, in all probability not one Frenchman would have escaped alive, they not being so swift as the Negroes.

Since this so unsuccessful enterprise, the King of Fida hath not ventured on any fresh attempts with his own forces, but hath been endeavouring even to this present time to hire other nations to engage in the quarrel; but though it hath already cost him large sums, yet the only success he has met with is to be cheated on all sides; wherefore, much against his will, he is obliged to suffer the King of Popo in quiet possession of his island.

The inhabitants of Popo have scarcely any dwelling places, besides the King's village, which, as I have told you, is an island, and that so thinly peopled, and so infested by the Fidians, that they cannot cultivate their land quietly; wherefore they very frequently want provisions, and would be starved, if they were not furnished with edibles from even the Fidians, their greatest enemies, who continually run the risk of capital punishments, by reason of the profit they find to accrue by victualling the Popoeans.

The natives of Great Popo trade also in slaves, which, if no ships come thither, they sell to those of Little Popo; but their greatest gain is by the fish, which they catch in their river, and trade with abroad.

Some years past we had a house or lodge here, but by reason of the declension of trade, since the enmity betwixt Fida and Popo, after the death of our factor we left it, and since that time we have not traded with them.

This Popo is the first place which can properly be reckoned to be in the country of Ardra: the Ardraian language, with very small alterations, is here spoken. The government also is here upon the same foot, of which more in the description of Fida, where I shall give you a sketch of it.

Just eastwards of Popo, the country of Fida takes its beginning, and four or five miles lower is the road and port. This port is so incommodious and dangerous, by reason of the horrible burnings in the sea, that we cannot land here without running a great risk; but in April, May, June, and July, the sea burns so violently, that, according to the proverb, he ought to have two lives who ventures.

About this season, dismal accidents are very frequent here, great quantities of goods are lost, and many men drowned; for the sea-burning is so violent, and rolls so, that a canoe full of people is over-turned, and the canoe shattered into splinters in a minute, by which means all that are in it are in danger to be lost, except the rowers, who, through their skill in swimming, may perhaps save themselves. This overturning of canoes happens every day.

When I was here, in the year 1698, besides slaves, there were five men lost here; viz. a Portuguese captain, a clerk, and three English sailors, besides two captains which were brought ashore for dead, and lived but a very little while after.

This port hath cost me, or rather the Company, at several times, above two hundred pounds, and doubtless it must have been more expensive to the English and others, who have not so good rowers.

At this time of the year we are troubled with another inconvenience, which is a strong eastern tide, which no boat or shallop can stem by rowing, but those in the boats are obliged to set them along by sticking their pole in the ground; so that what by one inconvenience or another we are detained here twice as long as is necessary to our slave-trade; but when our fatigue is over, and we are got on shore, we seem to have passed from hell to heaven, for having escaped the apparent dangers of the sea, and discerning such beautiful meadow-ground about half a mile off, we cannot help
being

being over-joyed on the account not only of our delivery, but likewise of the future pleasures this country promises.

For three several times I have lived here about three months, not that my merchandizing required so long time; for reckoning one ship with another, I could dispatch each of them in less than a month; and which is yet more, I have laden three in fourteen days; but what obliged me to stay was waiting for a yacht to carry me off, and preparing for my voyage.

During my stay here, I used all possible means to discover the length and breadth of this kingdom, but could never obtain a farther satisfactory account than that its extent along the sea-shore is about nine or ten miles; and in the middle, it reaches six or seven miles in-land; after which it extends like two arms, and in some places is ten or twelve miles broad, and in others much narrower; so that it is impossible for me to oblige you with an exact account of its breadth, but I hope we shall not quarrel.

It is, however, unquestionably certain, that this country is so very populous, that in one village alone, as the King's, or any of his viceroy's villages, for instance, there are as many people as in a common kingdom on the Gold Coast; and this land is well furnished with these large villages, besides innumerable small ones, which are observable throughout the whole country, some not above a musquet-shot from each other, for those who live out of the great villages or towns build and settle where they please; so that each family builds a small village, which increases as that multiplies. The great number of these villages, composed of houses which are round at the top, and encompassed with mud walls or hedges, together with the great numbers of all sorts of beautiful and lofty-trees, which seem designedly planted in exact order, afford the most beautiful prospect in the world; to render which the more charming and perfectly agreeable, not so much as one mountain or hillock interposeth to interrupt the view; but the whole is a sort of insensibly rising ground, which is not discovered till you have gone forwards an hour or two, when, turning back, your eyes are regaled with a prospect of the most charming place that imagination can represent; nor can I believe that any country in the world can shew the like. Besides which, this land is covered with a beautiful verdure, composed either of grass or trees, and plentifully provided with three sorts of corn, beans, potatoes, and other fruits, which grow so closely to each other, that in some places a foot-path is the only ground that is not covered with them; for the Negroes of this country are so covetous, that no place which is thought fertile can escape planting, though even within the hedges which enclose their villages and dwelling-places: and they are so very greedy in this particular, that the very next day after they have reaped they are sure to sow again, without allowing the land any time for rest.

The charms of this country have so far transported me, that I have insensibly passed through it; but since on account of its excellence (comparatively taken and considered as on this Coast), it deserves a very particular description: I therefore design to divide it into three heads, viz. first, I shall treat of the nature and manners of the inhabitants; secondly, of their religion and government; and, thirdly, of the cattle and fruits of this country.

As the first will take up the remainder of this letter, so the other two shall be treated of each in a letter apart. But I desire you not to be tired if they all, but more especially this, happen to be somewhat long; I shall not grudge my pains in writing it; and if you put too great a value on the time to read it, the remedy is easy; you may tear off what you will, and not waste so much time on it as to peruse it.

But

But as to my first particular, I must needs say, that the inhabitants of Fida far exceed all other Negroes (that I have had the opportunity of conversing with) both in good and bad qualities; as the following lines, if worthy your reading, will inform you:—

I must own, that, from the highest to the lowest, they treat us in the most civil, obliging, and engaging manner in the world; and as all Negroes continually tease us for presents, these, on the contrary, never desire beyond a morning draught, and had rather give than receive. When we trade with them, they are very well pleased that we acknowledge the services they have done us; but they are incorrigibly fond of their ancient customs, but this is so reasonable that no person can deny them that privilege.

They are so civil to each other, and the inferior so respectful to the superior, that at first I was very much surpris'd at it; for if any of them goes to visit his superior, or meets him by chance, he immediately falls on his knees, and thrice successively kisses the earth, claps his hands, wishes his superior a good day or good night, and congratulates him; which the other, either sitting or standing, or whatever posture he is found in, barely answers, with softly clapping his hands, and wishing the other a good day; and if he is extraordinarily civil, he saith, it is enough. All which time the former remains sitting or prostrate on the earth, till the other departs, unless his affairs call him away; when, after begging leave, he retires, creeping on the ground; for it would be thought a great crime to sit upon a chair or bench in presence of his superior.

The like deference is paid by the younger to the elder brother, the children to the father, and the wives to their husbands; none of which will deliver or receive any thing to or from his or her superior, brother, father, or husband, otherwise than upon the knee, and with both hands together, which is a sign of yet greater subjection; and if they speak to any of the said persons, their hand is always clapped before their mouth, that their breath may not offend the other.

When two persons of equal condition meet each other, they fall both down on their knees together, clap hands, and mutually salute, by wishing each other a good day; which ceremonies are also nicely observed by their followers and dependants on each side, which looks very agreeable.

If a principal person happen to sneeze, all those in their presence fall upon their knees; and after having kissed the earth, and clapped their hands, wish him all happiness and prosperity.

When a person is presented with any thing by his superior, having received it, he claps it in his hands, and after kissing the earth, very submissively returns thanks. In short, the inferior here shews as much respect to the superior, as I believe is practis'd in any place of the world; which is very different from the Negroes on the Gold Coast, who live together without any distinction, like brute beasts: nor do they differ less from the mentioned Negroes in industry, for whereas the Gold Coast Negroes indulge themselves in idleness as their favourite vice; here, on the contrary, men as well as women are so vigorously industrious and laborious, that they never desist till they have finished their undertakings; and are continually endeavouring after work, in order to get money.

Besides agriculture, from which the King and a few great men are only exempted, their manufactures are spinning of cotton, weaving of fine cloaths, making of calabasses, wooden vessels, Assagayes and smith's-ware, and several other handicrafts, which
are

are in greater perfection here than on the Gold Coast; besides which, they also have some which the other have no knowledge of.

Whilst the men are so diligently employed, the women are not idle; they brew, or rather boil beer, and dress victuals, which they carry to market to sell, together with their husband's merchandize; so that both men and women here are employed in getting of money, and each zealously strives to out-do the other. Hence it is that they live very splendidly, and not as the Blacks on the Gold Coast, who dare not think of a good morsel when it is dear; for these on the other side, as well the higher as lower sort, eat of the best that is to be gotten, as long as they have any thing to support it; and when that fails, they are upon the hunt to get more; but to ask them to work with an empty belly, would be to knock at a deaf-man's door; on which account I think no man can blame them, since it is but reasonable that they should, before they begin, be sensible for what they take pains.

They work for small wages, and the service which the meaner sort do us consists in carrying our goods from the shore to the King's village, where our house is. This being about three miles, for every burthen of goods we commonly pay from eight to twelve pence, in proportion to the weight of it; the price of each burthen being exactly adjusted. From hence you may collect, that the men work very cheaply here; but they play an after-game, of which I shall hereafter inform you.

With a burthen of one hundred pounds on their head, they run a sort of continual trot, which is so swift, that we Hollanders cannot keep up with them without difficulty, though not loaded with an ounce weight.

Those who are very rich here, besides husbandry, in which their wives and slaves are employed under them, drive a very considerable trade, not only in slaves, but all other sort of commodities.

They are so diligent in the slave-trade, that they are able to deliver one thousand slaves every month, if there are no ships at Jakin, which is subordinate to Great Ardra, and situate but three miles below Fida, which makes a very considerable alteration; for the King of Great Ardra, through whose territories most of the slaves are obliged to pass, when the ships are there, to favour his own subjects, very commonly shuts up all the passes to Fida by a very strict prohibition; upon which his subjects are obliged to deal by stealth with those of Fida (against whose King he is an irreconcilable enemy), which yet they continually do, seeming not much concerned at their Kings' disputes. Notwithstanding which, trade doth not flourish so well as when the King of Ardra leaves commerce open betwixt his subjects and those of Fida.

The remaining customs and manners of the natives of Fida, not affecting their religious worship, are very like those on the Gold Coast, excepting only, as I have already hinted, that these exceed the other in all particulars of living; for whereas the former content themselves with one, two, three, and the most considerable men, with eight, ten or twenty wives; they have here forty or fifty, and their chief captains three or four hundred, some one thousand, and the King betwixt four and five thousand.

Most of these wives serve to till the ground, for their husbands only; but the most beautiful stay at home, where they are not yet excused from working; besides which they are obliged to serve and wait on their husband. No rich Negro will suffer any man to enter the houses where his wives reside.

The men here are so strangely jealous of their wives, that on the least suspicion in the world, they sell them to the Europeans; being in this particular very different from the Negroes of the Gold Coast, who make no manner of scruple of driving a public trade with their wives' body.

The custom of this country is vastly different from that ; for if any person here presume to debauch another's wife, if the injured person is a rich man, the offender must not only die, but such a crime is, besides that, sufficient to plunge his whole family into slavery.

If any person happen barely to touch any part of the body of one of the King's wives, designedly, or by the most unforeseen accident in the world, his head, or at least his liberty, is thereby forfeited : he being, for a punishment of his innocent crime, doomed to perpetual slavery. Wherefore all those whose business lies near the King's houses, call out aloud that his wives may be informed there is a man thereabouts.

For the same reason the King (as I have before hinted) is served by his wives in his house, not permitting any man to enter the walls thereof, unless to repair it, or do what the women cannot, upon which occasion the women are obliged to retire to another part of it.

When the workmen are tiling or repairing the King's house, they continually call out, that the King's wives may, during that time, keep within ; for if they should happen to see them only, it would be imputed to them as a crime.

So when the King's wives go to the field to work, as they do daily by hundreds, they are certain, whenever they meet a man, to cry out, " Stand clear ;" after which he either immediately falls on his knees or flat on the ground, and waits their passing by him, without presuming so much as to look at them.

On account of the least disgust or trifle, the King sometimes sells eighteen or twenty of his wives, which doth not at all lessen their number, for three of his principal captains, to whom the government of the seraglio is entrusted, daily supply their places with fresh ladies ; for whenever they see a beautiful virgin, they immediately present her to the King, which none of his subjects dare presume to refuse or contradict.

When a lady is presented to the King that happens to please him, he does her the honour to lie with her twice or thrice ; after which she is obliged to pass the remainder of her life like a nun : for which reason, the women are so far from being greedy of the honour of being the King's wives, that some of them prefer a speedy death to such a miserable life.

About two years past these captains endeavoured to bring him a beautiful young maid ; but she not being very fond of a nun's life, fled from them, and they pursuing her, she despairing threw herself into a deep well, in which she was stifled. I leave her case to be determined by the ladies.

Upon the father's death, the eldest son inherits not only all his goods and cattle, but his wives ; which he immediately holds and enjoyeth as his own, excepting his own mother ; for whom he provides a separate apartment, and sufficient subsistence, in case she cannot live without it. This custom obtains not only with the King and captains, but also amongst the commonalty.

This present King married two of his own daughters : but they dying quickly after, and his brutal pleasures being of a short duration, he imagines that the gods that way punished him for his crime ; which hath drawn from him an oath never to repeat it for the future. To prevent temptation, in my time he married his only daughter to the English Company's factor here ; and once talking very freely with him, I, in a jesting manner, imposed a sort of fine upon him for not having made me the first offer of her. He willingly paid his fine, adding withal, that though his daughter was married, she was yet at my service, if I desired her, since one word was sufficient to call her home. What think you, sir, are not this King's daughters very cheap ? But the mischief

is, that marrying a King's daughter in this country is not very advantageous, otherwise I had not failed long since to be happy that way.

From such a multitude of wives, a great number of children may reasonably be expected. You may easily believe this when I aver to you, I have seen men that were fathers of above two hundred children; but, however, to put it out of doubt, not only myself, but several others who have enquired into it, are ascertained of the truth of it in two instances; the first of which is one of the King's captains, that served us several years as an interpreter, whose name is Agoei.

I once asked him in presence of one of our captains and my assistant, how many children he had, having always observed a good number with him; to which he, sighing, answered, that he had been so very unhappy in that particular, as not to have many, and that he could not pretend to above seventy; I asked him whether he had not had more that were dead; he told me yes, about as many as were at present alive. And yet this man thought that both these numbers, making together one hundred and forty, were but a very small number; from whence you may guess what number is sufficient to make a man rich, or well-stocked with children.

The King, who was present at this conversation, assured me that one of his viceroys, assisted by his sons and grandsons with their slaves, had repulsed a powerful enemy which came against him. That this viceroy, with his sons and grandsons, could make out the number of two thousand, not reckoning daughters or any that were dead. Judge then, sir, whether, if a new world were discovered, these men would not be fit to people it.

If what I have told you is true, as I do not in the least doubt but it is, being confirmed by the King's asseveration in the presence of all his principal men; and this whole country is so prolific, it is not very surprising that it is so populous, or annually sells so many slaves.

Having detained you long enough on the head of the marriages of the Fidians, let us now take a view of their dealing with, or keeping the goods of others. To this purpose is what the King said to me the first time I came to Fida; His Majesty's advice and character of his subjects ran thus:—"That his subjects were not like those of Ardra and other neighbouring countries; which upon the least umbrage received from the Europeans would poison them. This is," continues he, "what you have no reason to fear here; but I advise you to take particular care of your goods, for my people seem to be born expert thieves, and will rob you of no more than they can come at."

I was entirely satisfied with this frank declaration of the King's, resolving to be so careful that their pilfering nature should not much redound to my damage; but I reckoned without my host, for I afterwards found that they were the greatest and most cunning thieves in the world.

Except three or four of the most considerable men, all this nation, high and low, rich and poor, are tainted with this vice. In short, not to exclude any body in the whole country, as I have before hinted, they are such expert thieves, that they obliged a French merchant to say of them, that they understood the art of thievery better than the cut-purses and pick-pockets of Paris. Would you know what extorted this character of that nation from him; it was, that being ready to depart, he had packed up all his goods in his pack-house, to which he had also added a great number of chickens, designed for his voyage, resolving to ship off all the next day; but he was excused that trouble, for when he came to his warehouse next morning, he found neither goods nor fowl, though the warehouse was firm and close, and well locked, so that he could not

imagine which way the thievery had been acted; though I afterwards discovered the trick at my cost.

The Negroes of the Gold Coast are very thievish, but are not to be compared with these. I never saw a ship here of what nation soever, that they have not robbed of goods to a considerable value; for, as I have already told you, it being three miles from the King's village to the shore, all which way we are necessitated to make use of these villains to carry our goods, they are hereby furnished with the best opportunity in the world to play their part; of which there is no hindering them: though instead of Argus you had a watchman with a thousand eyes, they would yet deceive him; and if we happen to catch them and reprehend them for it, they have assurance enough to ask us, whether we can imagine that they would work so hard as they do, for such small wages, without the liberty of stealing.

In my time the English sewed up their small barrels of Boesies (the money of this country) in sacks, thinking thereby to have secured them from the pilfering fingers of the Negroes; but they were mistaken; for as they were carrying them, on the way, they cut the sacks of the barrels, and dug out their Boesies at the chinks of the barrel with an iron chissel. They are acquainted with an hundred several ways of stealing, which would be too long to recite here. I shall only add that no person can provide against them; and if we complain to the King, we cannot expect any justice, much less retribution. For though the King gives order to have the guilty searched after and punished, yet no person dare inform, for fear of the King's eldest son, who commonly shares with, and consequently protects these villains.

And if we should presume to think, that when our goods are in the warehouses, they are then in a safe harbour, we should find ourselves grossly mistaken: at first I was of that opinion, but having had stolen from me, in one night's time, above the value of sixty pounds sterling in goods, I changed my opinion, believing that the only way to be free from their thievery, was to leave them and their country. I then found the locks of my warehouse entire, and had very safely kept the key; so that at first I could not imagine which way the thievery was committed, but afterwards I discovered the villany: I observed that in the garret, which was thatched with reed and clay or mud, to prevent firing, they had made a hole, and assisted by a pole with a hook at the end of it, had drawn out my goods.

But they had made such a large hole in the Frenchman's warehouse, that a man might pass through it. In short, go how it will, they are sure to steal something; but having said enough on this subject, it is time to think of something else; and before we speak of their government and religion, we shall give some short hints on other subjects.

The Negroes here are more richly cloathed than those of the Gold Coast, except in gold and silver, which they have not here, nor are they acquainted with its worth. They wear five or six cloaths, all of different sorts, one above the other, the uppermost of which is eight or nine yards long, which they wrap very decently about their body. None are permitted to wear red except those of the royal family only.

The women also wear a multitude of cloaths or panes, heaped one over another, each of which is not above a yard and half a quarter long, or a yard and a half long, of which they buckle their two ends on their bellies. These cloaths very closely cover the posteriors, but sit very loose before, inasmuch that if the wind blows a little fresh, what modesty obliges to cover is frequently exposed.

The Negroes tell us that this fashion was the women's invention, and grounded on a convenience which they found in it, as doubtless every mode is some way or other useful.

It is odd enough to observe that all men, women and children go with their heads closely shorn by a razor, and that without any covering in rain, wind, the scorching sun, or be the weather how it will : and if it is certainly true that going with the head naked renders it very hard, I dare aver that the Negroes must be very hard-headed, since they are always bare in that part ; and hence it is, as well as from their beards being closely shorn, that the old men seem younger than they really are.

If the Negroes on the Gold Coast, when seized by sickness, are very diligent in the use of medicines, and numerous offerings for the recovery of their health ; the Negroes here exceed them, especially in the last, which is the employment of several whole days.

The medicinal remedies are the same with those on the Gold Coast, but the offerings are very different : here each person reserves a place under the open air, which is set apart for that purpose, and hedged about with reeds and other trash. In this consecrated place they continually sacrifice in order to obtain health and prosperity.

They are so very fearful of death, that they very unwillingly hear it mentioned, for fear that alone should hasten their end. No Negro in the whole country dare presume to speak of death in presence of the King or any great man, on penalty of undergoing it as a punishment himself,

The first voyage I made hither, being upon my departure, I asked the King (who owed me about one hundred pounds sterling), who should pay me in case of his death at my return ; all those present were perfectly amazed at this question ; but the King, who understood a little Portuguese, taking me right, and finding that I was ignorant of their customs, smilingly answered, that I ought not to trouble myself about that, for he should not die, but always live. I soon perceived that I had been guilty of some solecism in their manners, wherefore I took my leave and retired to my apartment ; but withal asking the captains which followed me the reason of their astonishment. They replied, that no person, on pain of death, dared presume to speak of death itself so publicly in the King's presence, much less talk of his own dying. I was then silent ; but in my second and third voyage, growing more familiar with the King, and his before-mentioned great men, I have frequently ridiculed their vain fear of death ; and accustomed them to it, so that in time they began to laugh at it themselves, especially the King (who is a very jolly fellow) when I frightened any of his captains with death ; but no Negro will venture to open his lips on that subject.

The Negroes live in a manner by guess, making no manner of distinction of times. They have no festivals, nor divisions of hours, days, weeks, months or years, but reckon their sowing time by moon-shines, and very well know that every three days there is a great market.

They are so accurately quick in their merchandize accompts, that they easily reckon as justly and as quick in their heads alone, as we with the assistance of pen and ink, though the sum amounts to several thousands ; which makes it very easy to trade with them, and not half so troublesome as to deal with other and much duller Negroes.

I beg you would not be surpris'd that I jumble my matter-confusedly together, for not allowing myself time to digest it ; so I desire you would please to take it in good part, let it fall how it will : but if you desire what I write to be thrown into an accurate method, after you have received it, you have it in your own hands and power. But for the present, I can give you no further consolation, than that the glass is almost run out, and this letter is very near its conclusion.

Menstruous women are esteemed so unclean, that they are not permitted entrance into the King's, or other great men's houses, on less penalty than death, or perpetual slavery.

The circumcision of infants, especially the males, is here customary; but if they be asked whence this custom was deduced, they readily answer, that it was traditionally handed to them by their ancestors, and they at present neither know the reason nor signification.

I have just hinted that the male-infants were circumcised, in which you will perhaps think I am in the right, since the custom is scarcely practicable in the other sex: but I can assure you, sir, that some girls are here liable as well as the boys. You, as a physician, need make no farther question on that head; and I refer the ignorant to what Mr. Arnold van Overbeck saith concerning the Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope.

The Negroes differ very much from each other in the circumcision of children; some do it at four, five, or six, and others at eight or ten years of age.

Their musical instruments are much better than those on the Gold Coast, and they are also much modest in the use of them, for in the time of mourning they never tease you with the noise of them.

They are very great gamesters, and willingly stake all they are masters of in the world at play; and when money and goods are wanting, like the Chinese, they stake first wife and children, and then land and body.

Not to detain you any longer, I shall pass by their musical as well as gaming instruments, and conclude this from him, who, at all times, and in all places, is, sir, yours, &c.

LETTER XIX.—Which briefly treats concerning the Government of Fida; capital Crimes very rare here; Punishment of Murder, and of violating one of the King's Wives; other Crimes charged with pecuniary Mults only.—The Oath of Purgation, in what Manner administered.—The Age of the King, his Temper, his Chamber of Audience, domestic Office, Revenue, and Receivers thereof; what Portion accrues to the King by the Sale of a Slave; his Revenue which arises from Fish, and his Customs, how much on each Ship; concerning the Captains; the Riches of this Prince; at what Charges he is obliged to live, and his great Expences; no Person permitted to see the King eat, or know where he lodgeth, except his Wives; his Presents to the Europeans; he is adored as a Demi-god; his Cloaths, and Children, and the Nature of the latter; how he came to the Throne; a barbarous Custom on occasion of the Death of their Kings; the King's Commands executed by his Wives, whence a pleasant Adventure is related.—The Religion and Superstition of the Fidafians; their Multitude of Idols, of which a Negro gave a very diverting Explication; their Notion of the true God; their principal Deities; first of the Snake, to which great Offerings are made, chiefly by the King; the House of their chiefest God, where situate, of what Largeness, and how found out; Offerings formerly sent by the King to the Snake-house, but at present abolished, and why; a large Account of the King's Revenue on account of the Snake's Worship, which Cheat, though known to be such by the Negroes, yet for certain Reasons they dare not oppose it; he who injures the Snake condemned to the Flames; the tragical Fate of some English on that account; another which befel a Gold Coast Negro; Multitudes of Snakes in the Dwelling-places of the Europeans; the Author paid for the imaginary boarding of a Snake; these idolatrous Snakes do not injure Mankind; the Negroes cannot bear any Discourse against the Snake; how they behave themselves, if by chance they happen to kill one of them; a pleasant Adventure between a Hog and a Snake, which cost the Lives of some Hundreds of the former; the Trees are the
second.

second-rate Gods of the Natives of Fida; the Sea their third God; on what Occasions the two last are honoured with Orisons and Sacrifices; Priests and Priestesses in great Esteem; the last called God's Children; their great Authority; what the Fidasians think of diabolical Spirits, and Hell, in which Belief they have been long since confirmed; Discourse betwixt a Fidasian Captain and an Augustine Friar.

SIR,

IN my last, dated —, I divided my description of Fida into three parts; of the first of which, I therein treated at large; and the second, namely, their government and religion, I shall dispatch in this; but the first part of this head affording nothing very particular, I shall not detain you long on it.

The government, for so far as it relates to the country, or the war, is vested in the King and his principal great men; but in criminal cases the King assembles his council, composed of certain persons, opens the indictments to them, and requires each person to declare his sentiments, what punishment the criminal deserves. When the verdict pleases him, execution is accordingly done in pursuance to it; but if he dislikes it, he obliges the council to retire, and punisheth the malefactor according to his royal will and pleasure.

Here are very few capital crimes, which are only murders and committing adultery with the King's or his great men's wives; but the Negroes, as I have already hinted, being very fearful of death, are the most careful people in the world how they incur that penalty. Notwithstanding which, from time to time, several venture so far as to deserve that punishment, of which I shall give you some instances that happened within these five or six years.

The two first are of two Blacks, both executed for murder in the same manner, viz. they were cut open alive, their intrails taken out of their bodies and burned; after which, their corpse were filled with salt, and fixed on a stake in the middle of the Market-place, where I saw them in my first voyage thither.

About four years past a Negro, who had been tardy with one of the King's wives, being caught, was, together with the female accomplice of his crime, brought to the place of execution in the open field, where he was set as a mark for several great men, by way of diversion, to show their skill in darting the Assagays at him, by which this poor wretch was miserably tormented. After this, in the presence of the offending lady, he was bereft of his most criminal member, and after being obliged to throw it into the fire himself, they were both put into a deep pit, being first bound hand and foot; then their executioners set a pot of boiling water upon the fire, out of which they by degrees laved some on the poor criminals till it was half out, upon which they poured the remainder on them all at once, and filling the pit with earth, buried them alive.

Two years after this, a young man was taken, that had shut himself up in the King's dwelling-place in women's habit, and enjoyed several of the King's wives; but at last fearing a discovery, they resolved to take their flight; and not contented with having cuckolded the King, they designed to make up a good pack of the King's goods, which might subsist them in another country; but they were caught, attempting the latter part of their enterprize, though not all, but only the Negro and one woman; and no torture inflicted on the former, was sufficient to extort from him a discovery of any more, so sentence passed to burn him with the woman.

The Negro seeing the King's wives so very forward to bring wood to burn him, could not forbear laughing, thereby hinting that they were at present very diligent to furnish

furnish fuel for the execution of him with whom they had passed many a night very agreeably; this he not only expressed by his laughter, but publicly said; but would not accuse any of the guilty, for which reason these two only were punished, who accompanied one another in life and death.

From what I have said you may observe, that the King knows very well how to find out those who injure him; but in the affair of doing justice to others he is somewhat deaf.

The remaining crimes of the Negroes are mostly compounded by a pecuniary mulct: which the King, without calling his captains to his assistance, takes himself, except one of his favourites, named Captain Carter, who is justly called the King's soul; since without him he will not do any thing, though even of the least importance. This person, in my time, was, as we here call him, Captain Blank, or the captain to whom the European affairs were all entrusted.

If any person here is accused of any crime, and denies the fact, he is obliged to clear himself by Fetiches, as on the Gold Coast; or otherwise (which is here very common), he is brought to a river, not far from the King's court; to which is ascribed the strange quality of immediately drowning all the guilty persons which are thrown into it (contrary to the European manner of trying witches); but the innocent come clear out of it without any damage; supposing withal that they save themselves by swimming: in which art all of them being very expert, I never heard that this river ever yet convicted any person; for they all come well out, paying a certain sum to the King; for which end alone I believe this trial is designed.

The viceroys in their governments generally follow the same rule, and condemn the malefactors to pay a certain sum for their use.

Having little more to say concerning their government, I shall now apply myself to the King's household and state.

The present King is aged some years above fifty, but as vigorous and sprightly as a man of five and thirty: he is the most civil and generous Negro that I have observed among the black kind, and is never better pleased than when we desire a favour of him. It would be very easy to obtain whatever we asked of him, if a parcel of rascally flatterers did not continually buzz lessons of good husbandry in his ears, not really out of kindness to him, but only in order to draw to themselves what by their frugal advice they prevent his bestowing on others: and I have observed that he daily more and more hearkens to these sort of people; for instead of being kind to us, he is now so obstinate and humourfome in his trading with us, that we scarcely know how to deal with him: for at first he left it to us what to offer, now, on the contrary, he will have every thing his own way; he will have the choicest and vendible part of our merchandizes in exchange for his slaves, which falls very heavy on the merchant; for besides that, he is obliged to give him one-third, fourth, or fifth, at least extraordinary for every slave; the best goods being disposed of, the remainder are not to be put off but to disadvantage: whereas if the King would be a little reasonable, as he was the first and second time I was there, we could easily dispose of the whole cargo.

This King's train is so very mean, that it is scarcely worth mentioning, he being attended by none but his wives only. Once, or at most, twice every year, he goes abroad, when he appears in a sort of splendid retinue, more especially accompanied with his wives, who amount to above one thousand; each of which is dressed in the richest and most splendid manner. At this time all his most beautiful wives, who are always closely enough shut up, may be seen; and with them a rich treasure of coral, which is worth even more than gold. In this progress he is not accompanied with so much

much as one man ; but he before-hand advertizes all his great men where he intends to divert himself, whither they go to wait for him, still taking care they keep far enough off his wives, as being allowed no greater favour than to see them as they pass by.

The remaining part of the year the King remains in his house, indulging himself in no other diversions than what his wives afford him, except when he goes to the place of audience, in order to be informed by his captains if any thing hath happened, or to impart his commands to them. Which being done, he goes to the place of audience appointed for the Europeans, to discourse with them concerning commerce. Where, when he and I had no other business, I have spent many days in one sort of game or other (to all which, according to the genius of that nation, he is strangely addicted), we playing for an ox, hog, sheep, &c. but never for goods or money ; and I had always that advantage of him, that if I won, he immediately sent home my winnings : but, on the contrary, if I lost, he did not desire to receive my losses. In this place of audience, there are two foot-benches, one broad covered with a cloth, and provided with an oval stool, according to the custom of the country, this is for the King ; and the other covered with mats for the Europeans to sit next the King and converse with him, always bare-headed ; not that they are ordered to do so, but because they always find that he is pleased therewith. Whenever we enter this place of audience, we are desired to lay by our swords, because the King doth not like that any should appear armed before him. It is diverting enough to spend a whole day with the King here ; for besides that he is very good company, he is continually entertaining you with the best that he has to eat and drink.

No person is suffered to drink out of the same glass or cup with the King, but he hath always one kept particularly for himself ; and that which hath but once touched another's lips he never uses more, though it be made of metal that may be cleansed by fire.

When any of the Europeans eat in his presence (which he is very fond of), the table is indifferently regularly furnished and served. All his great men or nobles lie prostrate on the earth around, as long as he is present, without daring to rise : and what the Europeans leave at their table is bestowed upon them, which they very greedily eat, whether they like it or not, and though they have ten times better at home ; and were it not to affront the King's diet, would not touch it.

The posts or offices which this King bestows, are of three sorts : first, the viceroys, here called Phidalgoes or governors, which compose the first state of the kingdom ; these in the King's absence, and in their vicerealties, command as arbitrarily and keep up as great state as the King himself.

The second are his chief-captains, here called grand-captains, though most of them are withal viceroys over some country or other.

The third are the common captains ; of which there are a great number ; and each of these hath a particular character : he to whom the care of the market is entrusted, is captain of the market ; by the same rule another is captain of the slaves, a third of the Trunks or prisons, another of the shore. In short, for every affair that can be thought of, the King hath appointed a captain overseer. Besides which there are a great number of honorary captains without any offices ; for each of all which posts in proportion every person is obliged to pay the King a good sum of money, though he hath always the honour of bestowing it only out of his especial favour.

This King's revenue, in proportion to his country, is very large ; of which, I believe, he hath above one thousand collectors, who disperse themselves throughout the whole

whole land, in all market-roads and passages, in order to gather the King's toll, which amounts to an incredible sum; for there is nothing so mean fold in the whole kingdom, that the King hath not toll for it: which, indeed, if all honestly paid to him, would make him very rich; but the gentlemen-collectors so largely fleece it, that the King scarcely receives one-fourth part of the whole.

There are three principal collectors appointed over the slave-trade; each of which is to receive a rix-dollar for the King's toll, for every slave that is traded for: but these gentlemen, like the rest, agree under-hand with those who sell the slaves; so that the King receives nothing of it: but with respect to the slaves which are sold for Boesies (the money of this county), somewhat better care is taken, for the sum contracted for is paid in the King's presence; out of which he receives three rix-dollars for every slave: notwithstanding which care, though he is the least cheated, yet some of his subjects are so sly as to fetch their money for their slaves by night, or at unreasonable times, and consequently cheat him; and on account that we have continual occasion to make use of them, we cannot deny them their money whenever they demand it.

The exact half of all the fines and tolls in his viceroalties accrues to him; but I believe he would be very well satisfied if he could but get one-fourth.

There are two very large rivers at Fida: one of which runs by the two Popos, the other by Jackin: they are so plentifully stored with fish, that the King's toll out of each of them is worth one hundred slaves, which yet is not above half what the collectors receive.

To the foregoing revenues of the King may be added that from each ship which comes here to trade, reckoning one with another, either by toll, his own trade or custom, which comes to about four hundred pounds sterling; and sometimes fifty ships come hither in a year, though at other times not above half so many: in short, if the King were not cheated, he would have a vast income, and be a potent prince, considered as one of this country Kings; but compared with the oriental or other Kings, he makes indeed but a wretched figure: but it goes here as all the world over, each officer steals no more than he can, and the offices seem only to turn to the advantage of the possessors, without the givers being much the better for them.

But how great soever the King's revenue may be, he hath occasion enough for it; for besides the large sums which he daily furnishes for the destruction of Popo, and to subject Offra, besides these, I say, and the necessary expences of his household, together with the rich offerings he is obliged to make to his idol-gods, he is daily obliged to keep four thousand men, and to provide them with meat and drink; and though he doth not esteem his subjects more than his slaves, yet when he employs them he is obliged to pay them dear enough.

His principal great men eat with him daily, or at least in his presence, for no man is permitted to see him eat, nor any woman besides his wives; which seems to me formerly designed to create an imagination in the subjects, that their Kings were somewhat more than men, and were to be respected and adored as gods; and that they did not, like other men, want the common supplies of eating and drinking, though the King doth the last before every-body.

For the former reason, and one more which I shall mention, no person is permitted to know the King's lodging-place. I once very innocently asked his greatest minion, Carter, where the King lay at night; but he answered this question with another, which was, "Where doth God lodge? Just as much as it is possible for us to know the King's bed-chamber."

This, I am apt to think, is done to preserve a deep respect amongst the people ; and that upon a sudden onset of the enemies, they should not immediately find the King, but that he may get time enough to save himself by flight.

Besides the above-mentioned expences, the King's charge is very much augmented by his continual presents to the Europeans ; which, if he likes them and they receive them thankfully, are considerable.

Their tables are daily furnished by him with sheep, hogs, fowl, beef, or what else can be gotten, together with bread, fruit, beer, and what thereto appertains, and all this in larger quantities than their people really want.

The Hollanders were in my time extraordinarily well treated here, for the King provided them better than all other nations, and frequently sent them a double portion ; but since the captains of ships have managed the trade here, I am informed our nation is treated by the King with very small distinction ; for which these masters of ships are solely to blame ; for they, being utterly ignorant of the manners of the people, do not know how to treat them with that decency which they require ; and the natives here being very judicious, have doubtless lessened their former esteem for them : upon which ground I dare prophetically aver, that they will certainly ruin the slave-trade here, and so manage it that every body shall be obliged to pay dearer for slaves than usually. But having touched on this subject in the seventh letter, I shall quit it at present ; as also that I may not anger the sailors, who fancy they understand the slave-trade as well as we ourselves ; but since I have so often mentioned that commerce, I shall describe how it is managed by our factors here.

The first business of one of our factors when he comes to Fida, is to satisfy the customs of the King and the great men, which amount to about one hundred pounds in Guinea value, as the goods must yield there. After which we have free licence to trade, which is published throughout the whole land by the crier.

But yet before we can deal with any person, we are obliged to buy the King's whole stock of slaves at a set price ; which is commonly one-third or one-fourth higher than ordinary : after which we obtain free leave to deal with all his subjects of what rank soever. But if there happen to be no stock of slaves, the factor must then resolve to run the risk of trusting the inhabitants with goods to the value of one or two hundred slaves ; which commodities they send into the in-land country, in order to buy with them slaves at all markets, and that sometimes two hundred miles deep in the country : for you ought to be informed that markets of men are here kept in the same manner as those of beasts with us.

Not a few in our country fondly imagine that parents here sell their children, men their wives, and one brother the other : but those who think so deceive themselves ; for this never happens on any other account than that of necessity, or some great crime : but most of the slaves that are offered to us are prisoners of war, which are sold by the victors as their booty.

When these slaves come to Fida, they are put in prison all together, and when we treat concerning buying them, they are all brought out together in a large plain ; where, by our surgeons, whose province it is, they are thoroughly examined, even to the smallest member, and that naked too, both men and women, without the least distinction or modesty. Those which are approved as good are set on one side ; and the lame or faulty are set by as invalids, which are here called Mackrons. These are such as are above five and thirty years old, or are maimed in the arms, legs, hands, or feet, have lost a tooth, are grey-haired, or have films over their eyes ; as well as

all those which are affected with any venereal distemper, or with several other diseases.

The invalids and the maimed being thrown out, as I have told you, the remainder are numbered, and it is entered who delivered them. In the mean-while a burning iron, with the arms or name of the Companies, lies in the fire; with which ours are marked on the breast. This is done that we may distinguish them from the slaves of the English, French, or others, (which are also marked with their mark) and to prevent the Negroes exchanging them for worse; at which they have a good hand.

I doubt not but this trade seems very barbarous to you, but since it is followed by mere necessity, it must go on; but we yet take all possible care that they are not burned too hard, especially the women, who are more tender than the men.

We are seldom long detained in the buying of these slaves, because their price is established, the women being one-fourth or fifth part cheaper than the men. The disputes which we generally have with the owners of these slaves are, that we will not give them such goods as they ask for them, especially the Boesies (as I have told you, the money of this country), of which they are very fond, though we generally make a division on this head in order to make one sort of goods help off another, because those slaves which are paid for in Boesies cost the Company one half more than those bought with other goods. The price of a slave is commonly —

When we have agreed with the owners of the slaves, they are returned to their prison; where, from that time forwards, they are kept at our charge, costing us two-pence a-day a slave, which serves to subsist them, like our criminals, on bread and water: so that to save charges, we send them on board our ships with the very first opportunity; before which their masters strip them of all they have on their backs, so that they come aboard stark-naked as well women as men: in which condition they are obliged to continue, if the master of the ship is not so charitable (which he commonly is) as to bestow something on them to cover their nakedness.

You would really wonder to see how these slaves live on board; for though their number sometimes amounts to six or seven hundred, yet, by the careful management of our masters of ships, they are so regulated that it seems incredible: and in this particular our nation exceeds all other Europeans; for as the French, Portuguese, and English slave-ships are always foul and stinking, on the contrary ours are for the most part clean and neat.

The slaves are fed three times a day with indifferently good victuals, and much better than they eat in their own country. Their lodging-place is divided into two parts; one of which is appointed for the men, the other for the women; each sex being kept a-part: here they lie as close together as is possible for them to be crowded.

We are sometimes sufficiently plagued with a parcel of slaves, which come from a far in-land country, who very innocently persuade one another, that we buy them only to fatten and afterwards eat them as a delicacy.

When we are so unhappy as to be pestered with many of this sort, they resolve and agree together (and bring over the rest to their party) to run away from the ship, kill the Europeans, and set the vessel a-shore; by which means they design to free themselves from being our food. I have twice met with this misfortune; and the first time proved very unlucky to me, I not in the least suspecting it; but the uproar was timely quashed by the master of the ship and myself, by causing the abettor to be shot through the head, after which all was quiet. But the second time it fell heavier on another ship, and that chiefly by the carelessness of the master, who, having fished up the anchor of a departed English ship, had laid it in the hold where the male slaves were lodged;

lodged ; who, unknown to any of the ship's crew, possessed themselves of a hammer with which, in a short time, they broke all their fetters in pieces upon the anchor : after this they came above-deck and fell upon our men ; some of whom they grievously wounded, and would certainly have mastered the ship, if a French and English ship had not very fortunately happened to lie by us ; who, perceiving by our firing a distress-gun, that something was in disorder on board, immediately came to our assistance with chalops and men, and drove the slaves under deck : notwithstanding which, before all was appeased, about twenty of them were killed. The Portuguese have been more unlucky in this particular than we ; for in four years time they lost four ships in this manner.

Thus believing I have sufficiently digressed concerning the slave-trade, I must return to my subject, which was the King of Fida. Who, I am obliged to tell you, is feared and revered by his subjects as a demi-god. None of his subjects, of what degree soever, as you have been already told, appears in his presence otherwise than kneeling or prostrate on his belly : when they go to salute him in the morning, they prostrate themselves before the door of his house, kiss the earth three times successively, and, clapping their hands, whisper some words tending to the adoration of the King. This done, they crawl in on all four, where they repeat the same reverence. His presence is so awful to them, that with a single word he makes them to tremble ; but as soon as his back is turned, they immediately forget their fear, not much regarding his commands, and always knowing how to appease and delude him with a lie or two.

The King is very magnificently cloathed in silk, or gold and silver stuffs ; but he is more especially dressed better than ordinary when he goes to visit any of the Europeans ; which he can easily do unseen of any, all their dwellings being built round his court, if it may be so called.

Our lodging here, which the King caused to be built for me, is very large, containing three warehouscs and seven chambers, besides a beautiful court within adorned on each side with a covered gallery. But the lodgings of the rest of the Europeans are very mean and inconvenient.

The King's children, besides the small ones yet kept within doors, are four, viz. three sons and one daughter ; all which are very handsome, especially the eldest, who is the most beautiful Negro I ever yet saw in my life, but it is pity so agreeable a body should be inhabited by such a villanous soul. Pursuant to his birth-right he is heir-apparent to the crown, but he is of such a fraudulent and perverse nature, that it is to be hoped he will not succeed ; but if he doth, the land will suffer very much. He hath his emissaries in all quarters, to steal from the Europeans as well as Blacks ; and what is yet more, he doth not excuse even the King his father. He is exactly of the same nature with the owls, which take their flight only by night ; for he never goes out of his house till the evening, when I have several times had the honour to be visited by him. One reason why he doth not go abroad in the day-time, is owing to his haughty temper, which will not allow him to shew himself to the commonalty ; and the other is several times to avoid the necessity of appearing in his father's presence.

The King's second son is very like his father, to whom he is not inferior in all manner of civility, wherefore the great men make their court to him ; and for this reason I doubt not, but after the King's decease, this realm will be engaged in a civil war, for the greatest number will endeavour to place the youngest son on the throne ; which the eldest, assisted with foreign and domestic force, will as vigorously oppose. And if, at that time, the Europeans happen to be able, they will act very prudently in espousing the party of the youngest brother, as they did in the case of the present

King, who, though the younger brother, yet by reason of his natural goodness, was fixed by force on the throne by the Dutch, French, and Portuguese, his elder brother being, by their means, driven out and banished the country, which is the principal reason that he at present is so sensibly inclined to favour the Europeans.

I cannot here omit the pernicious custom of this nation on occasion of the King's death, which is no sooner publicly known than every person falls a stealing, to as great a value of his neighbour's goods as he can possibly come at, and that openly in the face of the whole world, without being liable to any punishment, as though the death of the King put an end to all manner of reason and justice. This robbery is continued till a new King is confirmed in the throne, who, by public proclamation, forbids it, and he is immediately therein strictly obeyed. And if the chief commanders cannot agree in the establishment of a new King, they, notwithstanding, to prevent the continuance of this disorder, tell the people that they have chosen a new King, and in his name publish the before-mentioned proclamation.

The choosing or confirming of a new King seldom continues long in dispute; for the eldest son no sooner hears of the King's death, than he immediately makes his interest amongst his friends, to take possession of the late King's court and wives; and succeeding happily in these particulars, he need not doubt the remainder, for the commonalty will not easily consent that after that he shall be driven from the throne: this seems somewhat like Absalom's design on his father David. To accomplish this design, the younger brother's party are always careful enough that he is near at hand, in order to take possession of the court.

You cannot but remember that I have informed you of the multiplicity of the King's wives, who are sometimes made use of by him as executioners of the sentences he pronounces against offenders; which is only done by sending three or four hundred of them to the habitation of the malefactor, to strip his house, and lay it level with the ground; for all persons being forbidden, on pain of death, to touch the King's wives, they are enabled to execute his commands without the least interruption.

Just before my arrival at Fida, there happened somewhat so pleasant, that I cannot help imparting it to you: a Negro of my acquaintance, and who in process of time did me very considerable services, being before-hand advertised that he was accused of a certain crime to the King, and that orders were issued out accordingly to plunder and demolish his house; his time being too short to clear himself to the King, and being innocent, he resolved, instead of flying from his house, according to custom, to remain at home and expect the King's wives, who soon after came, and, contrary to their expectation, found him at home; upon which they commanded him immediately to retire, and not interrupt the execution of their orders; but instead of obeying them, he had placed a heap of two thousand weight of gun-powder just by him, with which he, with terrible imprecations, threatened to fire and blow up himself, with them, in the air, if they came nearer him. They were so far from liking this, that, dismally affrighted at his threats, they made the best of their way back to the King, to acquaint him with their ill-success; but they were not so expeditious but that the Negro was too quick for them, and so handsomely acquitted himself to the King, and brought such clear proofs of his innocence, that his sovereign declared him innocent; and thus, by a dextrous management and presence of mind, he freed himself from imminent danger.

But enough on this subject, which I might easily have passed over in silence: it is now time to come to my promised subject, the religion of the Fidians.

I have already informed you, that the greatest crimes committed at Fida are generally compensated by money; and what followeth, will convince you that their religion seems only founded on the same principle, interest.

Their religion is superstitious, to a greater degree than any I ever yet heard of in the world; for allowing the ancient heathens to value themselves on thirty thousand deities, I dare yet aver, that those of Fida may justly lay claim to four times that number.

I once asked a Negro, with whom I could talk very freely, and whom I had also a good opinion of (being the same who had the adventure with the King's wives already related), I asked him, I say, how they celebrated their divine worship, and what number of gods they had; he, laughing, answered, that I had puzzled him; and assured me that nobody in the whole country could give me an exact account of it; "For, as for my own part," continued he, "I have a very large number of gods, and doubt not but others have as many." And I telling him that only three gods were owned to me by the inhabitants, and desiring him withal to give me some account of the rest, he obliged me with the following answer, that the number of their gods was endless and innumerable: "For," said he, "any of us being resolved to undertake any thing of importance, we first of all search out a god to prosper our designed undertaking; and going out of doors with this design, take the first creature that presents itself to our eyes, whether dog, cat, or the most contemptible animal in the world, for our god: or perhaps, instead of that, any inanimate that falls in our way, whether a stone, a piece of wood, or any thing else of the same nature. This new-chosen god is immediately presented with an offering, which is accompanied with a solemn vow, that if he pleaseth to prosper our undertakings, for the future we will always worship and esteem him as a god. If our design prove successful, we have discovered a new and assisting god, which is daily presented with fresh offerings; but if the contrary happen, the new god is rejected as an useless tool, and consequently returns to his primitive estate." He went on in these following words, "We make and break our gods daily, and consequently are the masters and inventors of what we sacrifice to."

This divine service is not new in the world, nor were the first men strangers to it. But how these notions reached Fida, is what I dare not presume to determine. So far the Negro.

I was very well pleased to hear this Negro talk in this manner concerning his country gods; but having conversed with him for some time, I observed that he ridiculed his own country gods, for having in his youth lived amongst the French, whose language he perfectly understood and spoke, he had amongst them imbibed the principles of the Christian religion, and somewhat towards a just notion of the true God, and how he is to be worshipped; to whom, and not to his country gods, he ascribed the creation of all things; wherefore he no farther concerned himself with the gods of his country, than as engaged to it for quietness-sake, or to make his friends easy, to whom he durst not reveal his opinion, fearing (what would certainly have happened) the falling into some dangerous circumstances; for, as strong as his faith was, it was not arrived to that pitch as to oblige him to suffer loss of goods on that account; so that we may justly cry out, "O! how weak was his faith!"

It is certain that his countrymen have a faint idea of the true god, and ascribe to him the attributes of Almighty and Omnipresent; they believe he created the universe, and therefore vastly prefer him before their idol-gods; but yet they do not pray to him, or offer any sacrifices to him; for which they give the following reasons: God, say they, is too high exalted above us, and too great to condescend so much as to trouble himself,

himself, or think of mankind; wherefore he commits the government of the world to their idols: to whom, as the second, third, and fourth persons, distant in degree from God, and our appointed lawful governors, we are obliged to apply ourselves; and in firm belief of this opinion they quietly continue.

Their principal gods, which are owned for such throughout the whole country, are of three sorts: first, a certain sort of snakes, who possess the chief rank amongst their gods. How would our countryman, Becker, author of *The World Bewitched*, divert himself with the contrary opinions of the sons of Adam! For as we take the serpent for the fatal destroyer of the human-race, so these of Fida, on the contrary, esteem him their supreme bliss and general good. But this by way of parenthesis only.

Their second-rate gods are some lofty high trees, in the formation of which dame Nature seems to have expressed her greatest art.

The third and meanest god, or younger brother to the other, is the sea. These three-mentioned are the public deities, which are worshipped and prayed to throughout the whole country; and each of these, according to their ridiculous persuasion, hath its particular province, like the officers of a King or Prince; with this difference only, that the sea and trees are not permitted to intermeddle with what is entrusted to the snake; which, on the contrary, hath an influencing power over both the other, in order to correct them when they prove idle or lazy.

They invoke the snake in excessively wet, dry, or barren seasons; on all occasions relating to their government and the preservation of their cattle; or rather, in one word, in all necessities and difficulties, in which they do not apply to their new batch of gods; and for this reason very great offerings are made to it, especially from the King, who, on several occasions, by instigation of the priests, and the great men, his creatures and the priests' tools, send very rich offerings to the snake-house. But I am of opinion, that these roguish priests sweep all the mentioned offerings to themselves, and doubtless make themselves very merry with them.

These offerings are commonly composed of money, some pieces of silk or stuff, all sorts of European and African commodities, all sorts of cattle, and good eatables and drinks; all which are so frequently exacted from the King, that he sometimes grows tired and refuseth them. This I had once an opportunity of observing; for finding him very much enraged, I made no scruple to ask him, "What had so much displeased him?" He very freely told him, "That that year he had sent much larger offerings to the snake-house than usual, in order to obtain a good crop; and that one of his viceroys (whom he shewed me) had desired him afresh, in the name of the priests, who threatened a barren year, to send yet more." To which he answered, "That he did not intend to make any farther offerings this year; and if the snake would not bestow a plentiful harvest on them, he might let it alone; for (said he) I cannot be more damaged thereby, the greatest part of my corn being already rotten in the field." I, smiling, observed, that the King would have added another present, if he could have hoped for any advantage by it; but to make offerings barely for another's interest, he was not very fond of; wherefore the petitioner was obliged to depart, without obtaining his end, which went down but indifferently with him and the priests, who had promised themselves another sort of success.

The snake-house, which I have so frequently mentioned, is situated about two miles from the King's village, and built under a very beautiful lofty tree; "In which (say they) the chief and largest of all the snakes resides." He is a sort of grandfather to all the rest; is represented as thick as a man, and of an unmeasurable length. He must also be very old, for they report that they found him a great number of years past;

past; when, by reason of the wickedness of the men, he left another country to come to them, at which, being over-joyed, they welcomed their new-come god with all expressible signs of reverence and high veneration, and carried him upon a filken carpet to the snake-house, where he is at present.

This roguish snake probably had the same freaks in his tail, which the old heathen gods were affected with when they ran away from one country to another; wherefore they were sometimes obliged to bind their god-heads fast; of which those poor wretches who lost the snake were not aware, otherwise they might have stopped his journey. But wherefore do I spend my time in making reflections, since I have more important subjects to handle.

The Kings of Fida were formerly accustomed to annual pilgrimages to the snake-house, which was celebrated with great magnificence, and concluded with yet greater presents: for the King not only made very rich offerings, but also bestowed very large presents on the great men that accompanied him; so that this pilgrimage commonly cost him several thousands. But the present King hath broken off this custom, which is accordingly grown in disuse for several years past. In his last tour which he made to the snake-house, he was (as I am informed) accompanied by Monsieur Ducas, a French captain, who was ridiculous enough, to the scandal of all Europeans, to dress himself in tigers' skins and other sort of trifles, and lead the King in this equipage to the snake-house. If this action is true of him, it is worse than that of Naaman the Syrian, who, hardly converted, asked leave to support his master in the house of Rimmon. But this is a digression very wide from our purpose.

The King then, as I have told you, doth not make this pilgrimage in person, but orders it to be done by some of his wives, which does not prove near so expensive; and this I believe is the only reason why he leaves it off.

But as the snake service proves very expensive to the King, so the revenue which he draws from thence is not inconsiderable. Annually from the time when the Maize or small Milhio is sowed, till it grows up to man's height, the King and priest's plough turns to a very great account to them; for the people here, which do not see much farther than their noses, imagine that during this whole season the snake or snakes make it their business every evening and night to seize all the beautiful young women which please them, and to make them distracted; wherefore their parents or relations are necessitated to cause these girls to be brought to a particular house, built for that purpose, where they are obliged to stay several months, as it is given out, to cure them of their madness; during which time the relations are obliged to furnish them with all manner of necessaries, and that so plentifully, that the priests can also handsomely subsist on it.

The appointed time of their confinement being over, and being cured of the distemper with which they were never afflicted, they obtain leave to come out; before which they must pay the charge of their cure and keeping, which is adjusted in proportion to the circumstances of their relations; and, one girl with another, amount to about five pounds: and the number of young girls thus imprisoned rises to several thousands, each considerable village having a particular house appointed for that purpose, and some which are large being provided with two or three. All the money which this trade raiseth, is commonly thought and believed to be for the priests, in order to be made use of in their divine service. And though I doubt not but the priests have their share, I am yet certain, that the King is so far from suffering by it, that he draws considerable sums from this custom.

The first time that I came to Fida to trade, I was assured that as soon as a girl was touched by the snake, she unavoidably run mad; though it was but a sort of holy or religious madness, such as hath formerly been related of the Bacchantes, or those from whose mouths the divine oracles proceeded. Yet I do not like these pious fairs, for the persons pretending to be affected with it, break and spoil every thing which comes in their way; and instead of religious are guilty of all manner of diabolical actions, which they never leave off till they are brought to the before-mentioned place.

At first, the people here strenuously endeavoured to persuade me that a snake was able to fetch a girl out of the house and carry her off, though the said house was shut up; which I easily agreed to, provided the girl was but stored with proper instruments to open the locks.

I would not rest till I had examined how this cheat is managed, notwithstanding which I should never have discovered it, if the before-mentioned Negro had not assisted me, and obliged me with the following account of it, viz. That the priests diligently observe those young maids or women also which have never been affected by the snake. These they first attempt by promises, or if they are not successful, oblige by threats to perform what they desire of them; which is, that being in the street, and seeing the coast clear of people on all sides, they set on crying and raving with all their strength, as though the snake had fast hold of them, and commanded them to go to the snake-house. Before any person can come to their help, the snake is vanished and the girl is mad; which necessitates her relations to follow the snake's orders.

When these females come out of their mad prison, the priest lays his most rigid commands on them, not to discover how they were seized by the snake, but to stick fast to the story that the snake did it; and in order to clench these severe prohibitions, and render them the more effectual, those who reveal those secrets of the sacerdotal empire, are threatened to be immediately burned alive. And indeed the priests are cruel and potent enough to make good their threats, if they could find any women guilty.

This Negro related a pleasant adventure concerning this confinement, which happened betwixt him and one of his wives; who, by the instigation of the priests, one evening feigned herself distracted, breaking (according to custom) every thing in pieces on which she could lay her hands: but he very well knowing whence this distemper proceeded, gently took her by the hand, as though he designed to carry her to the snake-house, but carried her indeed to the place of residence of the Brandenburgers, who were then at Fida in order to buy slaves, where he offered her to sale. But when she saw that he was in earnest, immediately freed from her madness, she fell upon her knees and asked his pardon, solemnly promising at the same time never to be guilty of the like crime for the future; upon which he let her go free: and by this means she was delivered from her madness, and he freed from the excessive charge of her cure. This was a very bold attempt, for if the priests had been informed of it, he had been a dead man.

During my residence at Fida, the King caused his daughter to be seized by the snake. (The consequence will justify my charging him with it.) He caused her to be carried to the snake-house, and confined for some time, though not so long as is customary; but on her account all the other girls went out before their usual time.

On the day of her delivery, she was brought out in a very splendid manner, and carried, with all the other girls which followed her, to the King's court; before which they were placed. She was naked except only a silk scarf, which was passed betwixt her legs, and richly adorned with *Conte di Terra* and *Agrie*, two sorts of coral which I have already frequently mentioned.

Whilst

Whilst she was here, she was guilty of all manner of extravagances, during the playing on several musical instruments; which sort of madness the Negroes told me yet remained on her, more especially by reason of her being enlarged before the expiration of her due time.

Whilst she sat here, the most considerable people of the whole country crowded hither, each bringing his presents, which they made to her; and together amounted to a considerable sum. These gifts lasted three or four days successively, because it was impossible for most of the people to come near her the first day; so that this young lady was treated in a quite different manner from her companions, who were all obliged to disburse money for their delivery, whilst she on the other side was a very considerable gainer thereby.

And if there are any Negroes who are very sensible that all this is nothing but a pure cheat, yet to curry favour with the King and priests, and for their own security, they pretend ignorance, and suffer it to pass upon them for real truth; which is indeed adviseable, for those who should oppose it, would very much endanger their lives.

I was eye-witness to a dreadful instance of this. The last time I was at Fida, a Negro born on the Gold Coast, who was called Captain Tom, lived at Fida; and by reason of his good deportment and obliging nature, was promoted to the dignity of captain and interpreter to the English. He being a stranger to the religion of this country, had a wife of this nation, which fell mad and pretended to be seized by the serpent; but he, instead of sending her to the snake-house, clapped her in irons; which so enraged this she-devil (different from the other in our former story), that she privately accused her husband to the priests; who, not willing to make any public attempts on him, because he was a Gold Coast Negro, who differed from them in religion, yet secretly poisoned him in such a manner, that he did not quickly die, but immediately became speechless, and lost the use of all his limbs, which was worse than dying. At my departure I left him in this miserable condition, so that I know not whether he was ever cured or not. From which you may observe, that throughout the world, it is very dangerous to disoblige the ecclesiastics.

This may suffice concerning the frauds of the priests on account of the snake-worship.

The reverence and respect which the Negroes preserve for the snake is so great, that if a Black should barely touch one of them with a stick, or any otherwise hurt him, he is a dead man, and certainly condemned to the flames.

A long time past, when the English first began to trade here, there happened a very remarkable and tragical event. An English captain being landed, some of his men and part of his cargo, they found a snake in their house, which they immediately killed without the least scruple, and not doubting but they had done a good work, threw out the dead snake at their door; where being found by the Negroes in the morning, the English, preventing the question who had done the fact, ascribed the honour to themselves; which so incensed the natives, that they furiously fell on the English, killed them all, and burned their house and goods.

This struck such a terror into that nation, that for a long time they refrained coming hither, and traded at other places; but at last coming again, the Negroes were accustomed to show all Europeans that came thither some snakes, desiring that they would not hurt them, by reason they were their gods; and this hath prevented all such accidents ever since: so that at present few Europeans come hither who are not advertised of this snake-worship. If an European should happen at this time to kill a snake, I should very much doubt whether he would escape better than the English, except he could possibly fly to the King immediately, and satisfy him that it happened by accident,

not design; upon which, perhaps, he might atone his god-killing crime by a fine to the priests, though I should not be very willing to run such a hazard; for on such occasions, the rabble, instigated by the priests, grow very outrageous; so that it is safest carefully to avoid all things of this nature.

In my time, an Aquamboean Negro took a snake upon his stick, because he durst not venture to touch him with his hands, and carried it out of the house without hurting it in the least; which two or three Negroes seeing, set up the same cry that is usual on account of fire, by which they can, in a small time, raise the whole country, who flock to the place armed with clubs, swords, Affagayes and other arms, who would have soon dispatched this poor Negro, if the King, acquainted with his innocence, had not timely rescued him from the impending danger, by sending some of his great men to shelter him: so this tempest blew over without any damage.

By these instances we are deterred from meddling with the accursed gods or devilish serpents, notwithstanding that we are frequently molested by them: since in hot sunshine weather (as if they were lovers of darkness), they visit us by five or six together, creeping upon our chairs, benches, tables, and even our beds, and bearing us company in sleep; and if they get a good place under our beds, and our servants out of laziness do not turn up our bedding, they sometimes continue there seven or eight days, where they have also cast their young.

But when we are aware of these vermin, and do not desire to be troubled with them any longer, we need only call any of the natives, who gently carries his god out of doors; but if they happen to be gotten to the joist, or any high place of the houses (which are here but one story), without a strong influence over the Negroes, they are not to be removed from thence; wherefore we are frequently obliged to let them stay there till they come out themselves.

A snake once came over my table, on which I daily used to eat, where he continued fourteen days, and though whenever I rose I could easily touch him, yet I could not find any person that would venture to take him away. But I was very well paid for his staying afterwards; for some of the great men of Fida dining at my table one day, we happened to talk concerning the snakes, and my eye glancing towards that which was over our heads, I told them, that since that snake had not eat any thing in fourteen days, he must at last certainly die with hunger, if he did not speedily remove his quarters. But one of my guests answered me (and the rest confirmed what he said), that though I was not aware of it, undoubtedly the snake knew how to come at his part out of the dishes: I so well remembered this, that next day, coming to the King, I told him in presence of the same persons, that one of his gods had made bold, though uninvited, to eat at my table for fourteen days; wherefore it was but reasonable that I should be paid for his board, otherwise I should be obliged to discharge this bold intruder my house. The King, who was always diverted with such sort of discourse, told me, that I should let the snake alone in his place, for he would take care to provide for me as well as the snake; and indeed, not long after I got home, a very fine fat ox was brought me from the King, in order to satisfy for what the snake had eaten. At the same rate, I would willingly have boarded all the gods of the land; and I believe should not have lost much by the bargain.

But what is best of all, is, that these idolatrous snakes do not do the least mischief in the world to mankind; for if by chance in the dark one treads upon them, and they bite or sting him, it is not more prejudicial than the sting of the millepedes. Wherefore the Negroes would fain persuade us, that it is good to be bitten or stung by these snakes, upon the plea, that one is thereby secured and protected from the sting of any

any poisonous snake : but here I am somewhat dubious, and should be loath to venture on the credit of their assertions, because I have observed, that the gods themselves are not proof against these venomous serpents, much less can they protect us from their bite. We sometimes observe pleasant battles betwixt the idol and venomous snakes which are not wanting here ; and perhaps these combats arise from the venomous snakes, finding that the others are so revered and idolized, which they think the more unreasonable, because they are armed with poison, on occasion, which the others are utterly void of.

You must suppose these ratiocinations and arguments to take place in ancient times, when beasts talked, of which these venomous serpents retain only an irreconcilable enmity against the other, and accordingly attack them whenever they meet them ; but herein they fall short of their design, and that with a great deal of reason ; for it would indeed seem very odd, that a god should be obliged to strike to such ill-favoured creatures as they are. But I can assure you that is not the reason ; for the venomous serpents being larger, and armed with stronger weapons than the other, would, without any respect to their godhead, soon be too hard for them, if they were not always afflicted by a legion or two of their worshippers, who punish the insolence of the other, that presumes to attack their deity, with certain death.

The species of these idol serpents here, are streaked with white, yellow, and brown ; and the biggest which I have seen here, is about a fathom long, and the thickness of a man's arm.

These gods are very great lovers of rats' flesh, and I have with pleasure frequently observed their rat-chace ; but when they have caught their prey, they have at least an hour's work before they can get him into their bellies ; for if you were to see them, they are so narrow-throated, that you would think it impossible for them to get a rat down ; but I have observed, that whilst they are engaged on their prey, their throat extends itself.

If one of these snakes happen to be under the tiling of a house, and a rat passeth by him, he cannot possibly catch him, not being able to disengage himself quick enough. This the rats seem to know ; for I have above one hundred times on an evening seen them run by a snake thus engaged, and even mock him, whilst he impatiently hissed, and employed all his force to loosen himself, in order to come at them, but too late, for by that time they were all gone.

If we are ever tired with the Natives of this country, and would fain be rid of them, we need only speak ill of the snake, after which they immediately stop their ears and run out of doors. But though this may be taken from an European that they like ; yet, if a Negro of another nation should presume to do it, he would run no small risque.

In case a fire breaks out and one of these snakes comes to be burnt, each person that hears it is sure to stop his ears, and give money ; thereby giving to understand, that it is one of the most dismal and shocking things that he can hear ; and this money is to reconcile him to the burnt god, of whom he hath been so careless. And they farther believe, that though the snake is burnt, he will yet quickly return, to revenge himself on those who have been the occasion of his death.

In the year 1697, my brother-factor Mr. Nicholas Poll (who then managed the slave-trade for our Company at Fida) had the diversion of a very pleasant scene. A hog being bitten by a snake, in revenge, or out of love to god's flesh, seized and devoured him in sight of the Negroes, who were not near enough to prevent him. Upon this the priests all complained to the King ; but the hog could not defend himself, and had no advocate ; and the priests, unreasonable enough in their request,

begged of the King to publish a royal order, that all the hogs in his kingdom should be forthwith killed, and the swiny race extirpated, without so much as deliberating whether it was reasonable to destroy the innocent with the guilty. The King's command was published all over the country. And in pursuance thereto, it was not a little diverting, to see thousands of Blacks armed with swords and clubs to execute the order; while on the other side no small number of those who were owners of the hogs were in like manner armed in their defence, urging their innocence, but all in vain. The slaughter went on, and nothing was heard but the dismal sound of Kill, kill, which cost many an honest hog his life, that had lived with an unspotted character to his dying day. And doubtless the whole race had been utterly extirpated, if the King (who is not naturally bloody-minded), perhaps moved to it by some lovers of bacon, had not recalled his order by a counter one, importing, that they should leave off killing the hogs, with the addition, that there was already enough of innocent blood shed, and that their god ought to be appeased with so rich a sacrifice. You may judge, whether this was not very welcome news to the remainder of the hogs, when they saw themselves freed from such a cruel persecution. Wherefore they took particular care for the future, not to incur the same penalty.

Next time that I came to Fida, I found by the dearth of these beasts, that there had been a very great slaughter of them. These sorts of tyrannies are frequent under despotical governments, where the priests are joint masters. But not too fast, lest I should slip from beasts to men.

Hitherto I have been talking of the Fidasian chiefest god, or rather gods, by reason of their number: but the other being of less consequence will take up much less time. The trees, which are the second-rate gods of this country, as I have already informed you, are only prayed to, and presented with offerings, in time of sickness, more especially fevers, in order to restore the patients to health. And this they believe to be as properly the tree's business as the snake's: but, however, the snake must not be forgotten; for they imagine, and that truly enough, that if he does no good, he will at least do no harm. And hence I believe this nation would be easily prevailed upon with the Athenians to worship the unknown God, if they could hope for any benefit by it. Besides this, they have other imaginary remedies at hand to cure diseases; such are their sacrificing to several junior or inferior deities; as also the killing and eating part of a man, which was practiced two or three years past, on account of the King's sickness; besides which, they practice several other extravagances, too tedious to be repeated. The sea comes in for the least share of divinity. When it rages and hinders our bringing our goods on shore, when no ships have been there for a long time, and they impatiently wait for them; on these occasions, they make great offerings to it, by throwing into it all sorts of goods. But the priests do not much encourage this sort of sacrificing, by reason there happens no remainder to be left for them. The former King of Great Ardra once caused a great quantity of these offerings to be made to the sea; and when he was informed by his subjects (for he must not see the sea himself), that they all availed nothing, he grew very angry, and fell into as wild a fury as Xerxes, who caused the sea to be whipped, because he had been so unfortunate upon it.

Having no more to say concerning these two deities, before I put an end to this letter, I shall observe to you, who are the performers of their divine service here.

Their religious offices are here celebrated by men and women together, both which are held in such high veneration amongst the Negroes, that they are not liable to capital punishment for any crime whatsoever; notwithstanding which, the present King, with
the

the consent of his grandees, ventured to break in upon this custom, but not without great cause, and a pressing necessity; for one of these villains was engaged with the King's brother in a conspiracy against the kingdom and the King's life, for which that prince ordered both his brother and the priest to be killed together.

The women which are promoted to the degree of priestesses, though some of them perhaps were but slaves before, are yet as much respected as the priests, or rather more, inasmuch that they pride themselves with the distinguishing name of God's children; and as all other women are obliged to a slavish service to their husbands, these on the contrary exert an absolute sway over them and their effects, living with them perfectly according to their arbitrary will and pleasure; besides which, their husbands are obliged to shew them so much respect, as they received from their wives before their becoming priestesses, which is to speak to, and serve them upon their knees. For this reason the most sensible Negroes will neither marry a priestess, nor easily consent that any of their wives be raised to that honour. But if notwithstanding it happens, they must not oppose it; for if they did, they would be called to a severe account for it, and looked upon as men who endeavoured to stop the common course of divine worship.

To conclude the subject of their religion, I must add, that they have a sort of idea of hell, the devil, and the apparition of spirits. And their notions concerning these are not very different from those of some simple people amongst us. As for hell, they bestow on it a fixed place under the earth, where the wicked and damned are punished with fire.

For these three or four years last past, they have been very much confirmed in this belief. For an old forceress, that came from some odd corner, hath told them strange things concerning hell; as, that she saw several of her acquaintance there, and particularly the last captain of the Blacks, predecessor to the present Captain Carter, who was there miserably tormented. In short, she saw so much of hell, that she was a fit match to dispute with Don Quevedo, who had the best intelligence there. But she must be owned to have the advantage of him, because she pretended to have been there in person, whereas his journey was but a vision.

Whilst I was here, there was also an Augustine monk, which came from St. Thomè, in order, if possible, to convert the Blacks to Christianity, but in vain. Polygamy is an obstacle which they cannot get over. As for all the other points, they might have got footing here, but the confinement to one wife is an insuperable difficulty. This priest invited the King to be present at mass, which he also did. And when I saw him next, asking him how he liked it, he said very well, and that it was very fine; but that he chose rather to keep to his Fetiche. This priest, in my company, being once in discourse with one of the King's grandees, who was a witty man, said in a menacing manner, "That if the Fidasians continued their old course of life without repentance, they would unavoidably go to hell, in order to burn with the devil;" to which the sharp Fidasian replied, "Our fathers, grandfathers, to an endless number, lived as we do, and worshipped the same gods as we do; and if they must burn, therefore, patience, we are not better than our ancestors, and shall comfort ourselves with them." After this the priest left off, and perceiving that all his pains at Fida were like to be fruitless, he desired me to introduce him to the King to take his leave of him, which I did shortly after.

If the Negroes could read and understand our books, I should believe that this captain had read the Friezeland Chronicle, where a parallel adventure betwixt a bishop and a Friezeland King is related. It is now time to conclude; wherefore, &c.

LETTER XX. — *In which, first, of the Fidasian Quadrupeds, viz. Oxen, Cows, Horses, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs: secondly, of their Fowls, which are only Turkeys, Ducks, and Chickens; the Price of all the above-mentioned: next, concerning their three Sorts of Corn, and the Plenty of it; notwithstanding which, Fida sometimes suffers great Famines; the remaining Fruits of the Earth are Potatoes, Jammes, or Beans, &c.; great Plenty of the first: of their Fruit Trees; the Fertility of Fida, and Fitness for Plantations, and to produce Cotton, Indigo, and Sugar. — The Wars and Force of the Fidasians; their Arms; Great Ardra much more potent than Fida; War of Great Ardra with an in-land King; the Occasion of this War, which destroyed half the Country of Ardra, and made a cruel Slaughter of its Inhabitants; Jakin subject to Great Ardra. — Of Offra, or Little Ardra, where our Company formerly had a Lodge. — The Author's Departure from Fida; his Arrival at Rio de Gabon. — Of the Gulf of Guinea, and its Islands and Rivers, as Rio Formosa (beautiful River), otherwise called Rio de Benin, Rio Elrei, Camarones, Old and New Calvary; the Islands are Fernando Po, El Principe (Prince's Island), and Corisco, divided into two, large and small; Rio de Gabon, a fine, wide, and very good River; two Islands in it; visited by several Europeans, and wherefore they trade there; few Inhabitants, which are, notwithstanding, divided into three Classes; their Poverty and Pride; their great Brandy-Drinkers, and awkward in Trade; how the King gets his Livelihood; they are all well-shaped and clean-limbed Men; their Occupation; Barrenness of the Land thereabouts; the River very full of Fish; Description of the Nord Kapers, of which here are great Quantities; on Land there are Abundance of Buffaloes, Elephants, and wild Swine; hunting of them and an Elephant; a Skeleton of an Elephant found; Description of the Buffaloes; one of our Men killed by them; how they are shot by the Negroes. — The Author's Departure from Gabon, and Arrival at Cabo Lopez di Gonsalvez, where is a good Road, Watering-place, and Wood for Fuel; the Trade here; Plenty of Fish; Departure from Cape Lopez; he falls upon, or below the Island of St. Thomé, which is described; as also Ilha Annaboa, whither the Author also came after two Days' sailing; sailing along the Equinoctial, and the Cold there; Return to the upper Coast, and to Assinee; the Dwelling-place of the Negro baptized in France, to whom the French King was Godfather, and called him Lewis Hannibal; he passed for King of Assyria, but was indeed only a wretched Slave. — Sailing to the Gold Coast, where the Author's Companion, or Ship which sailed with him, took an Interloper. — Arrival at Elmina, with which the Voyage, this Letter, and the whole Description of Guinea is concluded.*

SIR,

SINCE my last no vessels have arrived here from Europe, and consequently I received no letter from you; I shall then at present in this, dispatch what I have left untouched concerning Fida in the former; to which I shall add a relation of a voyage that I made in 1698, from Fida to Rio de Gabon, Cabo Lopez, Annaboa, and my return to Elmina, where it ended.

First of all I am to speak of the cattle of the country of Fida; of which, first of the tame quadrupeds, as oxen, cows, goats, sheep, and hogs, all which, in shape, are not different from those of the Gold Coast, but are much better, more fleshy, and of a more agreeable taste, by reason they have here very fine meadows, and as good grafs as in Europe: nor are they dear here; an ox or cow is to be bought for ten, a good

good sheep for two, a goat for one, and a hog for two rix-dollars. Nor are horses wanting here, though they do not much excel those which I mentioned in my description of the Gold Coast. When I was designed to have took my journey by land to Elmina, I was provided with five or six, each of which cost me somewhat less than four pounds sterling, but they did me no manner of service, I being obliged to leave them behind me.

Here, as well as on the Gold Coast, is no great variety of tame fowl, there being only turkeys, ducks, and chickens; and of the two first not many, but of the last incredible plenty; which, though small, are yet very fat and good, the price being about sixpence each; the price of our goods, reckoned for as money, they are not above three-pence each. But if anybody would buy in provision cheap, he must bring two or three cases of long pipes with him, for he may put off every pipe for the worth of two-pence, or sometimes four-pence; so that for three pipes one may have the best pullet that is to be bought.

There are not very many large wild beasts about Fida; but there are, farther inland, elephants, buffaloes, tigers, and several sorts of deer in great abundance; and there are also some of the last sort at Fida; but the country there being so populous, and close inhabited, there are not many. Here are also a sort of hares. But this whole country seems covered with wild fowl: here are geese, ducks, snipes, and twenty other sort of edible birds, all which are very good and very cheap.

When, over-night, we give a Negro orders to go a shooting, we have, against next day noon, without fail, one or two dishes of wild fowl, which we can pay for with a dozen of pipes; and this is so infallible, that we can at pleasure promise a good treat of wild fowl not yet caught.

Here are such prodigious abundance of turtle-doves throughout the whole country, that my assistant, who was a good marksman, would undertake to shoot one hundred in one day, betwixt six and nine in the morning, and three and six in the afternoon, which is barely six hours in all.

Besides edible fowl, here are also a sufficient number of birds of prey, which may serve for ornament, though not such great variety as on the Gold Coast. The crown-bird comes from hence, as also another bird, whose body is about as big as a chicken, his legs and neck short, his eye and eye-lids hairy, like those of men, his bill short and thick, his colour is black and blue intermixed, his legs and bill are very strong, and therefore very fit for preying.

If I should say any more of the feathered kind, I should be obliged to repeat what I have formerly said, which I believe you are as little desirous of as myself; so that now I come to the product of the earth; and first of corn, of which we are here provided with three sorts: the first is the great Milhio, which is not so large a grain as that on the Gold Coast, but as good, notwithstanding which the Negroes do not make bread of it, but use it in the brewing of beer, for which reason not much of it is sown.

Small Milhio, or Maize, which is like that on the Gold Coast, is what chiefly serves to employ this nation. It is sowed twice each year, though much more at one time than the other. In the best tilling time the land is so thickly sown, that, as I have before hinted, scarcely a foot-path is left unplanted, whence we may suppose prodigious quantities are produced; but notwithstanding this, at the end of the year, they rather fall short of what they want than have any overplus, which is partly occasioned by their being so very populous, and partly by their selling very large quantities to both the Popoes and the neighbouring countries. For which reason one barren year occasions

an incredible famine here, and sometimes free-men here have sold themselves for victuals; others set their slaves free, perfectly discharging them of their slavery, because they could not keep them in victuals. An English ship, which was here at that time, got his whole ship full of slaves, without parting with any other merchandize than victuals, with which he very luckily had abundantly provided himself. When he had filled his ship full of slaves, he went to the Portuguese islands, where he afresh stored himself with provisions for his goods.

Here is also a third sort of Milhio, like the last, which doth not grow on stalks, but like oats in Holland. Its grain is reddish, and must continue in the ground seven or eight months before it is full ripe. This is not eaten, but mixed with the great Milhio, to brew withal, because the Negroes firmly believe that it strengthens the beer.

The Negro women are very well skilled in brewing good beer, one sort of which is so strong, that it doth not give place to our strong beers in Holland; and the price of this is much higher than the common sort, for instead of three-pence a pottle for the common sort, you are obliged to pay a rix-dollar for the same quantity of this. All people here, the slaves not excepted, drink only beer, for water they will not drink, because it is drawn out of wells twenty or thirty fathom deep, and but six or eight foot wide, so that no sun can reach it, which renders it raw and cold as ice, and consequently very unwholesome in this hot country; for drinking it but few days only, brings an unavoidable fever; and the good beer being too hot, an European cannot do better than mix them in equal quantities, whereby he will have a pleasant and wholesome drink.

There is not one oven in this whole country, by reason the Negroes never use them, but always boil their bread.

Potatoes are what they commonly eat, instead of bread, with all sorts of victuals, and here is such abundant plenty of them, that I believe the whole Coast doth not produce a like number.

Here are also Jammes, but neither in such plenty nor so good as on the Gold Coast, nor are they much esteemed here.

Here are several sorts of small beans in very great plenty, amongst which is one species, of which our people make oil-cakes, which are as light as ours in Holland, and those who are used to them like their taste well enough: they are here called Acraes. Onions and ginger grow here, though in but small quantities, especially of the former. All the other fruits of the earth which the Gold Coast produceth, grow here also; but I shall pass them by, in order to come to the trees. Amongst which are, first, citrons, lemons, oranges, Bakovens or Paquovens, bananas, piment, and in a word all those which I have mentioned in the description of the Gold Coast; besides which, here are abundance of tamarind-trees, and some fruit-trees, which are not only unknown, but their fruit is also so mean that it is not worth detaining you with a description of them.

Here are great numbers of palm-trees the whole country over, but the wine is drawn off and drank by very few here; for they cultivate them only in order to draw oil from them.

Nor are the pardon-trees wanting at Fida; but the Negroes, preferring beer to wine, they are not much esteemed, only their wood being very durable, they are felled for building.

Besides the before-mentioned, here are no fruits: it is indeed pity there should be no more in such a fertile land, peopled with industrious inhabitants, so that they want
only

only feeds and young plants; for I dare aver, that not only all sorts of African, but several European fruits, might be produced here.

I tried here the sowing of cabbage, carrots, turnips, Spanish raddish, raddishes, parsley, &c. and found they grew forward, and ripened as well as in Europe: so that it is unhappy that this land, as well as the Gold Coast, is not inhabited by some Europeans; for here might be planted the finest salad gardens in the world. And I believe this soil is as fit for plantations of sugar-canes and indigo, especially of the last, as any other part of the globe.

Indigo is already very plentiful here, and besides, if it doth not exceed that of Asia and America, it yet equals it: all the cloaths of the inhabitants are died with it, but being ignorant of the true way of using it, they waste four times as much in the dying of a cloth as would really do it; and the indigo spent in dying it, would yield more with us than their whole cloth is worth.

Having proceeded thus far in the description of Fida, its pleasant situation, cattle, fruits, and the nature of their inhabitants, I shall, by way of supplement and conclusion, say something of their wars and ammunition.

As for the first, they may be thought perhaps very potent, since they can easily bring two hundred thousand men into the field; notwithstanding which, they are so weak and heartless, that they would not venture on five thousand well-armed men, though but Negroes of the Gold Coast, nor scarcely stand before them; for which several reasons might be given; as first, they are so strongly bent to trade and agriculture, that they never think of war.

Secondly, they want able commanders; for if they are forced into the field, they entrust the command of their whole army to a worthless person, never standing for any proof of his courage.

Thirdly, and chiefly, their common fear of death renders them so incredibly cowardly, that most of them set to running before the enemy appears.

As I have told you, the command of the army is entrusted to an ordinary person, whilst the captains and chief men out of fear stay at home; but if it happens that any of them is endowed with any portion of courage, and goes into the field, affairs go somewhat better; but with the other general, by whom the inferiors will not be commanded, they are very unsuccessful: for these heroes no sooner perceive any thing coming against them, but they expect safety from their feet; and being at least as fond of life as the rest, it is commonly observed that the general gets home before the soldiers, if he be but moderately nimble, without troubling himself, in general flights, what becomes of his army.

But he is yet assured of one thing, which is, that his men will not stay long behind; but for their own security, certainly follow his example. Hence you may judge what heroes they are in attacking other countries; but to say truth, they show somewhat more courage in the defence of their own country, as long as is possible; confirming the old proverb, that every dog will bark in his own kennel.

This cowardice is not particular to the Fidians, but the natives of Ardra are full as bad; wherefore they never fight against each other with their own forces, but hire the Gold Coast Negroes for that purpose, of which the natives of Aquamboe are generally first at hand; but if Coto and Popo were united, by reason of their nearer neighbourhood, they would be more proper.

The arms of the Fidae and of all Ardra consist in a few muskets, bows and arrows, fine and well made hangers, strong and beautiful Asaguays; but the principal weapons, and on which they most depend, are a sort of clubs, about a yard long, and five

or six inches thick, very round and even, except a knot at the bottom, the breadth of a hand, and three fingers' thick. Every man is provided with five or six of these.

These clubs are made of very heavy wood, and they are so dexterous in the throwing of them, that they can fling them several paces and hit their enemy, and wherever it falls, it bruises very much and breaks their limbs; wherefore the Gold Coast Negroes are almost as much afraid of these devilish weapons as of a musquet itself.

Having informed you of the most observable particulars of the country of Fida and Ardra, I might indeed hint some things of less importance, as concerning the differences betwixt Fida and Ardra; but it not being worth while, entirely stepping over it, I shall only give you the following account of Great Ardra.

The King of Great Ardra, with all his dependant countries, is twenty times as strong as he of Fida, and yet hath not the courage to make war against him, though they live in perpetual enmity.

Farther in-land are yet more potent kingdoms than this; but I know nothing, or at most but very little, of them; except that while I was here, one of their ambassadors came to the King of Great Ardra, to advertise him from his master, that several Ardra-fian Negroes had been with, and made complaints to him, and to advise him to take care that his viceroys treated these poor men more gently; or else, much against his will, he should be obliged to come to their assistance, and take them into his protection.

The King of Great Ardra, instead of making a proper use of this wholesome advice, laughed at it; and in further despatch to that King, murdered his ambassador; upon which he was so violently as well as justly enraged, that with utmost expedition he caused an army (by the Fidasians augmented to the number of ten hundred thousand men) to fall into their country; and these being all horfed, and a warlike nation, in a short time mastered half the King of Ardra's territories, and made such a slaughter amongst his subjects, that the number of the dead being innumerable, was commonly expressed by saying they were like the grains of corn in the field.

The Fidasians reported to me of the mentioned people, that it was customary in their wars, to cut off all the privities of slaughtered enemies, and carry them off with them; as also, that none durst presume to take an enemy prisoner, that was not furnished with one hundred of these trophies. This looks very fabulous, insomuch that though it is confirmed to me by oaths, I do not affirm it for truth. But it is certain that the slaughter was prodigiously great; and that the general of this great army, contenting himself therewith, returned home, expecting to be very well received by his master, but found himself mistaken; for the King, as a reward of his heroic expedition, caused him to be hanged on a tree; because, according to his order, he did not bring the person of the King of Great Ardra along with him; on whom, and not his subjects, he aimed his revenge.

You may please to observe what mischiefs this prince brought on himself, and also that the law of nations is as well observed among these heathens as us Europeans; for this great monarch did not account himself satisfied by the death of so many thousand men for the murder of his ambassador, but would rid the world of the particular occasion of it: which, whether he afterwards did, I have not yet heard; but I believe he will content himself with the blood already shed.

This nation strikes such a terror into all the circumjacent Negroes, that they can scarcely hear them mentioned without trembling; and they tell a thousand strange things of them.

Four miles eastward of Fida, is the land of Jakin; which I have already said, is under Great Ardra; by whose Phidalgo it is at present governed.

A little lower, but farther in-land, lies the land of Offra, called *Littie Ardra* by the Europeans, where our company many years since had a lodge and a factor, and drove a considerable trade; but since our factor was killed, and the land laid waste by the *Popoeans*, we have not been there; and the country hath mostly lain wild and untilld; in which state it will probably continue several years: for the *Kings of Great Ardra* and *Fida* are at strife for the mastery of it, each being desirous to appoint his viceroys, and yet neither of them dare begin.

But to leave them disputing, and go aboard the ship called *Staden Land* (city and country), in which I sailed from *Fida* on the 14th of August, 1698, steering towards *Rio de Gabon*, where in eleven days we arrived, without meeting any thing remarkable in our passage. We had a continual fresh gale, but were obliged mostly to bear up to the wind, otherwise we had reached perhaps in eight days.

Before I come to speak of *Rio de Gabon*, I would say something of the gulf of *Guinea*, by which name it is best known to the Europeans. It extends from *Ardra* to *Cape Lopez*, in length — miles. Betwixt these two extremities are several fine large rivers, by which means we keep trade alive here with our yatches; the commodity which we get there being elephants' teeth, of which this country produces a great quantity,

The trading-places are *Rio Formosa* (or beautiful river), otherwise called *Rio de Benin*, from the great kingdom of that name. Next is *Rio de Elrei* or *King's River*, and *Camarones*, together with *Old and New Calbary*. Of the first river I hope before long to be master of a description, which you are then to expect.

In the gulf of *Guinea* lie also four islands, called *El Principe* or *Prince's Island*; the isle of *Fernando Po*; and *Corisco* divided into two, the *Greater* and *Lesser*.

At *Great Corisco*, our Company had some years past a settled trading lodge; but it lying too far distant, and not turning to a very great account, we left it, and have not been there since.

Corisco are two very agreeable islands, and the land so low, that at a distance the multitudes of trees there, seemed planted in the water, and afforded a very pleasant prospect.

The island of *Fernando Po* is inhabited by a savage and cruel sort of people, which he that deals with ought not to trust. I neither can nor will say more of them.

The *Prince's Island* was, at the latter end of the fifteenth century, subject to a considerable merchant of *Amsterdam*; but by reason of the dissension of our countrymen, and the treachery of the Portuguese (its first masters), we were obliged to quit it. And at present the Portuguese Company have built a strong fort there, and indifferently well peopled the island, which is fertile and well situated; or at least the Portuguese till it so well, that it yields them vast quantities of provisions, which they sell to all ships for money, besides which they can also store their own ships very plentifully.

All sorts of ships which have been to fetch slaves touch here, or at the other Portuguese islands, in order to take in refreshments; except only our Company's vessels, which avoid it (I believe) out of a groundless jealousy, that when our masters of vessels come to these islands, they should drive a clandestine trade to the prejudice of our company; but in reality, at *Annaboa*, the chief of these isles, nothing else is to be gotten but bare refreshments, as well for our own people as the slaves; and of what assistance and advantage this would be to our Company, I leave to those who have experienced it only, to determine. It is morally certain, that so many of the slaves would not sicken and die, if they were sometimes furnished with refreshments. But the directors of the Company are otherwise informed, on what grounds I know not: but perhaps the reason

why our vessels do not touch here, may be either unknown, or unfit to be known by me: and leaving it so, I come to Rio de Gabon.

This river is situated fifteen miles from Cabo Lopez di Gonfálvez, or the utmost point of the gulf of Guinea; and it is so famous, that no nation which ever failed to this part of Africa, can be unacquainted with it. It is a very fine river, and above two miles over at the mouth.

Having passed three or four miles up this river, we come to two islands, one of which takes its name from the King, and the other from the prince of this river; two great lords. But they both are desolate and wild: for pure fear of each other, the King hath left one, and the prince the other; each of them living at present upon a particular branch of the river, of which branches here are a great number.

For some miles this river is navigable with small ships, but I cannot exactly tell you how wide it is, or how far its course extends in-land. Several ships (as I have just told you) visit this river, on account as well of the trade which is driven here, as of its convenient situation for the cleaning and refitting of vessels: those that come hither on the last account, unlade their heavy baggage, as guns, anchors, water-barrels, &c. on Prince's Island; and by help of a flowing tide, get their ships as far on land as possible, that by means of the strong ebb they may be on a sort of dry ground, and thereby obtain an opportunity of repairing them all round. But this is not very advisable with great ships, by reason they may easily get some mischief by lying dry: and one of our cruisers that failed in company with me, would not run the hazard of it; but chose rather to fasten his ship to ours, by which means he could come even at her keel to clean her, which was consequently better than to lay her dry.

The trade of this river consists in elephants' teeth, wax, and honey, and is sometimes indifferently quick, especially if no ships have been there lately; which seldom happens, for the Zealand interlopers visit it the whole year round, in order to cleanse their ships and store themselves with water and wood, and trade withal as long as they are there: but their chief aim is cleaning their ships and trading, for they can have water and wood as well at Cape Lopez as here.

Any person that never was here before, must be amazed at the unevenness of the bottom of this river in sailing into it, for in one place we have ten, immediately fifteen, then five, and presently twelve fathom water, as if the mouth of the river were filled up with rocks. The ebb is here so strong, that even with a good wind it is scarcely possible to sail into the river, but we are obliged to wait till flood. I made a trial of this myself, but we were stopped in the mouth, and had enough to do to bear up against the ebb with full sail, losing more ground than we gained, and could not get in before the flood. The inhabitants of this river, though but a small number, are yet divided into three classes; one of which is with the King, the other with the prince, and the third trouble themselves with neither, but live quietly. The two former are always warring against each other, but not in open field; for which purpose I do not believe them strong enough, but they fall on and rob one another by night, and at unreasonable times, and return home with either the booty or blows which they get. These people are the most wretchedly poor and miserable that I think I ever saw; and besides, to augment their miseries, they are so very proud, that they thereby become the more ridiculous; especially if the reason of their vanity be looked into, which is barely a Dutch name, there being none of them that come on board of us that want one, with which they immediately make us acquainted, imagining we value them the more on that account; and are very well pleased with us for calling them by their borrowed name.

Excessive brandy-drinking seems the innate vice of all Negroes, but these are most accurate proficient, and really herein exceed all others that I have ever conversed with. They consume in this all they can come at. They will send an indifferent large elephant's tooth for this liquor, which they will drink out before they part; nay, sometimes before they so much as go out of the ship. If one chance to get but a mouthful more than another, and they are half drunk, they immediately fall on fighting, without any respect to the King, prince, or priest, who, on such an occasion, lay about them briskly with their fists, that they may not be accused of being idle spectators. These heroes are so warm and vigorous at their work, that hats, perukes, coats, or whatever they have, are thrown overboard.

Perhaps you may be surprized that these poor wretches should wear hats, perukes, &c. which they do in a very particular dismal manner. Formerly a great trade was driven here in old perukes by our sailors. For these they got whatever they pleased of these people, as wax, honey, parrots, monkeys, and all sorts of refreshments. But for these four years so many merchants of these sorts of goods, have been here, that the sailor swears the trade is utterly spoiled; and though his prime stock costs him nothing, yet it doth not at present turn to account.

The best quality in these people is, that as great lovers of brandy as they are, they yet are not very nice, for I have seen some of our men give them brandy half lengthened out with water; and for proof they told me, there was a little Spanish soap clapped into it, and the scum of the soap passed on them for the proof; and they praised this brandy as so extraordinary good, that they would willingly have laid in a stock of it.

I designed when I came into this river, to have traded for some ivory and wax for our Company; and had brought several goods with me to that end, but found them so very troublesome that I could not have patience to deal with them; and there being another of the Company's ships here, which also had orders to trade, I left it wholly to them, being very glad that I was so cheaply rid of them. And these wretches appeared the worse to me, because I was used to deal with such civil Negroes at Fida for an hundred times more than the commerce of this place. For to sell one tooth, they would sometimes haggle a whole day; go five or six times away and come again; ask and bid as if they were on a fish-market, and come to no resolution.

As great lovers of brandy as they are, they will not yet, when they first come on board and are asked to drink, touch a drop before they have received a present. And if we should happen to stay too long before we give them any thing, they will boldly ask if we imagine that they will drink for nothing; it not being sufficient to content this wretched crew that they drink up our liquor for nothing, but they must besides be hired to it, as though they thereby did us a very great honour; and he that intends to trade here, must humour them herein, or he shall not get one tooth on board. Thus the merchant which would trade here, ought to be very well armed with Job's weapon, without which nothing is to be done.

After I had given over the trade, a strange troop of Negroes came on board me, to whom I presented some brandy, and would have caused them to be carried to our other ship: but these gentlemen would not drink before I made them a present, which I had no mind to do, wherefore they marched out of my cabin; but understanding that I did not design to trade, they all very humbly returned, begging what I before offered them; but I told them I was not at leisure, and they went off without any thing.

They are very ready to make us presents at our first arrival, but much readier to receive others in requital from us: and when we happen to be too slow, they ask where is our counter-present, or they will take their own back again; which, without making much

much ado, they easily do, if our presents be not worth more than theirs. In short, these are men which no otherwise differ from beasts than in shape. Their cloathing is like that of other Negroes, but very poor and wretched : for they deal with our men for all their old coats, shirts, breeches, &c. and all other old cloaths ; and when dressed in them, think themselves very fine.

As to what farther relates to their manners, I shall not say much because I am unacquainted with them ; but if you take what hath been already said for a specimen, you may easily form an idea of the remainder.

I do not believe they have much religion. I have observed them to be very superstitious, and that as well as others they have great numbers of idols ; but of what sort they are, or what they believe concerning them, I was not able to observe in my short stay here.

That their government is not extraordinary, I observed from the small respect they shewed each other ; whence, without fear of heresy, I dare conclude, that every free person lives here for himself, without much troubling himself with King or prince ; and that those gentlemen have only the bare name of royalty, without the least shadow of the thing itself.

The present King, like an honest man, in order to rub through the world, follows the trade of a smith to get his bread ; not neglecting other perquisites, the chiefest of which is letting his wives at a reasonable price to the Europeans during their stay there ; notwithstanding which he is, as all the rest are, a very poor man.

They are mostly large, robust, well shaped men. They besmear their bodies with elephants and buffaloes' fat, and a certain sort of red colour, which makes them stink abominably ; especially the women, which one can hardly come near without turning sick. And yet they venture to drive a public trade with their bodies, exposing their favours to sale at a very cheap rate : and where they fear no danger, they will readily relieve the languishing lover for a knife or a trifle of that value. But those who engage with these ladies must be very fond of new faces, for if a man happen to be the least nice or squeamish, he will sufficiently wind them at twelve score yards, to deter him from any nearer approaches. But the case is different with a common sailor, who is content with every thing that is but woman.

I am apt to think that the most part of the inhabitants depend chiefly on hunting and fishery ; for I do not believe that they trouble themselves with agriculture, nor did I see any corn or Milhio during my stay here ; but instead of that I daily saw them eat immature Banacas roasted at the fire. They had also Jammes, potatoes, and small beans, but in no great plenty.

The land doth not seem very fertile or fit to produce corn or other fruits of the earth ; at least, what I have seen of it, which is from the mouth of the river to the Prince's Island. But as for those fruits which grow on trees, these have great plenty of them ; wherefore I believe that their Banana is, besides what they eat with it, the staff of their life. This river is prodigiously stocked with all sorts of good fish, and I assure you we pursued them very closely, and caught so many that we abundantly stored ourselves for our whole voyage.

The Negro's manner of fishing here, is very diverting ; for passing along the river-side in a canoe, and perceiving a fish, they instantly dart an Aslaguay at him, which is so certain a way, that by means of their dexterity, it very seldom missed.

Before the mouth of Rio de Gabon, we daily observed shoals of large unweildy fish, which we call Noord Kapers, or Northern Capers, though they look more like a species of whales, which, if they are not, it is certain they are not many removes from them.

them. These fish we guessed to be about forty foot long, but I believe I have seen some longer. They came so near our ship, that we could easily reach them with a long pole, supposing them to continue still. If we had a good shoal of these fish, and could brace them to, and guide them before our ships, as we do horses to our waggons, I doubt not but we should always run a swift course.

But to leave this diversion to Neptune, and return to our subject.

They swim chiefly on the surface of the water, having a young one or two near them, who, springing up to the top of the water, in imitation of their dam, mount above water. They blow up the water with very great violence, and put the sea in as great a ferment as a ship under sail; and in spouting of water they would easily outdo the best water-works at Fontainebleau; and it is not less diverting than rare, to see a number of these fishes together.

The land about this river incredibly abounds with wild beasts, especially elephants, buffaloes, and wild-boars.

As soon as we had dispatched our affairs at Prince's Island, and careened our ship, we sailed down the river again, in order to anchor at the Sand Punt, i. e. Sand Point, or Zuidhoeck; i. e. South Nook; and provide ourselves with water, which is better there than at Cape Lopez. Being advanced about an English mile from this place, we got sight of an elephant, which, taking the same course with us, walked very gently along the river-side to the before-mentioned place; where, accompanied with my captain and some of my servants, we stepped into a boat and landed together, and immediately set upon the elephant; but after having pursued him very hard for an hour, we could not overtake him, but lost sight of him in a wood.

At the writing hereof I tremble to think what a risk we ran, and what danger we were in; for not being above ten or twelve strong, and not half of us provided with good fire-arms, we should have attacked this elephant, if we could have come at him; fondly imagining to have fetched him down with two or three shots, which I have since found was what two or three hundred men could scarce do: thus we all had reason to thank heaven that we did not overtake this beast; for if we had, if not all, yet at least some of us, had been left dead on the spot.

In our return we met five elephants together, who, looking on us, I suppose thought us not worth their anger, and therefore suffered us to pass them without the least disturbance; and we owning them stronger than we, were very well pleased, and after pulling off our hats in grateful acknowledgement of their civility, went on our way.

We lay three days still before this place, during which time, having no other employment, I went every morning on shore in order to fall upon some of the wild beasts, but not elephants; which I had in a sort sufficiently forsworn since our last adventure. But the wild swine afforded us the most diversion, and were what we chiefly intended to exercise ourselves on: and accordingly the second day that we came on shore, we were so fortunate as to meet a troop of above three hundred. We begun immediately to hunt them with utmost fury, but having four legs to our two, they were too nimble for us, so that they soon got out of our reach; except only one, which we cut off from his companions, and so beset him, that he seemed obliged to pay dear for lagging, since there was no other way of flying left him than into a thicket, in which we pursued him so close, that in a very short time he was likely to fall into our hands.

But he escaped us in the following manner: being come into the midst of the thicket, as though we had been in a well-built garden-house or bower, we found a skeleton of an elephant; and the surprize of this adventure detained us from the pursuit of the wild-boar, in order to examine this skeleton nicely; which we found entire with the
teeth

teeth affixed to his head, which I caused to be taken out and weighed, their weight being seventy pounds; I measured his legs, and found the fore, three, and the hind, four foot; the head also four foot; and the remainder of the body proportionable; whence you may conjecture how large he was when living and covered with flesh.

The two first days being past in fruitless elephant and wild boar chase, we designed to spend the third in the latter sport; but when we came on shore, we found that their place was taken up by about one hundred buffeloes; not being discouraged we run at them, and being come near a parcel of eighteen or twenty, we presented them with half a dozen bullets, but I believe did not hurt one of them: they all stood still, and seemed to look very angrily on us, consulting, I suppose, whether they should punish our insolence or not, but since none of them was wounded, it passed in the negative, and we escaped free. These buffeloes were red, with straight horns extended backwards, about the size of an ox; as they ran they seemed lame behind, but that did not hinder their being very swift.

The Negroes informed us, that when these beasts are shot, and not mortally wounded, they fly at the men and kill them. We the easier believe this, because about ten years past, our men going a buffelo-hunting here, one of them being too forward, let fly at a buffelo, but was immediately seized, and had been killed by him, if one of his comrades had not come to his assistance; who notwithstanding, firing at the buffelo, was so unhappy as to miss him and mortally wound his companion, and the buffelo soon trod out the small remainder of the snuff of his life. This unhappy accident agreeing with the Negro's report, made us rejoice that we had met with such good-natured buffeloes; and immediately resolved never for the future to attempt the elephant and buffelo chase, which resolution, in order to be remembered, was registered in its proper place.

The Negroes, to prevent such misfortunes, go more warily to work. They first observe the place where the buffeloes resort in the evening, and place themselves on a high tree, and as soon as the buffelo comes, they shoot at him from thence. If they kill him, and there is no danger below, they come down, and assisted by some of their companions, carry off their game; but if they have not hit the buffelo they sit still, and keep out of danger; by which means they shoot several.

The buffelo's flesh here is very good, and by reason of the meadow-ground about the Sant Punt, fat enough.

This is all that I could possibly observe in my sixteen days stay here. Our cruiser, after having taken in some wood, came to us, and we sailed together out of the river, and three days after anchored at Cape Lopez di Gonsalvez; which, as I have before informed you, is the uttermost point of the gulf of Guinea, situate in some few minutes of south latitude, and Gabon is exactly under the equinoctial line. A little south of Cape Lopez, begins the country of Angola, which stretches several degrees southward. This point or cape is as much or more visited by ships than Gabon; for most of the ships laden with slaves, come hither to store themselves with water and wood, with both which it always abounds, and the inhabitants have always quantities of the latter ready cut, which they sell so cheap, that we commonly do not give above a bar of iron for a whole fathom of it; and water we have for fetching from a very convenient place near the sea-side. We generally indeed pay for the liberty of fetching water, to the King, or he who calls himself so, three or four knives, and a bottle of malt spirits; but this is rather our civility than any thing else, since there is no ship so small, as that it could not furnish itself with water and wood by force. But this would, in my opinion, be very unreasonable, since the natives deserve some reward for their trouble; and it would also render it very inconvenient to other ships that came after us; for the Negroes finding

we did not pay them, would not be very fond of felling more wood, on which account it is far the better way to content them with a trifle.

The trade here, as well as at Rio de Gabon, consists in elephants' teeth, wax and honey, with which it abounds; but by reason of the multitudes of ships which daily touch here, not much is to be expected; yet one of our yachts this very year dealt for betwixt three and four thousand weight of elephants' teeth, as well as wax, and at other times for larger quantities.

At Cape Lopez there are a few houses, in which the inhabitants live as long as any ships are there; but their proper dwelling-place is a little beyond this point, upon a river which is called Olibatte. The principal men, or *grandeës*, distinguish themselves by the names of king, prince and admiral, though, like those of Gabon, they are obliged to be contented with the name only; and indeed the inhabitants of both places agree so exactly, that I do not believe the least difference is observable betwixt their manner of living; except only, that the latter are far more civil and conversable than the former.

I do not think it necessary to say any more concerning this place, than that the ships here meet with a good road, if they are but so cautious as to avoid some sand-banks which are hereabouts, which yet are not dangerous in good weather, since they are passable without damage at high-water, as we experienced.

I have already told you, that the river Gabon is plentifully stored with fish. But this place is enriched with prodigious shoals, that our cruiser one morning, casting his net, caught such a vast quantity as would have sufficed ten ships,

After having passed three days at this Cape, we heaved in our anchor and set sail, designing for the Isle of Annaboa; but the strong tide, which at this time of the year winds in a serpentine manner towards the north, carried us below St. Thome, an island belonging to the Portuguese; which affords me an opportunity to impart to you some particulars concerning it, after having acquainted you, that though our ships were cleaned, and in good sailing condition, we yet were driven above half a degree northward; but another of our Company's ships, which I had laden with slaves at Fida, and departed thence three weeks before me, came the third time to anchor with me at Cape Lopez, and told us, that he had been in one degree and a half south latitude; but that the vehemence of the tide had (which is scarcely credible) in one night driven him through the Line exactly before Gabon.

The Isle of St. Thomè (and not of St. Thomas, as some would have it, that being in America in the Danes' possession) was formerly in our hands, and we were obliged to quit it by the continual treachery of the Portuguese, which fatigued our men, and by the great mortality which then afflicted them, in which so many of our countrymen died, that this island in Europe went by the name of the Dutch Church-yard.

The Portuguese, though more used to this scorching air, prove at this very time, that it is a very unwholesome country, great quantities of them dying, and very few living to a great age.

The natural reason of which, in my opinion, seems to be, first, the scorching heat, which continues here the whole year; for one point of it being situated just under the Line, it is easy to conceive, that the greatest part of the year must be intolerably hot.

Secondly, that this island chiefly consists of hills, the valleys betwixt which are continually filled with a very thick and stinking mist, even in the very hottest time of the day, which of necessity must condense and inflame the air, and consequently render it very unwholesome. And, in the third place, we may add the excessive phlebotomy of the Portuguese, which they have recourse to on the very least occasion, some of them letting blood above fifty times in a year; and this it is, which, I believe, makes them

look more like walking ghosts than men : and this practice, the longer continued, must necessarily the more weaken the constitution ; for the nature of this country is not such as to supply them with hasty recruits of fresh blood. Excepting what hath been observed, this is a pleasant and fertile island, abounding, according to the report of the Portuguese, with fresh rivers or lakes, and good arable lands, which yield corn, sugar, and cotton. Here are also several earth-fruits and trees, besides great plenty of cattle, larger and finer than on the Gold Coast. It cannot but have its share of terrestrial blessings, because the Romish clergy have two convents here, according to the best of my remembrance, filled with the fraternities of St. Peter and St. Augustine. And here is also a bishop's see.

More need not be said to prove this island good and proper to live in ; for it is certainly true, that these ghostly Fathers never settle where, besides souls' good, sublunary conveniences are not to be gained.

I shall now bid adieu to St. Thomè, with only acquainting you, that all ships which, by reason of contrary wind, cannot reach Ilha del Príncipe, put in here for refreshments.

Instead of Annaboa, being, as I have already told you, fallen below St. Thomè, we despaired of reaching it, because it is more difficult to sail from St. Thomè than from Cape Lopez ; but the wind changing, and, contrary to our expectation, getting the tide with us, we were so fortunate in two days' time as to anchor before the famous island of Annaboa.

This island is visited by a great number of ships, as well those which have been trading in Guinea, as those bound for East India and Angola. When the East Indiamen fall below the gulf of Guinea (for they, different from our account, reckon the gulf of Guinea to take in almost the whole Coast), they put in here ; and the ships bound for Angola touch here, it being almost in their way.

Annaboa is so prodigiously stocked with cattle and fruit, that it far exceeds St. Thomè and Prince's Island in both ; though it is much smaller, and indeed not above half the circuit of either of them. Like St. Thomè, it is almost always covered with a thick mist ; but if we may believe the Portuguese, not so unwholesome. But why it is more healthful, I shall not presume to determine ; for the air is almost the same, Annaboa being but about one degree and a half more south. The land is here full as high as at St. Thomè ; and in the highest place of it, according to the report of the Portuguese, is a lake of fresh and very good water, about which, the air is as cold as the severest autumns in Holland ; but who knows whether this be true ?

The Portuguese have tilled the plains to half way up the hills, for so far the ground is good. But taking a view of this island from below, it seems very dry and barren ; notwithstanding which it is all over planted with fruit-trees, viz. cocoas, oranges, lemons, Backovens, bananas, palm-trees, and several others, whose fruits are all plentiful and cheap : one hundred cocoa-nuts are sold for a rix-dollar ; a thousand oranges or lemons at the same rate ; and the other fruits in proportion. Hogs, sheep, goats, chickens, &c. are to be bought for almost nothing, considering that we have them for all manner of old trash cloaths of linen and woollen. In short, here is the true Amalthea or Cornucopia, of which the antients have said so many fine things.

The inhabitants of this island are black, and but a sort of half-Christians, though they bear the name of Christians ; for if they can but read a Pater-noster and Ave-Maria, confess to the priest, and bring some offerings with them, they pass for good Christians. The white Portuguese of this island esteem them slaves, by reason that they are the descendants of those slaves which they set on this island. They are all of them, without

without exception, thieves and rogues, that will injure or defraud no man more than they can. The women are all common public whores, which allure and mislead the sailors, and except a very few, are monstrously ugly and ill-favoured, as Monsieur Fokkenbrog has well observed it.

The government of these people is entrusted in the hands of a white Portuguese, who is honoured with the illustrious name of Governador. He who was honoured with this high post in my time, was such a great Don, that if I had been charitable enough to have bestowed the alms of a crown upon him, he would have made no difficulty of receiving it, nor thought it an affront to his honourable charge, or the grandeur of his nation. His subjects also stood in such awe of him, that if I had but desired them, they would certainly have broken his head, and have delivered the island into our possession. For this Don being appointed by a Portuguese gentleman, to whom this island belongs, as rent-gatherer in his name, to collect a third of all the inhabitants' cattle, fruit and income; in order to secure somewhat for himself, he very fairly fleeces the inhabitants of a complete half, which renders him so hated by his black subjects, that they would very willingly be released from their yoke, and deliver the island to another nation. But it would not indeed be serviceable to any nation, without all its black inhabitants were transported thence; for whilst they stay there, on account of the least difference with the possessors, they would fly to the hilly part of the island, which is sufficiently inaccessible to the Europeans, and from thence so gall them, that they would be obliged to abandon it; as it happened to us, when we formerly were in possession of it; for we left it on no other account.

Besides the Governador, I found here also two white priests, who were endowed with no other qualities than the profound ignorance and stupidity of the meanest of their neighbours, except only (which is indeed something uncommon) that they could drink as much brandy as I could wine, or other liquor.

Their wisdom was lodged in their Capuchin's cap. I cannot indeed tell, whether they could read or write, since I did not see one book they had, nor would they produce one, though I asked the favour; perhaps that it might not be defiled with my heretical fingers. They invited us to come and see their churches, which we did, and found them very handsome, and large enough for four times the number of inhabitants on the island. Before we entered their churches, we were all over besprinkled with holy water, from which I conclude that it is not very dear here. They desired a bottle of wine of me to celebrate their mass withal, which I gave them; and they thereupon promised me (though unasked) that they would say a mass for my happy voyage; after which I took leave of them.

We saw here some small pieces of cannon, and asking where they got them, we were informed that they belonged to a small French pirate, which stranded there about ten days before, the captain of which, with two of his men, was then upon the island.

These pirates had robbed the Gold Coast of some gold, slaves and elephants' teeth. But two days before our arrival here, the Slotter galley, an English ship, commanded by Thomas Kent, had set sail from thence, having made an agreement with these pirates, in consideration of a part of their prey to be given to the captain, to carry them and all their booty to the French islands. The pirates, depending on this contract, had brought all their goods on board Captain Kent, and all the men, except the captain and two more, followed, who designed to have gone on board the last day of the galley's stay here; but as they were coming, were welcomed with a few musquet shot, and charged, if they valued their lives, to return back, which they were obliged to do, and had the satisfaction of seeing Captain Kent haul up his anchors and set sail with all

their goods. What think you, sir, were not these villains rightly served; indeed I think they were; and had it been my good fortune to meet with them, I should not have given them any better treatment.

After having staid here a few days to refresh, pursuant to the director-general's leave, we steered our course towards Elmina, sailing continually along the Line, without inclining one degree towards the south or north. I expected to have met with a violent heat here; but on the contrary found it so cold, that though well clad, I could scarcely bear the cold. The sailors, who commonly are not moved at a trifle, also cloathed themselves very thick. Expressing my surprise hereat, the captain told me that about this time of the year (being September) it was almost always so cold here, notwithstanding the sun in that month passes the line, and must be exactly over our heads; but the case lies here, we have always thick weather and a stiff gale, which prevents our feeling the heat of the sun.

After several days sailing forwards in this manner, guessing that we were advanced high enough to make the Coast, we steered directly landwards, and got sight of land about the Quaqua coast; but our orders running to stay no where, we sailed along by the shore, proceeding on our voyage to Assinee, which the French some time past took possession of; and that in such a diverting manner, that I cannot help imparting it to you. The author of the *European Mercury* for the year 1701, obliges us with the following relation of the converting of a Moorish King to the Christian faith, in these words:—

“Here is another Pagan prince brought over to the Christian faith, namely, Lewis Hannibal, King of Syria [which he mistakes for Assinee], on the Gold Coast of Africa, who, after being a long time instructed in the Christian principles, and baptized by the Bishop of Meaux, the King being his god-father, received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, on the 27th of February, from the Cardinal de Noailles, and offered at the same time a picture to the Blessed Virgin, to whose protection he submitted his territories, having made a vow, at his return thither, to use his utmost endeavours towards the conversion of his subjects. This Moorish prince departed on the 24th of this month, in order to embark at Port Lewis, and be convoyed home by two or three men of war, under the command of the Chevalier Damon.”

Thus far runs our above-mentioned relation. Now it is my task to give you a short account of the extraction of this pretended King, and to acquaint you with what happened afterwards.

Some years past, the French were accustomed to seize all the Negroes that came on board them, and sell them into the West Indies for slaves; amongst which happened to be the before-said Lewis Hannibal, christened by the French; but finding him endowed with a more sprightly genius than his countrymen, instead of selling, they brought him to the French court, where this impostor pretended to be son and heir apparent to the King of Assinee; by which means he so insinuated himself into the good opinion of the court, that the King made him several very rich presents, and sent him back to his own country in the manner above related; but upon his arrival upon the Coast, he was discovered to be only the slave of a Caboceer of Assinee, to whom, shortly after his arrival he returned; and, as I am credibly informed, instead of converting his subjects to Christianity, is himself returned to Paganism.

You may easily guess at the resentments of the French court, after being so ridiculously bubbled by a Negro slave: if you consider that by this means they have lost their aim, which was to get footing on the Gold Coast; and besides, that the pious intention of His Most Christian Majesty, to convert a heathen prince, and establish him

him on his throne, was frustrated; the Cardinal de Noailles and the Bishop of Meaux laboured in vain: and, in short, the whole French court was disappointed of its expectation. By this, sir, you may see, that as stupid as the Negroes are, yet some amongst them are able to delude such a wise court as that of France, which I doubt not but long ere this has repented of its credulity, and a thousand times cursed the pretended King of Syria. But to leave the French in their resentments, and pursue our voyage.

Sailing by Affinee we touched on the Gold Coast, where our companion the cruizer, called the Beschermmer or protector, commanded by Captain Hinken, found a Zealand interloper called the Great Apollo, betwixt the shore and the Brandenburg fort; which he vigorously attacked, and after a short but warm resistance, took and brought her as good prize to Elmina.

This, sir, is the end of my voyage, and will also be the last letter that I shall write to you concerning the state of Guinea. What you have farther to expect from me, is, as I have already told you, the result of others observations. I beg your approbation of the contents of this and all my past, assuring you I have written nothing to you but real truth, digested from my own observation. If I am so happy as to please you in this attempt, I shall be so far from thinking my labour lost, that I shall conclude it doubly rewarded.

These, sir, are the sincere asseverations of one that never will omit any thing which can render you an agreeable service; but is now and shall ever be incessantly ambitious of the honourable name of

Your hearty humble servant,
W. BOSMAN.

A DESCRIPTION OF RIO FORMOSA, OR, THE RIVER OF BENIN;

Being the first Supplemental, or Twenty-first Letter.

Containing a Description of Rio Formosa, or the River of Benin; the great Number of its Branches. — The Trading-place and Church of the Portuguese. — The King of Benin's great Opinion of himself. — Our ordinary Trading-place. — The Pirates of Usa. — The Morass and floating Land in and about the River, which is very pleasant but unwholesome, and the Reason why. — The great Mortality of our Men on Ship-board. — The Rashness of five Mariners, and a remarkable Event which followed it. — The Country is very even and full of Trees. — Who are the King of Benin's Vassals. — The King's Slave an honourable Name. — Benin not very populous. — The three principal Trading-places; their Names, Constitution, and Governors. — Besides which, a fourth Trading-place, where one of our chiefest Commanders or Factors was killed; on which account a double Revenge was taken. — The Benin Inhabitants generally good-natured, civil, and very conversible People; who are not to be treated forcibly, but gently; are very pertinacious in their old Customs; who are the Managers of their Trade; they are very civil to Strangers, but treacherous to each other; their Governors very covetous. — There are three Estates besides the King; concerning the first, and their Power: — Of the second, their Marks of Honour or Knighthood, the Loss of which is punished.

punished with Death ; of which some Examples :— The third State ; the manual Arts and Trades of the Commonalty. — The rich live very well, and are very charitable to the Poor. — The Habits of the Negroes of both Sexes. — Each Person marries as many Wives as he is able to keep ; the Manner of their Marriage ; the Husbands very jealous of their Wives, of which they are absolute Masters. — Three Sorts of Punishments for Adultery. — Of pregnant Women and their Delivery. — The male Infants belong to the King. — Both male and female are circumcised. — The groaning Treat. — Twins esteemed a good Omen, except at Arebo : the Cruelty of whose Inhabitants on that occasion described and confirmed by some Instances. — A sacred Grove, and their Opinions concerning it. — They are very prolific. — Menstruous Women esteemed unclean. — The Negroes here not so much afraid of Death as others ; their Remedies in case of Sicknefs. — Physicians not much valued, and how treated. — Who hath the Right of Inheritance, and in what cases the King is Heir. — Common Whores. — Their Government. — Punishment of Thievery, to which they are not much addicted. — The Punishments of Murder, and their Distinctions concerning that Crime. — Five Sorts of Oaths. — How Fines are distributed. — Their musical Instruments ; they dance very well to the Harp ; are great Gamesters ; their Religion very confused ; each particular Person hath his separate Priest ; their Notion of the Deity, and their Ratiocinations on that Subject ; they worship Idols, and the Devil in the same Shape. — Apparitions of Spirits. — Daily and annual Offerings. — Their Sentiments concerning a future Life. — Multiplicity of Idols, and their Festivals ; which is their greatest Festival : their Sabbath. — They celebrate the Times of the Death of their Parents. — Their Division of Time. — Their Wars, and Confusion therein ; they are great Cowards ; their Weapons. — All Sorts of Game, and wild Quadrupeds ; great Baboons which fall upon Men. — Great Plenty of feathered Kind ; but not such Stores of Fish ; yet great Quantities of terrene and arboriferous Fruits. — Of several dying Ingredients. — The King's Revenue, wherein it consists. — A Description of the Town of Benin, which is very long and well built ; Strangers not allowed there. — Of the Grandees which follow the Court. — Natives cannot be sold for Slaves, nor is it allowed to transport any out of the Kingdom as such, though Strangers. — The Trades and Employments of the Commonalty ; their Tradesmen. — Very fine Streets in the City. — Slavery of the Women, which are fond of all Europeans except the Portuguese. — A large Description of the King's Court, and the Coral-Feast, at which the King is present. — The Author's Audience of the King ; his Portraiture. — The War betwixt Are de Rou and the King, which hath ruined the City of Benin ; which is at present waste and desolate. — Conclusion of this Letter.

SIR,

IN obedience to your orders, this contains a description of the river of Benin. I dare not assure you of your expected satisfaction ; but would fain hope that my endeavours, however imperfect, being the utmost I can do, may meet with your favourable reception.

About fifty miles east of Ardra, are situate the cape and river of Formosa, otherwise called Benin, from the kingdom of Great Benin, with which it is encompassed. This river shews itself very plainly if entered from the west ; for from Ardra the land is even and woody : the west point is much higher, and looks like a rock with the top cut off. But the east point is low and flat land : its mouth is about a mile wide ; but failing farther up, is yet wider in some places and narrower in others. This river sprouts itself into innumerable branches ; some of which are so wide, that they very well deserve the name of rivers ; and the banks of each of them are inhabited by a particular nation,

nation, governed by its own King. The multitude of its branches render the sailing up this river so difficult, that a pilot is absolutely necessary.

About a mile and a half from its mouth there are two branches, about half a mile from each other. Upon one of which the Portuguese have a lodge and church at the town of Awerri, which is governed by its particular and independent King, who doth not treat the King of Great Benin any otherwise than as his neighbour and ally; though that vain Prince shews no marks of esteem for him, nor any other potentates, imagining that if he is not the greatest King in the whole, yet indisputably in the Guinean world; that part of it that is situate above one hundred miles beyond his own territories, being as little known to him as the large remainder of the globe.

The common-trading place here is called Arebo, situate above sixty miles above the river's mouth: so far, and yet farther, our ships may very conveniently come; in their passage sailing by hundreds of branches of this river, besides creeks, some of which are very wide.

What I have already hinted is sufficient to give you an idea of the breadth of this river, but its length and source I have not been able to discover, no Negro being able to give me an exact account of it; but I believe its branches extend into all the circumjacent countries; for I have seen several men that came from Ardra, Calbary, and several other places, in order to trade, which were taken on this river by the robbers, and sold for slaves. These robbers, or pirates, live just at the mouth of the river, and are called the pirates of Ufa; they are very poor, and live only on robbery; they sail hence to all parts of this river, and seize all that lights in their way, whether men, beasts, or goods; all which they sell to the first that come hither for victuals, with which they are not at all provided.

The Portuguese informed me, that here was a land road which reached to Calbary, and one much more commodious by water; that it was easy, with a canoe, to get into the circumjacent rivers, viz. Lagos, Elrei, Camarones, and several others, besides the river Volta, which last I can scarcely believe, it being utterly improbable; but as to the former rivers, they are so near the other, that it may be easily done.

Several miles upwards, from the mouth of the river, the land is every where low and morassy, and its banks all along adorned with great numbers of high and low trees, and the country all about it divided into islands, by the multiplicity of its branches; besides which, here are several sorts of floating isles, or lands covered with reed, which are driven by the winds, or Travadoes, from one place to another, by which means they often happen in our way, and oblige us to steer a different course, on which occasions pilots or guides are very convenient.

The river itself is very pleasant, but very unwholesome, as most of the rivers on the coast seem to be naturally, which I am apt to think is occasioned by the continual contagious exhalations which hover about them, more especially those in low ground and morasses. To which may be added another, and not less plague, the innumerable millions of gnats, which the Portuguese call Musquitoes; for the land, as I have already told you, being very woody, is insupportably pestered with these vermin, especially in the nights, when they attack us in whole legions, and sting so severely, that several persons have been so marked with pustules, that it was impossible to know them. This torment, which deprives us of our natural rest, heightened by the unwholesomeness of the climate, continually occasions a great mortality amongst our men. You very well know, that this is my second voyage to this river, and that the first time I was here we lost half our men, and at present the number of our dead on board is not less, and the remainder

remainder are most of them sick, which strikes such a general terror into the sailors, that the boldest of them is afraid of his life.

Five of our sailors were so rashly impious, as to throw dice who should die or live to come out of this river. They over-persuaded my eldest servant to throw for his chance with them, and the highest cast being esteemed safest, he threw eleven. And it is really remarkable, that this lad is yet alive, but the other five died all in the river of Benin.

Bating the said contagion of the climate, this is a very desirable place of trade, by reason of the pleasantness of the river and adjacent country, which is very even ground, without hills, and yet rises by gentle degrees, which affords the most agreeable prospect in the world; which is yet improved by the multitude of trees which stand so regular, as if they were designedly planted in that order.

The inhabitants of this river, and the neighbouring country, have several Princes; and, indeed, each small nation is governed by his own King, though all of them are vassals to the King of Benin, except those of Awerri, where the Portuguese live, and the pirates of Ufa, both of whom would never yet submit to his yoke.

They are all free-men, notwithstanding which they are treated as slaves by their King, and are so far from taking it for an unhappiness, that the title of the King's slave is a distinguishing mark of honour amongst them.

Though here is a prodigious number of people, yet in proportion to the extent of land, and upon the comparison with Ardra, this country is not populous. The towns are widely distant from each other, as well those near the river as farther inland.

There are at present three principal towns where we trade, and whither all the neighbouring inland Negroes resort, especially when we have cast anchor there.

The first of these villages is Boededoe, containing about fifty houses or cottages, built with reed and leaves. It is governed by a viceroy, and some grandees appointed by him, who, under the King, and in his name, govern the whole district of land; but their authority doth not extend beyond things of small importance, as civil causes and the raising taxes for the King; but if any thing considerable happens, or any capital crime is committed, they are not permitted to decide it, but must send to court and wait their orders.

Arebo, the second village, which is situate much farther up the river, is a fine large oblong town, indifferently well furnished with houses and people. The houses are much larger than at Boededoe, though built in the same manner. This place, and its dependant country is, as well as the former, governed by a viceroy.

Some years past here were two lodges, or factories, one of which belonged to the English, and the other to our Company; each of them had their particular factors and trustees, called in Portuguese Mercadors and Fiadors; the last of which are here but a sort of brokers: but the English not having traded here for many years, their lodge is fallen down and demolished, and their factors and brokers incorporated with ours.

Agatton, the third village, was formerly a considerable trading-place, but hath suffered so much by the wars, that it lies in a manner waste at present. It is situate on a small hill in the river, just joined to the firm land.

The remaining ruins discover it to have been a very large village, much more agreeable and healthful than the others are, for which reason the Negroes employ their utmost diligence in the re-building of it. It is environed with all sorts of fruit-trees.

Hereabouts are several small villages, whose inhabitants come hither at every considerable market, which is held here for five days. A day's journey by land from Agatton, is the city or village of Great Benin, the resident of the King: but more of this hereafter.

I must not here omit a certain village, where we formerly traded, which is called Meiborg, probably borrowing its name from that of one of our factors.

Several years past our Company had a considerable factory and some servants here. Their last factor here was N. Beeldsnyder, who made himself to be hated by the natives, by reason of his brutality. Besides which, he cast a lascivious eye on one of the Negro governor's wives, which he ravished, and thereby so enraged her injured husband, that he resolved to take his utmost satisfaction of Beeldsnyder, and came against him with a party of armed men, designing to have his life, but he defending himself in his flight, narrowly escaped on board one of our ships, which then lay there, but was withal dangerously wounded. He was no sooner come on board, than he sailed out of the sight of his pursuers, but one of his wounds proved so fatal, that, through the unskillfulness of the surgeon, he died of it.

Mr. N. N., who was then the Company's director-general on the coast, and was not fully informed of the merits of the cause, did not let his death pass unrevengeed, but immediately sent a yacht, reinforced with Elmina soldiers to Benin, with strict orders to take the utmost revenge for the murder or massacre, as it was termed. These soldiers so rigorously executed, or perhaps stretched their commission, that they killed or took prisoners every person of the village that could not make their escape.

The King of Great Benin being informed of this, and the author of the massacre, was not content with the revenge which our director had taken, but commanded the person, who was the occasioner of the massacre, to come to him; and though he had defended the honour of his family, and was consequently very excusable, yet the King caused him and his whole race, to the third and fourth generation, to be cut to pieces; which cruelty was executed, in order to justify himself, not only with respect to the action, but also the very knowledge of it.

The dead corpses of these miserable wretches were thrown upon the dunghill as a spectacle, to be devoured by the wild beasts; and their houses were razed to the ground, with strict orders, that they should never be re-built. We, finding the King so zealously interested for us, have ever since continued our trade there.

The inhabitants of Great Benin are generally good-natured and very civil, from whom it is easy to obtain whatever we desire by soft means: if we make them liberal presents, they will endeavour to recompense them doubly; and if we want any thing, and ask it of them, they very seldom deny us, though they have occasion for it themselves. But they are so far in the right, to expect that their courtesy should be repaid with civility, and not with arrogance and rudeness; for to think of forcing any thing from them, is to dispute with the moon.

They are very prompt in business, and will not suffer any of their antient customs to be abolished; in which, if we comply with them, they are very easy to deal with, and will not be wanting in any thing on their part requisite to a good agreement. But what is worst of all, is, that they are very tedious in dealing: many times they have a stock of elephants' teeth by them, which we are generally eight or ten days before we can agree with them for; but this is managed with so many ceremonious civilities, that it is impossible to be angry with them. Another inconvenience which really deserves complaint, is, that, at our arrival here, we are obliged to trust them with goods to make Panes or cloaths of; for the payment of which we frequently stay so long, that by

reason of the advancement of the season, the consumption of our provisions; and the sickness and mortality of our men, we are obliged to depart without our money: but on the other hand, the next time we come hither, we are sure to be honestly paid the whole.

The persons which treat with us on their behalf, are such as are thereto appointed by the government, and are called by the above-mentioned names of Mercadors and Fia-dors; and these are the only merchants with which we deal: this custom having obtained, by reason that these factors can speak a miserable sort of Portuguese, which qualifies them to talk with us. This is their only excellency, without which they would be looked on as the very scum of their countrymen, and not thought worthy a name amongst them.

At our arrival here, we are obliged to pay some sorts of customs to these brokers and the governors, which are so inconsiderable, that they are hardly worth mentioning.

The natives here seem very civil to each other, and omit no opportunity of offering their mutual services; but this is bare compliment; for they will not trust one another, but are jealously prudent, and very reserved, especially in the management of their trade, which they dispatch with utmost secrecy, out of fear of being represented as great traders to their governors, who, upon such a discovery, would certainly accuse them of some crime or other, in order to possess themselves, though never so unjustly, of the effects of these rich merchants. And here, as well as every where else, it is easy to find a stick to beat a dog withal: wherefore those who are out of power, and have no share in the government, always pretend to be poorer than they really are, in order to escape the rapacious hands of their superiors. This obliges them all to a cunning sort of mutual civility, in order to avoid accusers; and their professions are very rarely sincere, but only feigned.

I have observed here three states, besides the King, which governs absolutely, his will being a law and bridle to his subjects, which none of them dare oppose.

Next him, the first and highest state is composed of three persons, called here great lords, or great men, which are always near the King's person; and any person that wants to apply to His Majesty, is obliged first to address himself to them, and they undertake to acquaint him with it, and return his answer. But they are sure to inform him only of what they please themselves, and consequently in the King's name, they act as they think fit; so that in reality the whole government depends solely on them; which may the more easily happen, because, except a very few, no persons are admitted into the King's presence, much less allowed to speak with him.

The second state or rank is composed of those which are here called Are de Roe, or Street Kings; some of which preside over the commonalty, and others over the slaves; some over military affairs, others over the affairs relating to cattle and the fruits of the earth, &c. And indeed here is a particular supervisor over every thing that can be thought of.

Out of the number of these Are de Roes, are chosen the viceroys and governors of the countries which are subject to the King. These are all under the command of, and responsible to, the three great men on all occasions. They obtain these honourable posts by the recommendation of these three lords; and the King, as an ensign of this honour, presents each of them with a string of coral, that being equivalent to the arms of an order of knighthood. This string they are obliged to wear continually about their necks, without ever daring to put it off on any account whatever; for if they are so unhappy as to lose it, or carelessly suffer it to be stolen, they are *ipso facto* irretrievably condemned to die. For the confirmation of which I can give you two instances, to one of which

I was

I was witness; viz. a Negro, who, through inadvertency, had suffered this chain to be stolen from him, and without delay was executed, as was also the other who acknowledged himself guilty of the said robbery, besides three more which were privy to it, and did not timely discover it. Thus five men were put to death for a chain of coral, that was not intrinsically worth two-pence.

The second instance happened about the year 1700, and was somewhat more extraordinary. At that time there lay near me, before the village of Boedede, two Portuguese ships or barks, one of which departed before us, but the other was obliged to stay a month or two after me, in order to get in his debts; which coming in very slowly, the captain resolved to cause a Fiador, that was his greatest debtor, to be arrested in his ship; but when he attempted it, the other resisted, and endeavoured to escape: and during the scuffle with the sailors, the pilot caught hold of his chain of coral, broke it in pieces and threw it overboard; which so dispirited the Fiador, that he let go his hold and surrendered himself immediately. But some time after, finding the pilot asleep, and having gotten a blunderbuss, he shot him through the head; and thus obliged him to exchange his natural for a more lasting sleep, with which the Negro was not yet satisfied, but afterwards wounded the dead body in several places, and then threw away his knife, adding, that he had now taken his revenge, and that it was perfectly indifferent to him what they did to him: "For," continues he, "when my coral was thrown overboard, I was a dead man; and at present I am in the same condition." The Portuguese did not venture to punish him, but delivered him to the governor of the place, who dispatched him to the King; and the bark departing, His Majesty committed him to close prison, in order to punish him very severely in the presence of the next Portuguese that should come thither. This very year I saw the Negro; and just upon my departure, two Portuguese ships came with orders to demand justice for their murdered pilot; how they succeeded I cannot say, because I left that place immediately after; but that it cost the Negro his life is undeniable.

The King keeps these corals in his own possession, and the counterfeiting, or having any of them in possession without his grant, is punished with death. They are made of a sort of pale red coëtile earth or stone, and very well glazed, and are very like speckled red marble.

From the last relation it is easy to infer, that the Fiadors are the third rank or state of this country; for no person is permitted to wear this coral, unless honoured by the King with some post; since, as I have already told you, they can have it only from the King.

Besides the Fiadors, under the same rank are also reckoned the Mercadors, or merchants; Fulladors, or intercessors; the Veilles, or elders; all which are distinguished by the above-mentioned mark of honour.

And besides these three, I know of no other offices or dignities; wherefore the commonalty take place next; very few of which are laborious or industrious, unless it be those who are wretchedly poor: the others laying the whole burthen of their work on their wives and slaves, whether it be tilling the ground, spinning of cotton, weaving of cloaths, or any other handicraft; whilst they, if they have but the least stock, apply themselves to merchandize alone. Here are very few manual arts, besides weaving, practised or understood. The chief workmen here are either smiths, carpenters or leather-dressers; but all their workmanship is so very clumsy, that a boy that has been but one month learning in Europe would out-do them.

The inhabitants of this country, if possessed of any riches, eat and drink very well; that is to say, of the best. The common diet of the rich is beef, mutton or chickens;

and Jammes for their bread, which, after they have boiled, they beat very fine, in order to make cakes of it. They frequently treat one another, and impart a portion of their superfluity to the necessitous.

The meaner sort content themselves with smoked or dried fish; which, if salted, is very like what we in Europe call Raf and Reekel. Their bread is also Jammes, bananas and beans; they drink water, and Pardon-wine, which is none of the best. The richer sort drink water and brandy, when they can get it.

The King, the great lords, and every governor who is but indifferently rich, subsist several poor at their place of residence on their charity, employing those who are fit for any work, in order to help them to a maintenance; and the rest they keep for God's sake, and to obtain the character of being charitable; so that here are no beggars. And this necessary care succeeds so well, that we do not see many remarkably poor amongst them.

They are very liberal in all mutual presents of all sorts of goods, and they give the Europeans prodigious quantities of refreshing provisions, and more than they really want; nay, some in this particular give beyond their ability, only in order to acquire a good reputation amongst strangers.

The habit of the Negroes here is neat, ornamental, and much more magnificent than that of the Negroes of the Gold Coast. The rich amongst them wear first a white calico or cotton cloth about one yard long, and half so broad, which serves them as drawers; over that they wear a finer white cotton dress, that is commonly about sixteen or twenty yards long, which they very ornamentally plait in the middle, casting over it a scarf of about a yard long and two spans broad, the end of which is adorned with fringe or lace, which is somewhat like the female Negroes on the Gold Coast: the upper part of their body is mostly naked. These are the cloaths in which they appear abroad; but at home they wear only a coarse Paan instead of drawers, covered with a great painted cloth woven here, which they wear like a cloak. The mean sort go thus clothed, but the stuff they wear is much coarser; and as to fine or coarse, each person is governed by his circumstances.

The wives of the great lords wear calico Paans woven in this country, which are very fine, and very beautifully chequered with several colours. These Paans or cloaths are not very long, and are buckled together like those which are worn at Fida, but with this difference, that as the Fidase Paan is open before, this on the contrary is open behind, or on one side, and covered before. The upper part of their body is covered with a beautiful cloth of about a yard long, instead of a veil, like that which the women wear on the Gold Coast. Their necks are adorned with necklaces of coral, very agreeably disposed or plaited. Their arms are dressed up with bright copper or iron arm-rings; as are also the legs of some of them, and their fingers are as thickly crouded with copper rings as they can possibly wear them. Thus set out, sir, they look pretty tolerable, and may pass for such for want of better.

The meaner sort of women as well as the men of the same condition, differ from the rich only in the goodness of their cloaths.

Almost all the children go naked; the boys till they are ten or twelve years old, and the girls till nature discovers their maturity; till then they wear nothing but some strings of coral twisted about their middles, which is not sufficient to hide their nudities.

The men do not curl or adorn their hair, but content themselves with letting it grow in its natural posture, except buckling it in two or three places in order to hang a great coral to it. But the women's hair is very artificially turned up into great and small buckles, and divided on the crown of the head, like a cock's comb inverted; by which means

means the small curls are placed in exact order. Some divide their hair into twenty or more plaits or curls, according as it happens to be either thick or thin. Some oil it with the oil which they roast out of the kernels of oil-nuts, by which means it loses its black colour, and in process of time, turns to a sort of green or yellow, that they are very fond of; notwithstanding which, in my opinion, it looks hideously.

The men here marry as many women as their circumstances will allow them to keep. They have scarcely any, or at most very few marriage ceremonies amongst either poor or rich; except only that one treats the bride's friends more splendidly than the other. Their marriages are commonly made in the following manner: if a man like a virgin, he discovers his passion to one of the most considerable amongst his relations, who repairs to her house, and asks her of her relations, who, if she is not before promised, seldom deny his request; the consent then of the relations or parents thus obtained, the match goes on, and the bridegroom cloaths his future bride with a rich suit of cloaths, necklaces, and bracelets; and after having handsomely treated the relations on both sides, the wedding is ended without any farther ceremony. The treat I now speak of, is not performed at the house of the bridegroom, or indeed any other, but the victuals and drink are dressed and prepared, and each hath his part sent home.

The Negroes are very jealous of their wives with their own countrymen, but not in the least with respect to us; for they are very little concerned at our conversing with their wives, whether we rally, sit, or lie by them, provided we keep within the bounds of modesty; nay, they have entertained so good an opinion of us, that when we visit them, if their affairs call them away, they not only leave us alone with, but recommend us to their wives for diversion, whilst they are out; but no male Negro is allowed to come near the women's apartment, which is a custom very strictly observed by them.

All the difference betwixt the wives of the great and those of the meaner sort is, that the latter go every where, where their work obliges them; but the former are almost always shut up very close, to obviate all occasions of transgression.

If a man be in his own house, accompanied by some of his wives, and receives a visit from any of his acquaintance, the wives immediately retire to another part of the house, that they may not be seen; but if the visitants are Europeans, they continue with their husbands, by reason it is their desire, whom they use all arts to please, because their happiness depends on them, for the men are here absolute masters of their wives.

Adultery is here punished three several ways: first, amongst the commonalty, in the following manner: if any of them is suspicious of the levity of any of his wives, he tries all possible means to surprize her in the fact, without which he cannot punish her; but if he succeeds in his endeavours, he is thereby lawfully entitled to all the effects of her paramour, whether consisting in slaves, Boesies (their money), elephants' teeth, or any other mercantile commodity; all which he may immediately seize and perfectly use, occupy, and enjoy as his own. The offending wife is punished very heartily with a cudgel, and driven out of his house to seek her fortune; but no person being very fond of marrying her after this, she retires to another place, where she passes for a widow, by way of aiming at another husband; or else strives to subsist herself by a trade not very difficult (for her at least) to learn.

Thus far extends the poor man's satisfaction; the rich revenge themselves much the same way; but the woman's relations, to avoid the scandal which might thereby accrue to their family, reconcile the offended husband with a good sum of money, and thereby prevail upon him to admit her to grace, which they generally do; and then she thus atoned

atoned adultres passes for as virtuous a woman as before her crime, and is also for the future treated with all matrimonial endearments in her turn, as well as his other wives.

The governors punish adulterers more severely; for if they surprize any debauching their wives, they kill both them and their paramours on the very spot where they committed the crime, and throw their dead bodies on the dunghill, to be exposed as a prey to wild beasts.

These severe punishments of adultery amongst all ranks of people deter men from meddling with other's wives so much, that this crime is very seldom committed here.

The Negroes are very libidinous, which they ascribe to their pardon-wine and good eating.

The pregnant wife is not allowed even the matrimonial caresses of her husband, till she is delivered; after which, if a male infant, it is presented to the King, as properly and of right belonging to him; and hence all the males of the land are called the King's slaves; but the females belong to the father, and live with him, according to his pleasure, till they are of age; after which he marries them, when and to whom he pleases.

Eight or fourteen days, or sometimes longer, after the birth of their children, both males and females are circumcised; the former are hereby bereft of their prepuce, and the latter of a small portion of their Clitoris: besides which, they make small incisions all over the bodies of the infants, in a sort of regular manner, expressing some figures thereby; but the females are more adorned with these ornaments than the males, and each at pleasure of their parents.

You may easily guess that this mangling the bodies of these tender creatures must be very painful; but since it is the fashion here, and is thought very ornamental, it is practised by every-body.

When the child is seven days old, the parents make a small feast, imagining that the infant is past its greatest dangers; and in order to prevent the evil spirits from doing it any mischief, they strew all the ways with dressed victuals to appease them.

If a woman bear two children at a birth, it is believed to be a good omen, and the King is immediately informed thereof, who causes public joy to be expressed with all sorts of their music. The father, imagining it too heavy a task for the woman to suckle both the children, searches out a wet-nurse, whose child is dead, whom he persuades, by the force of money or good words, to nurse one of his children.

In all parts of the Benin territories, twin-births are esteemed good omens, except at Arebo, where they are of the contrary opinion, and treat the twin-bearing women very barbarously, for they actually kill both mother and infants, and sacrifice them to a certain devil, which they fondly imagine harbours in a wood near the village. But if the man happens to be more than ordinarily tender, he generally buys off his wife, by sacrificing a female-slave in her place; but the children are, without possibility of redemption, obliged to be made the satisfactory offerings which this savage law requires.

In the year 1699, a merchant's wife, commonly called Ellaroe or Mof, lay in of two children, and her husband redeemed her with a slave, but sacrificed his children. After which, I had frequent opportunities of seeing and talking with the disconsolate mother, who never could see an infant without a very melancholy reflection on the fate of her own, which always extorted briny tears from her.

The following year, the like event happened to a priest's wife: she was delivered of two children, which, with a slave instead of his wife, he was obliged to kill and sacrifice with his own hands, by reason of his sacerdotal function; and exactly one year

after, as though it had been a punishment inflicted from heaven, the same woman was, the second time, delivered of two children; but how the priest managed himself on this occasion, I have not been informed, but am apt to think that this poor woman was forced to atone her fertility by death.

These dismal events have, in process of time, made such impressions on the men, that when the time of their wives' delivery approaches, they send them to another country; which makes me believe, that for the future, they will correct these inhumanities.

The wood before-mentioned, in which the devil is supposed to lurk, is by them esteemed so sacred, that they never permit a foreign Negro, or any of his wives, to enter it. If any person accidentally happen on a path which leads to this wood, he is obliged to go to the end of it, without returning before he comes there: and they are firmly persuaded, that if this law be violated, or that of offering the children and mother, or at least a female-slave in her place, the land will be infested with some severe plague. Notwithstanding all which, I have frequently gone a shooting in this wood, and to ridicule their credulity, designedly turned before I had gone half to the end of the path; by which means I not a little staggered the faith of some who saw that my boldness was not attended with any ill consequences. But the roguish priests were immediately ready at hand, with an exception, which was, that I being a white man, their god, or rather devil, did not trouble his head with me; but if a Negro should presume to do so, the danger would soon appear.

The multiplication of mankind goes forward very successfully here; which is not very hard to believe, since the women are not barren, and the men vigorous; besides which, they have the advantage of a choice out of their great number of wives; of which, for their encouragement, the fruitful woman is highly valued, whilst the barren is despised.

Menstruous women are here deemed so unclean, that they are not permitted so much as to enter their husbands' houses, or to touch any thing either to dress the domestic diet or clean the house, or indeed on any other account; nor are they permitted so much as to look into, much less enter several houses, but during this natural uncleanness, are obliged to reside in a separate house, though, as soon as that is over and they have washed themselves, they are restored to their former state. If they are asked who first taught them circumcision, and to believe menstruous women unclean; they reply that they do not themselves know, but that those customs are traditionally handed to them by their ancestors: and this is the common answer of all the Blacks.

The Negroes of this country do not seem so much afraid of death as in other lands. They are not uneasy at the naming of it, and ascribe the length or brevity of life to their gods. Notwithstanding which they are very zealous in the use of those means which are thought proper for the prolongation of life: for if they fall sick, the first refuge is the priest, who here, as well as on the Gold Coast, acts the doctor. He first administers green herbs; which proving ineffectual, he hath recourse to sacrifices. If the patient recovers, the priest is very much esteemed; but if not, he is dismissed, and another from whom better success is expected, is called in.

If these sacerdotal doctors happen to cure the patient, they are very much revered; but the sick person is no sooner perfectly recovered, than they are discharged without any respect: so that if the priests here have no other dependance, they are generally poor; because each particular person offers his own sacrifices, and performs the service of his idols without giving them any manner of trouble.

When.

When any person dies, the corpse is washed and cleansed; and if a native of the city of Benin happens to die at a very distant place, the body is perfectly dried up over a gentle fire, and put into a coffin whose planks are closely joined with glue, and brought with the first opportunity to the mentioned city in order to be buried. But sometimes a convenient conveyance does not offer itself in several years; wherefore the dead corpse is thus long kept above ground, as I have seen several in my time at Arebo.

The nearest relations, wives, and slaves go into mourning on account of the dead person: some shave their hair, others their beards, or half their heads, &c. The public mourning commonly lasts fourteen days. Their lamentations and cries are accommodated to the tunes of several musical instruments, though with large intermediate stops; during which they drink very plentifully. And when the funeral is over each person returns to his own house, and the nearest relations which continue in mourning, bewail the dead in this manner for several months.

The right of inheritance devolves in the following manner:—When any person of condition dies, the eldest son is sole heir, but is obliged to present a slave by way of heriot to the King, and another to the three great lords, with a petition that he may succeed his father in the same quality; which the King accordingly grants, and he is declared the lawful heir of all his father hath left behind him. He bestows no more on his younger brothers than what out of his bounty he pleases: but if his mother be alive, he allows her a creditable maintenance proportioned to her condition, and allows her besides to keep whatever she hath gotten from his father. His father's other widows, especially those which have not had any children, the son takes home if he likes them, and uses as his own; but those which he doth not like, he also takes them home with their children, and sets them to work in order to subsist them the more creditably; but entertains no matrimonial conversation with them. Of this last sort, here are as great numbers as of prostitutes in other countries. If the deceased leaves no children, the brother inherits his effects; and in case of deficiency of such heir, the next akin. But if no lawful heir appears, the King inherits.

The government of this country is principally vested in the King and the three mentioned great lords: the first is nominal governor, and the last are really so. Each province hath its particular governor, all which depend on these three chief springs, without whose consent they dare not act.

The crimes here committed are punished in the following manner:—Thievery is not rife here, these Negroes not being of the same pilfering nature as at other places; however, if the thief is taken in the fact, he is obliged to restitution of the stolen goods, and besides punished by a pecuniary mulct; but if he is poor, after restitution of the stolen goods, if in his power, he is very well beaten. But if the robbery be done upon any of the government, it is punished with death: in the mean-time as I have already hinted, this crime so seldom occurs, that examples are very rare. Murder is a crime that happens here yet more seldom than the former. Whoever kills a man is punished with death; but if the murderer happen to be the King's son, or some other considerable person, he is banished to the utmost borders of the King's territories, to which he is conveyed under a very strong guard; but none of these banished persons being ever heard of, the Negroes take it for granted, that their guard conduct them to the Elysian fields. If any person with his fist, or otherwise accidentally and undesignedly, kill another, and the dead person did not bleed, and his death doth not seem violent; the offender may then purchase his life, by first burying the dead creditably at his own charges, and afterwards producing a slave to suffer in his stead. This slave doomed to a reconciling offering, he is obliged to touch on his knees with
8† his

his forehead as he is killed, after which he is obliged to pay a large sum to the great lords; and this performed, he obtains his freedom; and the friends of the deceased are obliged to rest satisfied with this.

I have already informed you of the punishment of adultery; whatever other crimes are committed, they are atoneable with money: and the fine is proportioned to the offence. And he that hath no money, must satisfy the fine by a corporal punishment; so that where effects are deficient, the body must make good the fine.

In case of accusations which are not clearly proved, the accused is obliged to purge himself by trial, which is practised five several ways, four of which take place in slight offences and civil causes, and the fifth in capital and high crimes, as high treason, or all crimes of so deep a dye: this last trial is only allowed to be taken by considerable persons, and that too by the King's especial order.

The first sort of purgation is managed in the following manner:—The accused are carried to the priest, who greases a cock's feather, and therewith pierces the tongue of the accused; if it passes easily through, it is a sign the man is innocent, and the wound made by the quill will soon close and heal up without any pain: but, on the other side, if he is guilty, the quill remains sticking in his tongue, and he is accordingly pronounced guilty.

The second trial of innocence is practised in the following manner:—The priest takes an oblong clot of earth, in which he sticks seven or nine cock's quills, which the suspected person is obliged to draw out successively; and if they come out easily, it is a sign of innocence; but if not, the prisoner is convicted of the crimes alledged against him.

The third proof is made by spurning a certain juice of green herbs into the eyes of the accused person; which, if it happen to do him no hurt, he is thought innocent; but if his eyes become thereby red and inflamed, he is obliged to pay the fine laid on him.

For the fourth trial the priest strokes the prisoner three times over the tongue with a red-hot copper arm-ring, and from his being hurt or not hurt thereby, they pronounce judgment.

I have seen all these four trials made; but all the accused were declared guilty, and not without reason; for it would be strange indeed, if red-hot copper should not burn the tongue. The fifth and last proof, which doth not happen once in twenty years, I never saw, and consequently have it only by hear-say.

If any person is accused of a very great crime, of which he is desirous to clear himself by oath, the King's leave being first asked and obtained, the accuser is brought to a certain river, to which is ascribed the strange quality of gently wafting every innocent person plunged therein to land, though never so unskilled in the art of swimming; and on the other side to sink the guilty to the bottom, though never so good swimmers; by which means, if he endeavours to help himself out, it would be in vain, and only render his death the more painful. The water (being very calm), immediately upon a guilty person's being thrown in, grows and continues as turbulent as a whirl-pool, till the criminal is gotten to the bottom, when, as though perfectly satisfied, it returns to its former tranquillity. What think you, sir, should you rely on this weak proof? I believe not; for my part I should not; for I should, though never so innocent, be very much afraid, if not a skilful swimmer, that my innocence would not save me from irrecoverably sinking to the bottom; and I believe there are several of my mind.

The fines charged on these crimes are divided as follows:—First, the person injured by thievery, or any other crime, is satisfied out of it; then the governor hath his part; and

and last of all the before-mentioned great lords have also their share: for the King, whose ear it never reaches, hath no part thereof. If the three lords are contented with what is sent them, it is well; but they frequently send them back to the governors or viceroys, and in the King's name inform them, that the fines are too small, and consequently that they have not deported themselves in that affair according to their duty, giving them also to understand what they ought to have done. Those to whom these orders are sent, though they very well know that the King never intermeddles in these affairs, but that it is only the pleasure of the lords, are notwithstanding obliged to a strict obedience, and generally send double the sum they require, otherwise the lords would not fail to take an opportunity of revenging their contempt by some ill office or other.

Before I speak of their religion, I shall employ a few lines in the description of their musical instruments, which chiefly consist in large and small drums, not very different from those of the Gold Coast. They are shaped like them, covered with leather or skins, and beaten in the same manner as they are. Besides these drums, they have a sort of iron bells on which they play, also Callebasses hung round with Boesies, which serve them instead of Castagnettes; all which together, afford a very disagreeable and jarring sound.

Besides these, they have also an instrument which will needs be called a harp; it is strung with six or seven extended reeds, upon which they play very artfully, and sing so finely, and dance so justly to the tune, that it is very agreeably diverting to see it. These are indeed the best dancers I ever saw amongst the Negroes. The natives of Axim, in their annual feast, when they drive out the devil, have much such a dance, though neither so fine, nor near so diverting as this.

The natives here are not at all addicted to gaming. Here are no other games than those played with beans, and that only for diversion and pastime; but never for money.

Their religion is so absurd and perplexed, that I scarce know how to describe it; but however, to begin as well as I can.

They profess to worship both gods and devils, in human and brutal images, some of which are elephants' teeth, claws, dead men's heads, and skeletons, &c. Also they take every thing which seems extraordinary in nature for a god, and make offerings to him; and each is his own priest, in order to worship his gods in what manner pleases him best.

It is really the more to be lamented, that the Negroes idolize such worthless nothings, by reason that several amongst them have no very unjust idea of the deity; for they ascribe to God the attributes of omnipresence, omnipotence, omniscience and invisibility; besides which, ~~they~~ believe that he governs all things by his providence. By reason God is invisible, they say, it would be absurd to make any corporeal representations of him, for it is impossible to make any image of what we never saw: wherefore they have such multitudes of images of their idol gods, which they take to be subordinate deities to the Supreme God, without considering what sort of trifles they are, and only believe there are mediators betwixt God and men, which they take to be their idols. They know enough of the devil to call all that is ill by that name, and believe themselves obliged to worship and serve him, to prevent his mischiefing them. The devil is not represented by any particular image, or distinguished from their idols any otherwise than in their intention only; for, to the very same image they one time make offerings to God, and at another, to the devil; so that one image serves them in the two capacities of god and devil.

They

They talk very much concerning the apparition of the ghosts of their deceased ancestors or relations, which yet happens only to them in their sleep, when they come and warn them to make this or that offering; which, as soon as day approaches, they immediately do; if they are unable, they will, rather than fail in this duty, borrow of others; for they imagine that the neglect hereof would draw on them some heavy affliction. If any person in raillery tells them they are only idle imaginations and dreams, these will agree with them; but add, it is a custom of our forefathers which we are obliged to follow. No other answer is to be obtained from them.

Their daily offerings are not of great value, consisting only of a few boiled Jammes mixed with oil, which they lay before the images of their gods. Sometimes they offer a cock; but then the idol hath only the blood, because they like the flesh very well themselves.

The great men make annual sacrifices, which are performed in great state, and prove very expensive; not only by reason of their killing great multitudes of cows, sheep, and all sorts of cattle, but because that, besides, they give a solemn feast, making their friends very merry for several days successively, and withal make them presents.

The fear of bliss or torment in the future life, they imagine to be the sea. They call the shadow of a man, Passadoor, or conductor; which they believe shall testify whether he hath lived well or ill; if well, he is raised to great dignity in the mentioned place; but if ill, he is to perish with hunger and poverty; so that they send the happy and the damned to the same place.

Their false gods, or the trash which represents them, are spread all over their houses, and no place is free from them. Besides which, there are also several small huts erected without the house, which are likewise filled with them, and whither they sometimes go to sacrifice.

To conclude their ridiculous religion, I shall add a small account of their festivals, of which they have so many, and different ones, that they ought not to give place to the Romaniſts. Their great feast, called the Coral-feast, happens in May, at which the King himself is present. The celebration of this pompous festival, I this year saw at Benin. But of this more at large in the description of that city.

Their Sabbath happens every fifth day, which is very solemnly observed by the great with the slaughter of cows, sheep, and goats; whilst the commonalty kill dogs, cats, and chickens, or whatever their money will reach to. And of whatever is killed, large portions are distributed to the necessitous, in order to enable them, as every person is obliged, to celebrate this festival.

One day in the year they also very expensively celebrate the decease of their ancestors or relations, in order to keep up the remembrance of them.

They divide time into years, months, weeks, and days; each of which is distinguished by a particular name, and they reckon fourteen months to a year.

Believing that I have said enough of their idolatrous worship, it is time to vary the subject. I cannot say much of their wars; for notwithstanding that they are continually fallen on by the pirates or robbers, and their neighbours not subject to the King of Benin, they yet are ignorant of the art of war; for, being by necessity drawn into the field, their conduct is so very confused, that they themselves are ashamed of it. They have no officers or commanders, and each man takes his own course, without regarding his neighbour. They are so very cowardly, that nothing but the utmost necessity can oblige them to fight; and even then they had much rather suffer the greatest losses than defend themselves: when their flight is prevented, they return upon the

enemy,

enemy, but with so little courage or conduct, that they soon fling down their arms, and either run away or surrender themselves.

Their weapons are cutlasses or hangers, small poniards, Affaguays, together with bows and arrows, the latter of which are poisoned. They have also shields, but so light, and made of small bamboos, that they cannot ward off any thing that is forcible; wherefore they are rather ornamental, than really serve for defence.

It is now time to treat of the animals of this country. Here is no want of tame beasts, such as horses, cows, sheep, dogs, cats, besides poultry, &c. all which are equally good and cheap. The cattle here, though very small, are yet very good, especially those parts of them that are eatable with us, which are of a good taste. As for the remainder, the dogs and cats, the Negroes evince this truth also, for they eat them rather than any other beast.

Wild beasts, as well voracious as others, are here also in great abundance. Among the fierce kind are reckoned the elephants, and then the lions and tigers. This country is prodigiously full of the first sort; but I am not very fond of believing there are many lions or tigers, by reason I have never yet seen one of them, or indeed so much as one of their skins; which may nevertheless proceed from the great cowardice of the Negroes, who dare not venture on hunting them, and consequently have none of their hides.

Wild dogs or jackals are reported to be very numerous here; they also tell us here are monkeys or baboons, which are extraordinarily large, and will attack a body of men that is not too numerous for them.

Here, as well as on the Gold Coast, are all sorts of apes, besides eatable wild beasts, which are here so abundant, that a good marksman might live on the sport alone. Their quadrupeds consist of several sorts of harts, wild hogs, and others.

Amongst their feathered kind, the principal are pheasants, partridges, both green and blue, turtle and ring-doves, ducks, crooked-bills, snipes, divers, water-hens, and a sort of crown-birds. But by reason the Negroes neither very much love, nor are expert in the use of fire-arms, seldom any wild beasts or fowl come to hand, except they happen to catch them in a net. They sometimes kill harts and wild swine with their Affaguays, but very seldom; and whenever it happens, it is looked upon as something rare.

The river, upwards, is not well stored with fish; all that they eat here, coming from a place called Boca de la Mare, or the mouth of the sea, where they are dried and smoked, but most of it not being salted, tastes very ill, and stinks abominably.

The fruits of the earth are, first, corn, or great Milhio; for they have none of the small sort. The large Milhio is here cheap, but they do not esteem it; wherefore but little is sowed, which yet yields a prodigious quantity of grain, and grows very luxuriantly.

They sometimes employ the Ardra women to brew beer with this Milhio, but it proves disagreeable and hot.

Here are not many potatoes, but a prodigious abundant plenty of Jammes, which is also their most ready diet. They eat them with all sort of eatables instead of bread; wherefore they are very careful that this fruit be planted and gathered in its proper season.

Here are two sorts of beans, both which are very like horse-beans; they are of a hot disagreeable taste and unwholesome.

I never saw any rice here, nor do I believe any grows in Benin, though the morassy land near the river seems very proper for it.

The arboriferous fruits of Benin are two sorts of cocoa-nuts, Cormantyn apples, Paquovens, bananas, wild figs and some others, which are only known here, and are not extraordinary.

The soil, a little distant from the river, is extraordinarily fruitful; and whatever is planted or sowed there, grows very well, and yields a rich crop. But close by the river the land is not good; for though what is sown comes up, yet the contagious damps of the river kill it.

The inhabitants are very well skilled in making several sorts of dyes, as green, blue, black, red, and yellow. The blue they prepare from indigo, which grows here abundantly; but the remaining colours are extracted from certain trees by friction and decoction.

The Negroes here make soap, which is better than any all over Guinea; and by reason this washes very well, the Negroes' cloaths are very clean. You know it is made upon the Gold Coast with palm oil, banana leaves and the ashes of a sort of wood. The manner of making it here differs very little. That a prodigious quantity of cotton-trees must needs grow here, you may reasonably conjecture, when I tell you, that not only all the inhabitants are clothed with it, but they annually export thousands of woven cloaths to other places.

Thus far have I answered you on the heads which you proposed concerning Benin, so that I have only two remaining particulars, which are concerning the King's revenue, and whether any tolls are levied here. As for the first; the King hath a very rich income, for his territories are very large and full of governors, and each knows how many bags of Boesies (the money of this country) he must annually raise to the King, which amounts to a vast sum, which it is impossible to make any calculation of. Others of a meaner rank than the former, instead of money, deliver to the King, bulls, cows, sheep, chickens, Jammes and cloaths, in short, whatever he wants for his house-keeping; so that he is not obliged to one farthing expence on that account, and consequently he lays up his whole pecuniary revenue untouched.

Duties or tolls on imported and exported wares are not paid here; but every one pays a certain sum annually to the governor of the place where he lives, for the liberty of trading. The viceroy sends part of it to the King; so that his revenue being determined and settled, he can easily compute what he hath to expect annually.

The Europeans are here extraordinarily civilly treated; for the customs which we are obliged to pay for every ship to the King, the great lords, the governors of the place where we trade, the Mercadors and Fiadors, or whatever persons else who have any demand upon us, do not amount to above six pounds sterling, for which we become entirely free to trade.

You also desired, that when an opportunity offered to get to the city of Benin, I should give you a particular description of it. I have now twice successively had the happiness to see that city, which I shall represent to you in its present state; whence you may judge how far what Dr. Dapper hath said of it agrees with truth.

The village of Benin, for it at present scarcely deserves the name of a city, is the residence of the great King of Benin, whence the whole land and river also borrow their name. It is situate about ten miles landwards in from the village of Agatton. The neighbouring country is flat, as is the village itself, which is at least about four miles large. The streets are prodigiously long and broad, in which continual markets are kept, either of kine, cotton, elephants' teeth, European wares, or in short whatever is to be come at in this country. These markets are kept in the fore and afternoon each day.

Formerly

Formerly this village was very thickly and closely built, and, in a manner, overcharged with inhabitants, which is yet visible from the ruins of half remaining houses; but at present the houses stand like poor men's corn, widely distant from each other. The houses are large and handsome, with clay walls, for here is not a stone in the whole country so big as a man's fist. They are covered at the top with reeds, straw or leaves. The architecture is passable, considering it in comparison with Negro buildings, and is very like the Axim way of building. The inhabitants of this village are all natives, for foreigners are not permitted to live here.

There are several very rich men who live here, and attend continually at court, not troubling themselves with either trade or agriculture, or any thing else, but leaving all their affairs to their wives and slaves, who go to all the circumjacent villages to trade in all sorts of merchandizes, or otherwise serve for daily wages, and are obliged to bring the greatest part of their gain in trade or hire to their masters. All male slaves here are foreigners, for the natives cannot be sold for slaves, but are all free, and alone bear the name of the King's slaves: nor is it allowed to export any male slaves that are sold in this country, for they must stay there; but females may be dealt with at every one's pleasure.

I have already acquainted you with the employment of the great; but that of the ordinary citizens is to loiter about whole days, till they hear of any ships being come into the river, upon which they go thither to trade with what goods they have in store; and if no ships come, they send their slaves to Rio Lagos, or other places, to buy fish, of which they make a very profitable trade farther in-land.

The handicrafts keep to their work, without troubling themselves with the court or trade. Others employ themselves in agriculture, or some such thing, in order to get their living.

The streets being so long and wide, as I have said, are by the women kept very neat; for here, as well as in Holland, every woman cleans her own door.

The women here are as much slaves as in any place in this kingdom. They are obliged to keep the daily markets, look after their house-keeping and children, as well as their kitchens, and till the ground; in short, they have so much employment, that they ought not to sit still; notwithstanding which, they dispatch it all very briskly, and with a great deal of pleasure. They behave themselves very obligingly to all, but more especially the Europeans, except the Portuguese, which they do not like very well; but our nation is very much in their favour.

The King's court, which makes a principal part of the city, must not be forgotten. It is upon a very great plain, about which are no houses, and hath, besides its wide extent, nothing rare. The first place we come into, is a very long gallery, if it must have that name, which is sustained by fifty-eight strong planks; about twelve foot high, instead of pillars; these are neither sawed nor plained, but only hacked out. As soon as we are past this gallery, we come to the mud or earthen wall, which hath three gates, at each corner one, and another in the middle; the last of which is adorned at the top with a wooden turret, like a chimney, about sixty or seventy foot high. At the top of all is fixed a large copper snake, whose head hangs downward; this serpent is very well cast or carved, and is the finest I have seen in Benin. Entering one of these gates, we come into a plain about a quarter of a mile, almost square, and enclosed with a low wall. Being come to the end of this plain, we meet with such another gallery as the first, except that it hath neither wall nor turret. Some time since, this gallery was half thrown down by thunder, since which no hand hath been laid to it to re-build it. This gallery hath a gate at each end, and passing through one of them, a third gallery offers

itself to view, differing from the former only in that the planks upon which it rests are human figures; but so wretchedly carved, that it is hardly possible to distinguish whether they are most like men or beasts, notwithstanding which, my guides were able to distinguish them into merchants, soldiers, wild-beast hunters, &c. Behind a white carpet we are also shewn eleven men's heads cast in copper, by much as good an artist as the former carver; and upon each of these is an elephant's tooth, these being some of the King's gods. Going through a gate of this gallery, we enter another great plain and a fourth gallery, beyond which is the King's dwelling-house. Here is another snake, as upon the first wall. In the first apartment, at the entrance of the plain, is the King's audience chamber, where, in presence of his three great lords, I saw and spoke with him. He was sitting on an ivory couch under a canopy of Indian silk. He was a person of an affable mien, and about forty years old. I stood, according to custom, about thirty paces distant from him; but desired, in order to observe him the better, that I might approach nearer to him, which, though unusual, he smiling granted; and after he had beckoned me, I advanced to within eight or ten paces of him. There was no person in the hall besides the three mentioned great lords, the King, and a Negro with a drawn sword in his hand, that looked as fierce as a cabin sentry.

Whatever any person would say to the King, must be first told to these three, who then report it to him, and bring his answer, going thus continually to and from him, without any person's being able to determine whether they faithfully report the messages on either side.

On the King's left hand, against a fine tapestry, I saw seven white scoured elephants' teeth on pedestals of ivory, which is the manner that almost all the King's gods are placed within his house. I presented the King with a silk night-gown, with which (as I was afterwards told) he was highly pleased; but whilst I was with him, I saw no marks of his satisfaction, because it was brought to him covered, and he did not see what it was till after my departure; for every thing which is brought to the King is in like manner covered with mats, and before and behind these presents several Negroes march provided with white staves. All those who happen to meet them in this posture, immediately make haste out of the way, otherwise they would be very well beaten. This precaution is taken to prevent all opportunity of poisoning the King's goods, or killing him.

The coral-feast happened when I was at this great prince's court; which, though it affords nothing very extraordinary, I shall yet give you some description of, because it is the only day in the year when the King appears publicly. He came most magnificently dressed to the second plain, where, under a very fine canopy, was placed a seat for him; and there also his wives and a great number of his officers of the first rank, all in their richest dresses, ranged themselves around him, and soon after began a procession; after which, the King also removed from his throne, in order to sacrifice to the gods in the open air, and thereby begin the feast; which action is accompanied with the universal loud acclamations of his people. After passing about a quarter of an hour in this manner, he returned to, and again sat down in his place, where he staid two hours, in order to give the remainder of the people time to perform their devotions; which done, he returned home. The remainder of the day was spent in splendid treating and feasting, and the King caused all sorts of provisions and pardon-wine to be distributed in common to all, and all the great followed his example; so that, on that day, nothing is seen throughout the whole city but all possible marks of rejoicing.

I was not able to discover the nature and intent of this coral-feast, because the Negroes would not give me any account or explanation of it; their only answer to that question, whenever I put it, being, "We do not know any thing of it."

In the beginning of my description of this city, I informed you of its mean state at present, and that the greatest part of it lies desolate; which, indeed, is deplorable, by reason the circumjacent country is as pleasant as could be wished, where no interposing hill or wood rudely interrupts the agreeable prospect of thousands of charming trees, which, by their wide-extended branches full of leaves, seem to invite mankind to repose under their shade. The ruin of this town and the circumjacent land was occasioned by the King's causing two kings of the street to be killed, under pretence that they had attempted his life, though all the world was satisfied of the contrary, and thoroughly convinced, that their overgrown riches were the true cause of their death, that the King might enrich himself with their effects, as he did indeed. After this barbarity, the King found also a third man that stood in his way, who, being universally beloved, was timely warned of that prince's intention, and accordingly took his flight, accompanied with three-fourths of the inhabitants of the town; which the King observing, immediately assembled a number of men from the bordering country, and caused the fugitives to be pursued, in order to oblige them to return; but they were so warmly received by this king of the street and his followers, that they forced them to return with bloody noses, and give their master an account of their misadventure. But he resolving not to rest there, makes a fresh attempt, which succeeded no better than the former, which was not all; for the fugitive, thoroughly incensed and flushed, came directly to the city, which he plundered and pillaged, sparing no place but the King's court; after which he retired, but incessantly continued for the space of ten years to rob the inhabitants of Great Benin, till at last, by the mediation of the Portuguese, a peace was concluded betwixt him and the King, by which he was entirely pardoned all that was past, and earnestly requested by the King to return to his former habitation; however, he would not trust himself there, but lives two or three days' journey from Benin, where he keeps as great a court and state as the King.

The returning citizens were affably and amicably received by the King, and preferred to honourable offices, in order, by those means, to induce the rest to return, which probably they will not do, as being very well contented where they are; wherefore, it is to be feared, that the greatest part of this town is still likely to continue uninhabited.

This, sir, is all I can say of Benin: nor can I, at present, give you any account of Rio de Calbary, because I was not there, by reason of the great mortality which happened amongst our men; but I hope once in my life to meet with an opportunity of going thither. I pass over Rio de Gabon and Cabo Lopez di Gonfavez, because you yourself have been there; and for the same reason, I omit our arrival on the Gold Coast.

I have now only to add my wishes, that these observations may in the least contribute to your satisfaction, and assure you, that the writer hereof is very ambitious of being reckoned amongst your most humble servants, and shall continue so whilst

DAVID VAN NYENDAEL.

From on board the yacht, Johanna Maria,
Sept. 1, 1702.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TOOTH AND GRAIN COAST, &c.

LETTER XXII. — *The Author's Departure from Elnina, and Arrival at Acra, which he leaves, and sails to Cape Lopez di Gonsalvez, which he leaves after trading there, and sails along the Equinoctial Line; Arrival at the Upper Coast about Cabo Monte; the Author lands, and is very civilly treated by the Inhabitants: a Description of the King's Person, his Children, and the Multitude of his Wives. — The Industry of the Inhabitants. — The Vegetables, Cattle, and Fish of the Country. — They marry as many Wives as they please; their Habits, Religion, Wars, and Weapons. — Description of Cape Monte, and Departure from thence. — His Arrival at Cape Mizurads, and going on Shore; some Inhabitants of this Place robbed by the English; the Trade there; a Description of the Place, and its Inhabitants; the Women do all the Work, and the Men live idly; some English made Prisoners by them; a very fine River. — His Departure from thence, and Arrival at Rio Junk, before the Town of Corra, where he went on shore, and what he observed there; a Woman delivered of four Children at a Birth. — The Author's Departure and Arrival at Rio Sestre; a Description of that and the Village; of the King and his Subjects; great Plenty of Rice; their Trade; Manner of burning the dead. — His Departure; how the Land bears; Anchoring before Sanguin; Trade with the Natives, as also with those of Boffoe and Battewa, who are very thievish; the Captain of Battewa comes on board; his Character. — He sails by Battewa and Sino; Arrival at Sestro Crou, which is a fine Village; he sails by Wappo and Cape Das Palmas, and arrives at Druwin, where he trades; the Natives have very sharp Teeth, are very savage, and Lovers of human Flesh. — Rio St. Andrews is so wide and deep, that it is navigable with small Ships; the Inhabitants are barbarous, but the Country pleasant and fruitful. — The Author's Departure and dropping Anchor before Cape La Hoe, where there is a great Village and River; the Natives affable and very tractable in Business. — His Departure and passing Jaque La Hoe, and the Bottomless Pit; Arrival at Assine, but sailing by it; Account of the French Garrison there; Sailing by Cape Apolonia; Arrival at Axim, and Conclusion of the Voyage.*

SIR,

PURSUANT to your orders, this serves to furnish you with an account of our voyage, and the countries where we traded. But making but a few days' stay on some of them, I am not, therefore, so able to oblige you with a large account of the national constitution or manners of the inhabitants, as I could wish I were; so that I can only desire you to believe, that if my relation falls short of your expectation, the fault is to be charged on want of opportunity to gratify you, but not in the least to want of inclination.

After having taken our leaves under the salvo of a cheerful glass, we weighed anchor and began our voyage. Two days after we arrived at Acra, where we executed our commission, left that place, and steered our course to Cape Lopez di Gonsalvez, where we arrived without any considerable accident in our passage on the ——. I shall not describe this Cape to you, who have visited it yourself, but shall only inform you, that after having concluded our trade there, we left it on the ——, and inclined to the west, sailing along the Equinoctial, till we came high enough to make the Upper Coast.

About ten in the evening, on the 28th of November, we made land: and in the morning found ourselves about ten miles above Cape Monte. The land here bears low and flat to the mentioned cape. It is furnished with numerous villages; but not one Negro coming on board us, we were resolved to depart without anchoring and make for the cape, where we happily arrived the following day.

After which I immediately loaded a parcel of goods into the boat, and therewith went on shore, intending to try whether I could deal for any elephants' teeth, which sometimes are plenty there.

As soon as I landed I found the whole shore filled with Negroes, who very civilly welcomed me, and conducted me to their houses, just beyond the shore, making out three small villages, the whole amount of which was not full thirty houses.

As soon as I was come into one of these great villages, I was treated with several pots of wine, and desired to stay the arrival of their King; which I agreeing to, after having passed an hour, His Majesty appeared, accompanied with a party of men. I rose up in order to meet him before he entered the village, and to salute him with a profound reverence.

He, as well as the rest, bid me heartily welcome, and we went into the village, where we sat down together. After some conversation I asked His Majesty, whether there was any probability of trading to any purpose here; but was answered that they had not at present any stock of elephants' teeth; wherefore I was obliged to content myself with two, there being then no more to be gotten.

This King was an elderly man, as appeared by his grey head and beard. His name was Jan de Cabo Monte, so called from the point of that name. He was clothed, or rather hung with a brown cloak, and a woollen cap on his head; so that his whole equipage, if sold to the brokers, would not yield forty shillings.

I was informed, that he was blessed with sixteen children, twelve sons and four daughters. On each of the first of which he hath bestowed the government of a village containing eight huts; for houses they cannot, with any manner of justice, be called.

The daughters also did their best to pass honestly through the world; but their principal trade lay in relieving the travellers' necessities at a very reasonable price.

If the Negroes are to be credited, the King had not above four hundred wives, who all live with him in one village, about three miles in-land from the river-side.

This is a very fine river, which begins just beyond the shore, without entering the sea above once in a year, when, by reason of the great rains, it overflows. Its course is extended far in-land, and according to the report of the Negroes, disembogues itself into the river Sierra Leone, which is a good distance from this place.

The inhabitants of Cabo Monte are industrious to the last degree. Their employments chiefly consist in planting of rice, and boiling of salt; both which all the Negroes are obliged to do for the King, whose slaves they are accounted.

The product of this land consists of a small quantity of great Milhio, Jammes, potatoes and rice. The arboriferous fruits here, as well as on the Gold Coast, are Paquovers, bananas, ananas, &c.

They are not very well stored with cattle; for they have neither kine nor hogs, and but a few sheep; also not many chickens, but they are good. Here are enough of elephants, tygers, buffaloes, harts, and other wild beasts. Nor is there here the least want of fish; the river is full of them, and they catch them with large nets.

Each man here, at pleasure, marries as many wives as he can maintain, and by reason the women work hard, their keeping is not very expensive. They seem also

to live very contentedly with their wives, and not to be much concerned if they sometimes venture on unlawful pleasures with other men.

The habit of these Negroes is very like shifts, with wide sleeves, which hang down to the knees; or indeed it is more like a surplice: but the women do not wear this habit, but instead thereof a narrow cloth wound about their middles, and tucked in at their sides to fasten it, without being at the trouble of doing it by a girdle, as on the Gold Coasts; nor do they wear garters like them. Sometimes they shamelessly go naked, as if they were proud of what Nature bestows on them in common with the rest of their sex.

I asked them what religion they professed; and was answered that it principally consisted in reverencing and obeying their King and the governor set over them, without troubling themselves with what was above them.

When I enquired after their wars with other countries, they told me, they were not often troubled with them; but if any difference happened, they chose rather to end the dispute amicably, than to come to arms: wherefore their bows and arrows (their only weapons) serve rather for ornament than military uses.

This being all I have to say of Cape Monte, I shall take leave of it with only acquainting you that the cape is a very high mountain, which, as we come from the sea, looks like a lofty island separated from the coast. The country hereabouts is very pleasant, and also seems very fertile. The coast of Cape Monte extends south-east and by east, and north-west and by west, and is all over flat land.

We departed thence, and arrived on the 25th before Cape Mizurado, which is also a high hill, though not so high as that of Cape Monte. They are about ten miles distant from each other.

We cast anchor, but not one Negro coming on board, I stepped into the chalop, and went on shore; and after having staid awhile on the strand, some Negroes came to us; and being desirous to be informed why they did not come on board, I was answered that about two months before, the English had been there with two large vessels, and had ravaged the country, destroyed all their canoes, plundered their houses, and carried off some of their people for slaves; upon which the remainder fled to the in-land country, where most of them were at present: so that here not being much to be done for us, we were obliged to return on board, having not been able in two days time to come at above three hundred weight of teeth.

The land betwixt both the last-mentioned capes is perfectly flat and even; the coast bears as above. Two miles west of this place are three villages, containing about twenty houses each, which, indeed, were the finest I saw in my whole voyage. Each of them had three neat apartments, and covered at the tops, like our hay-ricks in Holland. In one of these houses are commonly lodged fifty or sixty men, women, and children, all which confusedly intermix in their lodging: the women are handsome, and, as the men inform me, are permitted to earn what money they please with their bodies. I found all the inhabitants civil and good-natured people. Two old men here pretended to be captains, and obliged me to pay seven pound of copper as custom. By reason of the injuries which they received from the English, they were so timorous, that they would not venture on board any ship. And if any person come armed on shore, they immediately fly.

The men do not much trouble themselves with working, but rather leave that to their wives, as believing they have sufficiently fatigued themselves with trading a little, mostly in palm-wine, which is very plenty and good here. They seem to give them-

selves no more trouble about religion, than their neighbours of Cape Monte, being very solicitous about nothing but eating and drinking, and making merry.

What hath been said of the habits, cattle, and fruit, of the former, may also serve them: they tell us they live in peace with all their neighbours, and have no notion of any other enemy than the English, of which nation they had taken some then, and publicly declared that they would endeavour to get as many of them as the two-mentioned ships had carried off of their natives. These unhappy English were in danger of being sacrificed to the memory of their friends, which some of their nation carried off.

I should now take leave of Cape Mizurado, if I did not find myself obliged to say something concerning the river, which discharges itself into the sea, and is five or six foot deep in the entrance, so that in calm weather it is easily navigable with small boats or chalops. It takes its course westwards three miles from hence, and eastwards directly to Rio Sestre, whither the natives daily pass in their canoes, and trade either in the natural produce of the country, or elephants' teeth, by reason that a much greater number of ships come to Rio Sestre than here.

On the 28th of — we weighed anchor, and left this cape, steering east along the shore. The coast bears, and the land shews as above, for five miles from Mizurado, where, at three different places, we discover different land; the first of which is not very high, the last higher, and the middlemost higher than both. We did not see so much as one Negro, or any village, till we were advanced three miles farther eastward, where, by reason of the calm, we were obliged to anchor, and towards the evening we saw fire on the shore, whence we conjectured that there was a village, and the natives made that sign to express their inclination to trade with us, wherefore we continued there till next day; but no person coming near us in the morning, we weighed anchor, and pursued our voyage till noon, when we cast anchor once more in Rio Junk, and stayed till evening, but saw neither Negroes nor canoes. The land hereabouts shews low and flat; but farther in-land, discovers three hills; the two first of which are situate west of Rio Junk, appearing perfectly round, and the largest in the middle.

The entrance of Rio Junk discharges itself into the sea, and at the point four high trees discover themselves, two of which are adorned with crowns or round tops, and the other two, which are the highest, are somewhat thorny. Hereabouts the land shews chiefly even and doubled. A mile east of Rio Junk, are two large clefts, which render this cape very distinguishable; beside that, it may be easily known by the multitude of rocks, of which the shore is full, and against which the sea continually beats in a terrible manner. We saw the fires made by the Negroes, to advertise one another, that there were ships in sight, but by reason nobody came on board us, I am of opinion, that they are salt villages. The coast here extends from east to south, and from west to north.

We sailed on till three miles west of Rio Sestre, where a canoe full of Negroes came on board us, who desired us to anchor before their village, which was situate in a pleasant wood, which I did, they informing me that they had a good stock of elephants' teeth.

This village is called Corra, and not till this occasion known to the seamen. The burning of the sea was so very fierce here, that it was impossible to come ashore with boat or chalop; wherefore I went into a canoe, in which, though it was filled with water, the Negroes carried me safe on shore. I was so desirous of seeing this new-discovered

discovered country, that I heartily wished to meet with a good opportunity of trading to detain me here.

As soon as I was landed, I asked my black pilot where their village or dwelling was; he led me about a quarter of a mile into the wood, where I discovered two small miserably-built ~~villages~~ ^{villages}, one of twelve, and the other of six houses, whose inhabitants, who were ~~very~~ busy in boiling salt, seemed to be wild-men, none of them besides my guide having ever, I believe, seen any white men. I could not speak one word with any of them: my guide, who should have been interpreter, was so ignorant of tongues, that it was not without difficulty that I made him understand me with words and signs. However wild and strange they might seem at first, they yet afterwards appeared very civil and courteous; for after I had walked through their country, I designed to return, because I saw no teeth; but an old man, that looked like their governor, would not suffer me, but caused my canoe to be brought from the shore into his village; and desired, before my departure, that I would eat and drink with him, which, being hungry, I readily consented to. The old man did every thing he was able to treat me well, after which he consented to my departure, under condition that I would come again next day.

These Negroes are undoubtedly happy in a numerous issue, and the women very fruitful, for I accidentally saw a woman laden with four children, and asking my interpreter whether they all came at one birth, he answered in the affirmative, which induced me to bestow a charitable present on the mother and her children; after which I again stepped into the canoe, and caused myself to be carried to our chalop, sending my thanks to the old gentlemen, and telling them, that if they had any goods to trade with, they might come to Rio Sestre, where I designed to spend some days.

As soon as I came on board, we weighed anchor, and sailed on to Rio Sestre, and arrived in the road the 3d of December. Before Rio Sestre the land is very low, and beyond it there are two high hills, one of which appears like a semicircle or rainbow.

About a mile west of this place, are two great rocks, and about as far eastward a point of land stretches into the sea, so that this place is easy to be known.

The entrance of this river from the sea is full of rocks, which yet lie six foot under water, wherefore it is easy to pass over them all with laden boats and chalops, except two of them, which appear above water, and are to be avoided.

The village is situated close to the shore, on a rising ground, and contains about sixty houses, which are very neatly built, and so high, that some of them appear three miles out at sea. The buildings here differ from those of Mizurado, only in that here are more stories.

Rio Sestre is a very fine and pleasant river; the banks on each side are thickly set with high and low trees. Several rivulets and small springs discharge themselves into this river; but what adds to the charms of this river, besides the trees, is the multitude of villages all along its banks; amongst which is that of the King, situated about three miles up the river, and composed of about thirty houses.

The King, who is a silver-haired very old man, declares that all the inhabitants of his village are really descended from him, which is very probable, they not being very numerous. He, like the great or principal men hereabouts, assumes an European name, which is Peter. He is a very agreeable, obliging man, and all his subjects are very civil, as well as very laborious in agriculture and the pursuit of their trade.

Their habit, fruits of the earth, cattle, and fish, are the same with the before-mentioned people.

These

These countries seem to live in perfect peace with other countries, for all hereabouts we hear of no other wars than a few skirmishes which formerly happened with the inland Negroes, who burned their village by surprise: but they took most of them prisoners, and sold them, which entirely ended the war.

The inhabitants, as I have already hinted, are very industrious, especially in the planting of rice, which is their chief employment. Rice increases so prodigiously here, that in a very short time we easily get enough to load a ship. Those above the common rank drive a perpetual trade in rice, Malaget, and elephants' teeth, though the quantity of the last is very small.

I cannot omit their strange manner of burial, having had the opportunity of observing an instance of it, in the interment of an old woman, during the time of my trading here. As soon as dead, her corpse was covered with a cloth, and the people of the whole village, neither old nor young excepted, came and ranged themselves in very good order round the corpse, and each of them was provided with a few Banana leaves to shade and defend the old woman from the heat of the sun. The men, in a desperate and distracted manner, run about the house of the deceased, continually and dismally howling, inasmuch that if she had been but half dead, it had been sufficient to have accelerated her departure. The women, which sat round the body, also began to lift up their voices, as not being willing to be out-done; and if I were to be judge, I could scarcely determine which of the sexes made the greatest noise. This jarring discord continued incessant for the space of twenty-four hours. But, on the second day, there was a small cessation; by reason that an empty canoe was brought just before the dwelling of the deceased, into which the corpse was laid; next which was placed a pot of rice, and another of palm-wine, in order to supply her, if she happened to be either hungry or thirsty on her journey; and after that the canoe was filled with all sorts of green plants. After this the mourning cry was renewed, and continued about half an hour; next to which appeared ten young vigorous fellows, who took up the corpse and canoe, both which they carried to the river, in order to be transported to the place of her nativity, and buried there. Which I at first conjectured to be in obedience to the last testament of the deceased; but was afterwards informed, that it was customary for every person to be buried at the place of his birth, though he happened to die at never so great a distance from thence; and that though the deceased had not left any effects behind to defray the expence, the neighbours were yet obliged to bear the charge. The old woman was then carried up the river and buried, and three days afterwards the friends and relations returned home, and brought with them a sheep and a good quantity of palm-wine, to keep the burying-feast. I kept near them, in order to observe them; but they no sooner saw me, but invited me to participate with them; which I was easily persuaded to, by reason I had been dealing for rice the whole day, and had not eaten. I ate and drank very heartily with them, as long as either wine or eatables lasted, thinking I had been very well treated, but next morning found my error; for the relations and the whole Company came and brought me a scurvy reckoning, and I could not get rid of them, without making each of them a particular present; when I summed up the matter, I found that the expence of the whole feast was defrayed out of my pocket, which obliged me to clap down as a memorandum in my note-book, never again to venture to an old woman's funeral.

This, sir, is all I have to say concerning Rio Sestre, which I should have gone farther up, and have more particularly visited the country, if any-body had been with me to take care of our trade, or we had not been bound farther. But the English ships generally come so thick upon this Coast, that without utmost diligence in my post, I could

could not expect to do any thing. Nay, at last we found trade here at such a low ebb, that we were obliged to leave this place on the 11th of December, not staying here above eight days.

Sailing then from Rio Sestre we found the shore plain double land. The coast extends north-west and south-east. Three miles below Rio Sestre is a great mountainous rock, on which grows a very high tree: this place is called Little Sestre; and about a mile and half farther east, a point juts into the sea; on the land next which appears a great rock, which is white at the top, and at sea looks like a ship under sail.

A little below this we dropped anchor, before the village of Sanguin, where we could deal but to a small value.

Whilst we lay here the Negroes of Boffoe and Bottewa came on board us with a canoe, laden with Malaget, for which they desired only Annabasses; so that I disposed of all I had to them in two days' time.

I found no other difference of the Negroes of Sanguin, than that these were bigotted to a very pernicious opinion, that dextrous robbery is very lawful and expedient; therefore we are obliged to deal very cautiously, for they readily buy whatever commodities they see, but are sure never to pay for them.

The land about Sanguin is easily distinguished by several high trees, which shew themselves eastwards of it.

About a mile east of Sanguin lies Boffoe, which may be known by a plain sand-point, is environed with large and small rocks. Here a Negro came on board, who called himself James, and pretended to be captain of Boffoe; he spoke a confused sort of language, being a mixed jargon of English and Portuguese. He seemed a great lover of the female sex, which was the whole subject with which he entertained us. He told us, unasked, that he had ten wives, and out of good husbandry graciously now and then bestowed one of them on his son Joost, who was on board with him.

When we represented to him the wickedness of such an action, and told him, that no place in the world allowed it, he laughed aloud, and said, "That they were, then, fools to insist on such a trifle; and that, as his people were better informed, they acted accordingly."

We sent these heroes on shore, and left Boffoe, in order to pursue our voyage.

About three miles farther, is the village of Bottewa, situate on the shore; and half a mile west of it, a great rock appears in the sea; and about a mile below Bottewa, another rock, very like the former, discovers itself; a mile beyond which, the high land of Bottewa appears, consisting of a multitude of high hills. We traded for some grain or Malaget, while we were sailing, without so much as anchoring; for which reason I had no opportunity of observing the country and its inhabitants, though I believe they do not much differ from those of Boffoe.

A mile and a half beyond Bottewa, is the village Sino, which is distinguishable by a great rock upon a sand-point, jutting a little into the sea; behind that is a great river, which, according to the report of the Negroes, extends itself far in-land, and is not much less considerable than Rio Sestre. I could not come at any farther information, for the Negroes speak such a barbarous language that they are not to be understood without difficulty. The coast extends itself here south-east and by east, and north-west and by west; the land is very even.

We sailed from hence, and came the 20th of December to Sestre Crou. The land is here flat and low, the village is beautiful and large, and rather larger and more extensive than Elmina. Behind it the land is higher, and adorned with a good number of large,

large, though leafless trees. There are two great rocks on the shore, about half a mile distant from each other, by all which marks this place is easily known.

The Negroes here seemed to be a good sort of people, honest in their dealings, and much more regular than those who live higher up. Their language is utterly unintelligible; wherefore it is impossible to learn any thing of their manners and customs. The cattle and fruits here are like those at other places, they being well furnished with both. The fishery and the fish are not at all different from those on the Gold Coast.

Having finished our trading affairs here, we sailed on to the village Wappo, about three miles distant from Sestre Crou. The marks of this place are several high straggling trees, which appear upon a high hill beyond the shore; the tops of these trees appear very red at a distance. Before Wappo a very large rock discovers itself, which seems separated from the shore, though really on it. As we sailed by the land, it appeared but faintly, if at all. The coast stretches east-south-east, and west-south-west; all, or at least as far as we could see of it, flat land, to about three miles west of Cabo das Palmas, where a point of land juts into the sea, which, at a distance, look like a dolphin, and hath a large village on it, and four trees in the midst of it, which we took to be cocoas.

We made our usual sign to invite the Negroes on board us, but none coming, we did our best to double the mentioned cape, which sometimes proves difficult enough, if we are too near the shore. We passed it notwithstanding, in the night, the 25th of December, and not observing any villages or Negroes next day, we pursued our course to Druwin. The coast from cape Palm to Druwin bears east and by north, and west and by south, about twenty-six miles, all high and flat land.

On the 26th ditto, in the evening, and next day, some Negroes, in three canoes laden with elephants' teeth, came on board us, and after giving them their Dasje, or present, I dealt with them for the ivory at the dearest rate.

I never yet saw more covetous men, or greater savages. They begged every thing they saw; and if we deny them, or speak warmly to them, as to other Negroes, they immediately leap over-board and make to land; so that we can scarcely trade with these people, otherwise than to considerable loss.

Their teeth, with which they eat human flesh, when they can come at it, were as sharp as awls; wherefore I should not advise any to set foot on land here, who is not fond of being buried in their bellies.

The land-marks here are very plain, and render this country easily distinguishable, partly by its height and lofty trees, but principally by reason of three or four large villages which there discover themselves, each of which is situate about half a mile from the other. Behind the last village appears a high point to the east, where the land begins to grow into a promontory, in which is the large river of St. Andrew, which discharges itself into the sea, and takes its course, according to the Negroes, westwards, and is so wide and deep, that it is navigable with barks, with which we might come in and trade, if we were but assured the natives would not molest us, which no person is able to give us a satisfactory assurance of, since here the inhabitants are the greatest brutes on the whole Coast; and whoever trades here, ought to keep spies aloft to prevent his being surprized by them.

These barbarians are possessed of a country which affords them an envied plenty of all manner of provision; for Milhio, Jammes, Paquovens, Bananas, and in short, whatever the Gold Coast produces, is here very plenty; and they have besides great abundance of kine, sheep, poultry, &c. as also wild beasts, and, indeed, want nothing necessary to the support of life; all which we may justly grudge them, because out of
pure

pure croffness they will not sell any, except the worst part of them, which they do not like themselves, and that at a very dear rate.

We find even in this age several who doubt, whether there are any wild men in the world so far degenerated from human nature as to kill and eat their own species; for they say, "If there were any such, they would not be distinguished from brutes by any thing but their speech, which seems to clash with the divine goodness, which endowed man only with a rational soul, that he might know what was necessary for him:" besides which, they take it for granted, that no man can properly be called wild, but such a one as like the beasts, separated from all society, passeth his life in woods and wildernesses, without any regard to divine or human laws; and that since none of these men were ever observed from the beginning of the world, they venture to conclude, that there never was, nor never will be any such. But this argument seems very weak; for experience hath long since convinced us, that there are men-eaters in the world. Antiquity hath left us accounts of it; and it is from time to time confirmed by a crowd of authors. Our North Holland preacher hath clearly proved; and though he is not always in the right, yet what he saith of the Brazilians and other neighbouring nations, is undoubted truth. But what need I to apply to other instances, whilst you yourself have experienced the truth of it in those in-land Negroes which come from the country beyond Ardra, who imagine, that we buy them and carry them off only in order to eat them; which jealousy would not probably enter their thoughts, if they did not certainly know that there were man-eaters in the world: and as to what they farther say concerning wild-men, I will readily own, that there are no such wild-men as they describe in the world, if they will but allow on the other side, that some men differ from the other so much, that some may be comparatively called wild, or brutes, which doth not proceed from this, that they as well as we are not endowed with a rational soul; but from their reasonable souls being degenerated by barbarous usages, and for want of conversation with civilized nations. Nor are examples wanting of men, who by accidents which happened in their youth, have been obliged to continue several years in the woods, which in process of time rendered them so wild, that they afterwards became afraid of and fled from all men. But enough of this, let every one believe what he pleases.

On the 29th we left this progeny of Cham, and steered south-east and by south; i. e. after sailing a mile and a half we came to the Sixteen Red Cliffs, which take up in all about three miles in length, and in clear weather are visible six or seven miles out at sea. I found here neither Negroes nor villages. The Coast bears as above; and from Druwyn to Cape Lahoe is about twenty-seven miles.

On the 30th ditto, we anchored before Cape Lahoe. The land declines here, and is very low on the sea-side. The village is very large, and seems to stretch about a mile along the shore. Betwixt the houses throughout the whole place are multitudes of cocoa-trees, as at Axim; and if this land were so high as that, and had a fort built in the midst of the town, it would not be much unlike that in any thing besides the largeness of the village. About three miles on land beyond the village, are several high hills; and a mile west of Cape Lahoe is a large river, which runs to the river of St. Andrew, and a great many miles into the in-land country, as also eastwards, though not very far; for sailing but a few miles eastward, our course is stopped by land.

The Negroes seem here affable and civil, and were very easy to be dealt with, only they held their elephants' teeth somewhat dear at that time. But that was occasioned

by the great numbers of English and Dutch interlopers, though most of the first, which had lately been here.

This place is as plentifully blessed with provisions as Druwyn, with this difference only, that it is better and cheaper. I cannot say much more concerning this place, only inform you, what the Negroes told me, that they were very populous, and were ruled by one chief captain or governor.

Having done our business we weighed anchor, and pursued our voyage to Jaque Lahoe, about three miles farther, the Coast bearing in the same manner. We were informed by the Negroes, that they had no stock of elephants' teeth; wherefore we resolved to sail to the Bottomless Pit (so called from an imagination that it really is so; but the contrary hath been experienced), about four miles farther.

The land from below, or a little westward of Cape Lahoe, to Jaque Lahoe, is distinguished in the maps and charts by the name of the Quaqua Coast; but wherefore so called I cannot determine, unless it be, that some compare the speech of these Negroes to the noise of ducks, which I cannot confirm to you, because I could not observe so remarkable a difference betwixt their language and that of other Negroes, as should make it sound like Quacking. The natives call their country Adouw, and themselves Adouwians; but we follow our chart and call them Quaquaans.

You are probably acquainted with the expert swimming and diving of these Negroes, which I have several times seen with surprize. Whenever they were on board, and I threw a string of coral, or any thing else into the sea, one of them would immediately dive after it, and though almost got to the bottom, fetch it up again. This they seldom missed of, and were sure of what they brought up as their reward.

We passed the night in the Bottomless Pit, and arrived in the morning at Affinee, which we guess to be about seven miles below the mentioned Pit. The Coast here bears east by south. Here are no elephants' teeth, but gold to be traded for; but we had no orders to deal in that commodity, wherefore we sailed by Affinee. Notwithstanding which, some Negroes in a canoe come on board me; I asked them, "How they agreed with the French?" they answered, "That all the Caboceroes of Affinee, together with their subjects, were gone from thence, and had settled a mile above the village; where they continued at present, without entertaining the least commerce or correspondence with the French, who had only a bare lodge on the shore, encompassed with palisadoes, and provided with five pieces of canon, and then guarded by eight men, who were well furnished with provisions, left there by the French ships, but were sometimes in great want of water, which the Negroes always endeavoured by force to keep them from;" so that these Negroes were of opinion, that the French, unless they received some assistance from Europe, could not long subsist there, but would be obliged to abandon the place upon the first opportunity.

Time will discover what part of this relation deserves credit, though I believe that the French are not in such a wretched condition as they represented them.

The Coast from Affinee to Cape Apollonia bears east-south-east; the Coast is in all parts furnished with great and small villages: but no Negroes came on board us; wherefore I cannot give you any account of this country or their inhabitants.

The now mentioned Cape appears to be low plain ground; behind it are three high hills, which are its distinguishing marks; without them it would not deserve the name of a Cape, than which it is nothing less, and would be sailed by without ever being seen. From hence to Axim seems to be about seven miles, though others think it more. The land betwixt both places is very low, and adorned with thousands of cocoa-trees. The shore is extraordinarily broad, flat, and looks as if paved with bricks, and

and is a fine road to travel on with coaches, or chaifes, as in Holland. At the end of this shore is Rio Cobre, about half a league above Axim; but you yourself being better acquainted with this Coast than I can pretend to, I shall conclude this account of my voyage, with humbly desiring your kind acceptance of my relation, assuring you, that I have not failed to note every thing which was remarkable. Wherefore, after requesting the continuance of your favours, I take the liberty to subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN SNOEK.

From on board the yacht Johanna Jacoba,
before Axim, Jan. the 2d, 1702.

HISTORY
OF
LOANGO, KAKONGO,
AND OTHER KINGDOMS IN AFRICA.

By the Abbé PROYART.*

CHAP. I. — *Design and Division of the Work.*

IT is surprising enough, that though our vessels habitually frequent the coasts of Loango, Congo, and other kingdoms in Africa, and our merchants have warehouses there, yet we know absolutely nothing of what passes in the interior of those states, and what the people are who inhabit them. We land among them, give them European merchandize, take in slaves, and return. No one hitherto had penetrated into the country as an observer; no one at least had remained there a sufficient time to make such observations as might be relied on. We judge of those different people by the inhabitants along the coasts; and because these persons, frequently imposed upon by Europeans, make no scruple of imposing on them in return, we accuse the whole nation of duplicity. They sell men, — we accuse them of inhumanity. Is there, then, so much more humanity in buying them than in selling them? But we do not consider, that the men whom they sell are enemies taken in war, and whom in many cases they might have a right to put to death. We believe that the father sells his son, and the prince his subjects; *he* only who has lived among them can know that it is not even lawful for a master to sell his slave, if he be born in the country, unless he have incurred that penalty by certain crimes specified by law.

But these are not the only imputations on those people; it is pretended that they are as dissolute in their manners as they are perfidious and inhuman in the affairs of life; and without hearing their answer to charges so grave, we proceed to arraign them, and assume conjectures and hearsay, vague and partial relations, as the proofs and testimonies. They are at once accused, tried, and condemned. Persons who have never considered their country but from the top of the observatory, excommunicate them, with map in hand, and pronounce their regions to have fallen from all hope in the religion of the true God. In a sentence so rigorous, founded on so frivolous an accusation, are we to recognize an age in which the dictates of reason and humanity alone are heard?

These people have vices, — what people is exempt from vice? But were they even more wicked and more vicious, they would be so much the more entitled to the commiseration and good offices of their fellow-men; and should the missionary despair of making them Christians, men ought still to endeavour to make them men.

* Paris, 1776.

This office, so worthy of a true philosopher, was never discharged by any but the Christian philosopher : so true is it, that humanity as well as the other social virtues, are more the offspring of the Christian religion than of the philosophy of the day. Missionaries were they, who, notwithstanding prejudices so unfavourable to the people of whom we speak, made no hesitation in leaving their country to establish themselves among them, with the intention, if not of making them perfect, at least of improving them. In this history we shall hazard no conjecture : we shall make no statement but upon irreproachable testimony. As they knew not the language of the country on their arrival, they had leisure to be observers, before they could become missionaries.

It is not to be expected that we should give a very extensive history of nations who, as yet, have neither acquired the use of letters, nor employ any substitute for them ; so that the present work will be, not so much a recital of what has passed among them, as a portraiture of their actual condition.

In this will be found the geographical situation of the places and the temperature of the climate ; the nature of the soil and its most common productions, vegetable and animal ; the character of the people ; their virtues and their vices ; their alliances, their occupations, their government and laws, their commerce and their wars, their language and religion.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Situation of the Country, and the Temperature of the Air.*

THE people of whom we treat inhabit the western coast of Africa, from the equinoctial line to the river of Zaïra, the mouth of which is about six degrees of latitude south.

This extent of country is divided into several kingdoms, the most remarkable of which is that of Loango : it commences at the village of Makanda : not at half a degree from the equator, as some travellers have stated, but about $4^{\circ} 5'$ south latitude. It has twenty leagues of coast, and terminates at the river of Louango-Louisa, the course of which is $5^{\circ} 5'$ of the same latitude. Bouali, the capital, commonly called Loango by the French, is situated about $4^{\circ} 45'$. The kingdom of Kakongo* called by mariners Malimba, and that of N' Goio which they denominate Cabiuda, are to the south of Loango. To the north is found the kingdom of Iomba, called by mariners and geographers Maiomba, but erroneously so, because Ma-Iomba signifies king of Iomba, as Ma-Loango signifies king of Loango. Eastward of Loango are situated the kingdoms of N' Teka, and another kingdom of Iomba, which is sometimes confounded with the former. Beyond these kingdoms are others, unknown to us, and into which no Europeans have hitherto penetrated.

As these different states are situated at no considerable distance from the equinoctial line, the days and nights are pretty nearly equal throughout the year ; cold is never felt there. A naturalist in his cabinet would conclude that the heats must be excessive ; but persons on the spot find them tolerable ; and it is impossible to avoid recognizing and admiring that Providence which has anticipated every thing, and which tempers and governs the great whole with wonderful economy. The year in these climates is divided into two seasons of nearly equal duration. The most agreeable and

* Some geographers call this kingdom Caconda. Malimbo is the port of Kakongo, as Cabiuda is of N' Goio. Thus, to call these kingdoms Malimbo and Cabiuda would be the same thing as if the English were to call France the kingdom of Calais, because their vessels touch at the port of that town.

healthy commences in the month of April, and terminates in October. During this time no rain falls; but in the night there are dews sufficiently abundant to promote the vegetation of plants. The sun, during six months of drought, would heat the earth to excess, were it not that the sky is most generally covered with vapours which intercept its rays and moderate the heats. The dry season is not the hottest; the summer is reckoned from the month of October to April. The heats in this period are excessive, and would be unupportable, especially to Europeans, if there were nothing to mitigate their violence; but they are accompanied with abundant and almost continual rains, which refresh the atmosphere; they are all stormy rains, and few days pass in which thunder is not heard.

These rains form marshes in many places, the exhalations of which corrupt the purity of the air. The natives of the country suffer not the smallest inconvenience from them; but Europeans, who are not inured to the climate, ought to remove as far as possible from those marshy tracts. The kingdom of Kakongo, for this reason, is much more wholesome than that of Loango, because not only the rains are less frequent, but the face of the country is so disposed, as to favour their efflux.

CHAP. III. — *Of the Soil, the Waters, and the Forests.*

THE land is in general light, and rather sandy; more fit for the growth of maize and millet, than for any of the kinds of grain which we cultivate in Europe. It is also very fertile; grass grows on it naturally to the height of eight or ten feet; but the Negroes know not how to husband and improve such good means: they merely work the surface with a sort of spade or hoe, and this in the rainy season. This slight culture, however, is sufficient to make the land yield an hundred fold, and often much more, of whatever grain or plants may be bestowed on it. A single grain of maize produces as much as eight hundred, and commonly does not yield fewer than six hundred.

In the country are seen many mountains, and some very high ones. They contain neither stones nor flints, but consist merely of an accumulation of the same earth which covers the plains.

Notwithstanding six months of continual rain, there are vast plains uncultivated and lying waste for want of water. To whatever depth they dig, neither tuffa nor stone is found. It is a stratum of compact argil, which confines the water to the interior of the earth: it is interrupted in certain places, whence it occurs that the waters subsiding gradually undermine the surface, and often excavate large and deep abysses which open instantaneously during the fall of the rains. The inhabitants of the country flee as far as possible from the vicinity of these moving grounds, which are left uncultivated.

The Negroes know not the use of wells, nor do they even dig any: it is from the lakes, fountains, and rivers, that they procure the waters they want, and sometimes they have to fetch it from a great distance.

The streams and rivers which water the country, flow, for the most part, through deep valleys, and are shaded by thick forests, which keep the waters cool and fresh. The river Zaira, which forms the southern boundary of the kingdoms of N' Goio and Kakongo, flows with equal abundance and rapidity after the months of drought, and at the end of the rainy season. It has been observed, that such was the case with the little rivers, and even the smallest rivulets; they are never dried up; nor is there even any perceptible diminution of their waters during the drought. Might it not be said, in explanation of this phenomenon, that the water of the rains with which the earth is impreg-

nated

nated for six months in the year, discharges itself only by degrees, and during a similar space of time, into the rivers, and the reservoirs which constitute their sources.

Forests of perpetual verdure cover a great extent of the country. All the Negroes have the right of hunting there, and may cut as much wood as they think proper: but they content themselves with collecting the dead wood, which serves them for firing. Some of the forests are so thick, that the hunters cannot penetrate them, except by gaps and avenues which the wild beasts make, in order to get to the plains to feed during the night, and quench their thirst in the rivers.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the Plants, esculent Vegetables, Pulse, and the Fruits of the Earth.*

THE people of these countries, naturally little inclined to labour, attach themselves particularly to the cultivation of those plants which produce most with least trouble; such is the manioc. Its stalk is a species of shrub of tender and juicy wood, which bears leaves much resembling those of the wild vine. A stalk of manioc produces every year ten or twelve roots, fifteen or twenty inches long and four or five in diameter. The manioc might be raised from seed, but as it shoots from the end, they cut the stalk into small pieces, which they fix in the earth during the rainy season, and which bring forth the same year. In order that the same stalk may produce, for several years in succession, nothing is required but to leave in the ground, at the gathering, some of the smaller roots.

The manioc is the bread of the people, and a constant food which the poor have always in plenty; hence no beggars are to be seen in the country. If, however, the rain were not to fall at the usual season, which, as they assure us, is sometimes the case, there would ensue a most cruel famine; for these people preserve no provisions from year to year, nor have they any means of procuring supplies from abroad.

They prepare the root of the manioc in several ways: after having let it ferment in water for some days, they cut it, lengthwise, into slips, which they parch; otherwise they make a sort of compost of it. For this purpose, the Negroes have earthen vessels with two bottoms; they put the manioc upon the upper one, which is perforated like a cullender; the lower bottom is full of water: they close the vessel hermetically, and place it on the fire: the evaporation of the boiling water cooks the manioc, which would be insipid if it were not done in water.

There is a species of acid manioc, which is never eaten till after the juice has been expressed, and the juice is a poison. It has been observed, that the copper vessels in which they prepared this manioc, did not take the verdigris even for several days after they had been used for this purpose. The leaf of the manioc also is eaten, after the manner of spinage. Besides the manioc, there is nothing which the Negroes cultivate with more care than the Pinda, which we call Pistachio: it is a species of long nut, which incloses two almonds under a very slender film. This fruit is sown in furrows: it puts forth a stalk which at first resembles that of the trefoil; but afterwards filaments shoot from it, which, after creeping some distance on the surface of the ground, penetrate into it by the summit. The stalk then shoots out a small yellow flower, which does not fructify: it is at the end of the filaments which have entered the earth that the fruit is found in great quantities. It is very good to the taste, but is indigestible; they have it broiled before they eat it. They also bruise it in order to make a paste, which serves as a seasoning for their ragouts. They express from it a tolerably delicate oil.

There is found in this country a potatoe entirely fimilar to thofe which are cultivated in our own North American colonies. The Africans call it Bala-n'-poutou, a root of Europe; doubtlefs becaufe the Portuguefe muft have brought it to them from America. It is of better quality and more faccharine than our European potatoes. The ftalk, cut to bits and ftuck in the earth, reproduces the fpecies.

The Ignam is a thick fhapelefs root covered with knots, which inclofe as many germs. In order to reproduce it, they cut it into fmall pieces which they rub upon the afhes, and leave them expofed to the heat of the fun; they then put them in the earth: each piece produces a long ftalk which they fupport with a prop. The root of the Ignam is more pleafant to the palate than that of the manioc, but the Negroes neglect the culture of it becaufe it produces little.

In the rainy feafon they plant four or five forts of fmall beans fimilar to our haricots. There are feveral fpecies of them, of which they can gather three crops in lefs than fix months. They have alfo an earth pea, the ftalk of which refembles that of our wild ftrawberry plant; it trails along the ground like that of the Pinda, and it enters by filaments, at the ends of which the peas are found; they are agreeable to the tafte, but indigeftible in European ftomachs.

The melons, pompions, and cucumbers demand fcarcely any care. The fpinage and forrel grow in the fields without culture. Near the villages and along the roads is found purflain quite like ours. Dogs'-grafs is not more uncommon there than with us, and the Negroes alfo ufe its root for making pifan when they are fick.

Our Palma Chrifti is very common on the plains. Tobacco feems to be one of the natural productions of the country; the Negroes caft the feed of it at random into their court-yards and gardens, where it fructifies without tillage. Some perfons, in imitation of the Europeans, take the tobacco as fuff, but all of them fmoke; and the men and women have their pipes of potter's earth.

Cabbages, radifhes, and the greater part of our European table-vegetables accommodate themfelves perfectly well to the foil; chicory alfo grows here as fine as in France.

In many provinces they cultivate maize or Turkey-wheat. It grows fo readily that in the fpace of fix or feven months they gather fix or feven crops from the fame land. As the inhabitants of the country know not the ufe of mills, they pound the grains of maize in a wooden mortar and reduce it to meal, which they make into a pafte and bake it under the cinders. Sometimes they parch their grains much in the fame way as we roaft our coffee, and eat it without any other preparation.

In the kingdom of Kakongo there is a fpecies of millet, the ftalk of which grows as thick as a man's arm; it bears ears which weigh as much as two and even three pounds. This plant is indigenou; they find it the midft of the defart plains, but few people beftow any particular culture upon it.

CHAP. V. — *Of the Trees and Shrubs.*

THE palm-tree, of all fruit-trees, is that which the Negroes account the moft ufe-ful: it grows to a height of forty or fifty feet, on a trunk of from fifteen to eighteen inches diameter. It fends out no branches, but merely a tuft of leaves with the fpread of a fan at its top. Thefe leaves, before they expand, form a large white lettuce, extremely tender and of a faccharine and vinous tafte. The palm-tree produces its fruit in bunches, each grain of which is of the fize of a nut, and is called the palm-nut; the

the skin (or shell) is yellowish. This nut is eatable; but they generally boil it in water or roast it on the coal, then they bruise it, and express from it an oil which serves to season their ragouts, or to anoint their bodies. Each nut bears a kernel, which is very hard, and encloses an almond, the taste of which the negroes deem excellent.

They also draw from the palm-tree a liquor which the Europeans call palm-wine. In order to do this they make a slight incision in that part of the tree where the fruit begins to form a small tumour before it blows; they stick into the incision a leaf folded in the form of a gutter, to serve as a vehicle for the liquor, which is received in a calabash, attached over night to the palm-tree; it is commonly found full the next morning. This liquor forms the common beverage of the rich; it has the taste of our wine when brought fresh out of the wine-press; it is pectoral and refreshing: they say, that it intoxicates when it is taken to excess; it acidulates in a few days. The natives of the country do not prefer any liquor to the palm-wine except the brandy, which is brought to them from Europe.

The cocoa-tree differs from the palm-tree only by its fruit; it also produces grapes; but the grains are of the size of a small melon. This fruit is clothed with a very hard shell, sufficiently solid to admit of beads being cut out of the entire substance. The milky juice which issues in abundance from the opening of the cocoa is a sweet beverage, and at the same time very agreeable and nourishing, while the solid substance cut from its shell constitutes a good and tolerably wholesome food. It appears that the cocoa-tree is not indigenous, and that it was transported from America to Africa by the Europeans, because the cocoa is called *banga n' poutou*, nut of Europe.

The banana is more common than the cocoa-tree; it is rather a plant than a tree, growing however to the height of twelve or fifteen feet on a trunk of eight or ten inches diameter; the fruit puts forth from the middle of this trunk in the form of a cluster of grapes, which we call *régime*. Each cluster bears from a hundred to two hundred bananas, and the banana is about eight or ten inches in length by about one inch in diameter; so that a good cluster is a man's burthen. A banana bears only one of them, and it dies as soon as the fruit is gathered; hence it is the custom to cut down the tree for the sake of its produce; but, for one foot which they cut there spring up several others. The trunk of the banana is invested with several layers of a species of tough rind, of which the young negroes make cords: its leaves are seven or eight feet long by eighteen or twenty inches broad; they are almost as firm in consistency as our parchment; they fold and unfold in a thousand ways without cracking; they may be made into parasols, and are generally used for covering pots and great vessels.

The banana is the bread of the rich as the manioc is that of the poor. It would not however be difficult so to multiply the banana as to make it yield an adequate quantity for the subsistence of the common people. A plain of bananas is never exhausted; and it requires tillage only the first year.

The banana fig-tree does not differ from the banana except by its fruits; they also grow in clusters or bunches, but they are not so long by half, and they have neither the same taste nor the same properties. The banana is a species of bread*: the banana

* The Editor of the Bishop of Tabraca's Memoirs on the History of the Kingdom of Siam confounds the banana with the fig banana. I know not whether it be to the memoirs of the prelate or to the oversight of the editor that this error is to be attributed; an error certainly not injurious either to religion or to society. But with regard to those indecent allusions and the odious parallel which the author draws on the occasion between the superstitious observances of the Siamese and the practices authorized or prescribed by our holy religion, it is to be concluded that he has consulted the repertory of the modern philosophy rather than the memoirs of the venerable missionary prelate, who, after having preached and testified to the faith among idolatrous nations, has just gone once more across the seas with an infirm body weighed down with the load of sixty years, in the hope of still snatching some more victims from hell.

fig is a delicate fruit. The substance of the banana is hard and farinaceous ; that of the banana fig is soft and pulpy.

The *lolo*-tree is a tree which grows to the height of twenty-five or thirty feet on a proportional trunk. They do not give themselves the trouble of planting it ; the pippins of its fruits cast by chance reproduce it in great quantities around the villages. If its root alone be injured it withers and dies. Its fruit, which the negroes call *lolo*, and we *papaye*, has an agreeable and saccharine taste ; it pretty much resembles in colour and size our green melons ; but it has not a similar taste ; and it encloses a greater quantity of pippins. The *lolo* is of the number of those fruits which belong to the first passenger who thinks proper to gather them. The missionaries used to make a pretty good soup of it.

The orange and citron trees grow very fine in these climates, and produce excellent fruits, but the culture of them is entirely neglected ; and there is but a very small number of them to be seen in and about the villages.

The *cazou* is a fruit of the size of a melon, which holds fifteen or twenty red oblong nuts, nearly of the size and form of a pigeon's egg ; their substance is farinaceous and very nourishing. The negroes never neglect to carry some with them when they go a journey ; a moderate quantity of these nuts will serve for their subsistence during a whole day. Apparently they are a species of the cacao, but the beholder is not within reach to verify this conjecture by inspecting the stalk.

The *tonga* is an oblong fruit of the size of an egg, which encloses a quantity of pippins of the size of a lentil. From fifty to a hundred grow upon one stalk two or three feet high. The *camba* differs only from the *tonga* by being flat instead of round. The fruit grows in Provence ; it is there called *berengenne*.

There is found in the kingdom of Kakongo a tree about ten feet high, which in the season of drought bears peas little different from ours in the pod, grain, or even in the taste.

The tomato is a small fruit of the size and colour of a cherry ; the negroes use it as an ingredient in their ragouts as we use onions in ours, but it is from motives of economy and for the sake of filling up rather than of seasoning ; this fruit, absolutely insipid of itself, imbibes the taste of the sauce without communicating any to it whatever ; it grows on a shrub.

The pimento is another shrub, which grows to the height of four or five feet ; its leaves, pretty much resembling those of the pomegranate, are of the finest green. Its fruit is a grain very like that of barley in shape, but thicker and of a dazzling red. This shrub charms the sight when it is covered with fruit ; the fruit is the pepper of the country ; the negroes put a great deal of it in most of their sauces ; but it is so violent that it burns the tongue and palate of the Europeans to such a degree as to make the skin peel off.

There are found in many wet and marshy places sugar canes of the same species with those of St. Domingo, but the negroes have no idea of cultivating them ; they suck the pith of those which they find, and some individuals make a trade of collecting them to carry to market.

On the plains are seen basilics which differ from ours by the height of their stalk, which may be about eight feet.

The cotton-tree is a shrub of the height of five or six-feet ; it bears a sort of large green fruits, which are clad with a down of about a line in thickness ; this down is the cotton. When the fruit is ripe it opens and displays several rows of pippins, the remainder is good for nothing. The negroes suffer the cotton also to perish, although it would not prove inferior in point of quality to that of America.

No vine has been seen in the country; but there are some in several provinces beyond the Zaira, and they thrive there very well. The soil of Loango, Cacongo, and other circumjacent kingdoms perhaps would not be less favourable to it; but the women, who alone take charge of the culture of the earth, and who are already weighed with labour, do not care to augment their task by planting the vine, the juice of which, moreover, would not be for them but for their husbands.

The fruit trees frequently bear fruits and flowers at the same time, and in all seasons; the greater part resume their budding in arid soils and even in the greatest drought.

The trees of the forests are covered with leaves at all seasons; the old ones fall only to give place to the new ones; some produce fruits fit for eating, others are perennially covered with sterile flowers, which scatter around, to a great distance, the most agreeable odour. There occurs in the kingdom of Jomba, which is to the north of Loango, a forest of red dye-wood. Among an infinite variety of trees of different kinds there is not to be found a single one resembling those we have in Europe. There are some of such prodigious girth that at a distance the beholder would take them for towers rather than for trees. The negroes fell those only of middling size; they hollow them into canoes of a single piece, which we call pyrogues, with which they go a fishing to sea and on the rivers.

Some of these trees are tender and spongy; they would resist the hatchet like the bark of the cork-tree; but they might easily be cut with a well-whet sabre; others are of a very hard wood. There are some to be found which, at the end of a few months after they have been felled, harden so much that they make anvils of them for forging red hot iron; it would be an useless attempt to drive a nail into the wood with a hammer. The greater part of these trees perish by age and decay; no one thinks of felling them, for no one would know what use to make of them.

CHAP. VI.—Of the Animals.

THE inhabitants of these countries, certain of always finding manioc in their garden, trouble themselves very little about what they might procure wherewith to make good cheer. They prefer to found their hopes for the kitchen on the fortune of hunting or fishing, for days of banquet and regaling, to giving themselves the labour of rearing at their houses, cattle which the officers of the king might at any instant take away. They rear pigs, goats, and sheep. Their pigs are smaller than ours; their goats yield no milk; their sheep bear no fleeces of wool like those of European climates; in other respects they quite resemble them.

They have ducks which bear crests, and are twice as large as ours; but their fowls are very small; they do not eat the eggs, because, they say, with a little patience an egg becomes a chicken. According to the same principle they say that the Europeans ought to pay them as dear for a couple of eggs as for a couple of chickens; they however make some small abatement in the price, and if you bargain with them too much they answer coolly that they will wait until their eggs become chickens. It is in vain to object to them on the score of what these chickens will cost them before they are good to eat, because they do not fatten them; the mother takes them away with her into the plain, where they live with her at large like other birds. Those who say that for the value of six sous thirty fowls may be had in the kingdom of Loango, are as grossly mistaken as when they pretend that fowls are sold at a pistole a-piece in the kingdom of Congo; but I doubt

doubt not that they deceive any body ; there is no reader credulous enough to rely on the testimony of an historian, when he tells him that thirty fowls which sell for a hundred crowns in one kingdom are sold for six sous in the neighbouring kingdom.

Dogs and cats are to be found in this country. The cats have a longer muzzle than ours ; the dogs do not bark. A missionary saw on the confines of Loango a bay horse which was bounding over the plain ; he was of good height, and very handsome ; he suffered himself to be approached very closely. At the moment when the missionary was regarding him, the minister for foreign affairs was coming by ; he stooped and told the missionary that he knew that the horse would be very useful to him in the journey he proposed to take through the country ; that if he liked he might make a good bargain of him. The missionary agreed to it, on condition that he should deliver it to him ; but the difficulty of getting to put the bridle on him terminated the business. The tradition is, that the king of England formerly sent two horses, a male and a female, to the king of Loango ; that this prince, after having examined them, ordered them to be set at liberty ; that from that time they had wandered over the plains and forests, where they bred young ones ; that the horse, which was sometimes seen near Loango, was the last of his species, the others being dead of old age, or having been worried by the tigers.

The plains feed a number of animals of all kinds ; quadrupeds, birds, and insects. No hares or rabbits have ever been seen there ; but there are two or three sorts of partridges to be found ; some of them have plumage of the brightest red ; those of every kind are as big as our hens. The quails and larks have nothing which distinguishes them from those of Europe. Only one kind of pigeon has ever been seen there ; its plumage is green, but its claws, beak, and eyes, are of a fine red. There is a certain bird of the size and pretty nearly the form of a turkey, but has a larger head, and bears, instead of a crest, a pierced horn like a horn *at tritrac*. A negro came one day to the missionaries to offer them for sale an aquatic bird, which was much larger than the largest that we see in France ; he had his load of it ; but hearing them answer that they would not buy it, he did not leave them much time to examine it ; they only saw that it had a neck as long as an arm, and that it was as big as a sheep. The eagles are like those which are shown in our fairs. The crow differs in no respect from ours. There is a variety of other birds of prey. At the season when the negroes set fire to the grass on the plains they are seen to fly over the flames. If they perceive any animal which has suffered itself to be overtaken by the fire, they pounce on him with impetuosity, and carry him away half roasted, without getting their wings at all damaged by the blaze. There are many nocturnal birds. The owl is as big as a turkey. The cuckoo is called *coucou* ; it is a little bigger than ours, and resembles it in plumage, but sings differently. The male begins to chant *coo, coo, coo*, mounting one note above another with as much precision as a musician would sound his *ut, re, mi*. When he has got to the third note the female takes it up, and ascends with it to the octave ; and they always recommence the same song. The swallow is the same with that which we see in Europe, but its flight is more uniform.

The sparrows breed numerously ; they fly in flocks like ours ; they chirp in the same way ; they are a little smaller, their plumage is finer and softer, and it shines like satin.

The grasshopper is of the size of a small bird. It has a piercing and importunate cry ; it makes a great noise in the air ; you would think by the beating of its wings that a bird of prey was hovering around. Another insect, of the size of a May-bug, is of the greatest utility in so hot a climate ; it is the scavenger and dustman of the whole country. It labours with indefatigable assiduity to collect all the filth that might infest the air, and makes small balls of it, which it hides very deep in holes which it

has dug in the earth. It breeds in sufficient numbers to keep the towns and villages clean.

The shining or fire-fly flies by night, and bears a pretty strong light. It might be taken in a dark night for one of those exhalations which we call falling stars. The missionaries have examined some which came to rest on their huts; they remarked their bodies were of the size of our glow-worms, and that near the wings they did not differ greatly from them in shape; which inclined them to judge that these insects might be a variety of the same species.

The grass of the plains serves as a retreat to an infinite number of rats of different kinds; the largest of which are of the size of our cats. Here are also frogs and toads larger than ours; and a snail of the size of one's arm.

The woods are filled with all kinds of animals. The elephants of the country differ only from those which have been described to us by being in general smaller. Their largest tusks weigh only from fifty to sixty pounds. The negroes do not dread them, and they never hunt them. The tusks they sell to the Europeans are those which they have found in the woods. The ivory of Loango is in great repute for its fineness and whiteness.

The missionaries have observed in passing along a forest, the track of an animal which they have never seen; but it must be monstrous, the prints of its claws are seen on the earth, and formed an impression on it of about three feet in circumference. In observing the posture and disposition of the footsteps, they concluded that it did not run in this part of its way, and that it carried its claws at the distance of seven or eight feet one from the other.

The lion resembles those of middling size which are seen in Europe.

The tyger is much more dreaded in these countries than the lion; there are two species of them, without reckoning the tyger cat, which eats field mice, the young of birds, and sometimes fowls and ducks. The tygers of the first species are called tygers of the woods, the others grass-tygers, from the place where they are accustomed to prowl for food. The grass-tygers are of the size of our great dogs; they hunt rats and other animals which lurk in the grass, which the uncultivated lands produce; they sometimes approach the huts by night to carry away fowls and other domestic animals; but they take to flight as soon as they perceive a man. The wood-tyger is much bigger and taller than the former. He makes prey on the strongest animals, such as buffaloes and deer; he couches for them as they pass, leaps on their croup, tears them with his claws and teeth and never leaves hold until he has made them fall beneath him; when this carnivorous animal is pressed by hunger, he comes out of the woods, and prowls by night round the villages, seeking to devour dogs, pigs, sheep, and goats.

Near the place where the missionaries are settled, one of these tygers having sallied forth at dusk from a neighbouring forest, carried off a little child whom his mother was bringing from the fields on her back; he then fled with precipitation to devour his prey in the forest. It is not safe to pass alone through a wood, without being well armed. The tyger has a keen smell and piercing sight; he scents a man from a great distance; if he sees him alone and unarmed, he draws near to attack him; otherwise he shuns the encounter. It is very rare that a hunter perceives him within gun-shot.

When a negro has killed one of these tygers, he walks about, as if in triumph, among the villages, supported and attended by his friends; he then carries the beast to the chief, who immediately pays him a reward proposed by the government, for him who diminishes the number of sanguinary animals. When a tyger has devoured some
animal

animal in a village the peasants are sure that he will not escape them the following night ; they tie the remains of his prey (if he has left any) to a stake ; or they lay a new bait for him ; they tie cords to it, which communicate with guns disposed in such a manner that they must necessarily discharge themselves on the tyger, if he comes to bite at the bait ; he seldom fails to return on the following night ; he falls by his own means. The discharge of the guns is the signal which bids the negroes go and dispatch him, should he be still alive.

The buffalo is not reckoned among the domestic animals as in China ; he is wild and ferocious : he wanders in the woods and desert plains, which he causes to resound with his disagreeable lowings and roarings ; he is rather taller than our common oxen ; from which, in other respects, he does not essentially differ. The buffalo does not flee before the hunter ; and if the latter misses his aim, and has not time to climb a tree, he is instantly torn to pieces. When this animal cannot wreak his vengeance on him who has wounded him, he runs about seeking a chance victim for his fury. Woe to the first passenger whom he perceives, man, woman or child ; it is all over with him ! Of a fatality of this kind, the missionaries were once witnesses. One of these buffaloes having sallied from the woods, turned on a woman who was busied in cultivating her field ; he threw her on the ground, and never quitted her until she had expired in a most tragical way.

The wild-boars multiply slowly ; they feed on the roots of trees and tender wood ; they are smaller and less ferocious than those which feed on acorns in our European forests.

The animal which the Negroes denominate a wild dog is a species of wolf, which much resembles those we see in France ; as he does not hold rule over the woods he is more modest than ours ; a man never fears to encounter him. He does not bend his view on the larger prey, these he leaves to the lion and the tyger, who do not even spare him when he falls under their paws ; for want of other food he sometimes browses grass, and eats roots like a goat.

The monkeys seclude themselves generally in the interior of the forest ; they seldom walk on the ground ; they are always seen perching on the highest trees. This however does not hinder them, when pursued, from making a deal of way in a short time, leaping from branch to branch and from tree to tree. The negroes aim less at killing the monkeys than at taking them alive, to sell to the Europeans. The way to take them is to strew at the foot of the trees, whither they are wont to retire, such fruits as they most relish, under which the snares are laid. The ape has always her young one at her side ; she carries it with her when she is pursued, and never abandons it but when she is mortally wounded. There are in the forests of this country baboons four feet high ; the negroes affirm that when they are hard pushed they come down from the trees with sticks in their hands to defend themselves against those who are hunting them, and that very often they chase their pursuers. The missionaries never witnessed this singularity.

The roebuck and deer are not rare in the forests ; they differ in no way from those of Europe. The deer are smaller than ours and have no horns ; the privation of this attribute is of great advantage to them in the thick forests, where they are continually liable to be hunted by carnivorous animals.

On the plains may be seen bounding along a stag, whom the smallness of his make renders an object of great curiosity. He resembles at all points the stags of the country ; like them he wants horns, he has a forked foot, a fine and limber leg ; he is nearly as big as a hare, but slenderer ; his size is from twelve to fifteen inches. Although he runs
very

very light, he is sometimes caught by hand. His most ordinary retreat is among the long grass of untilled lands, which are to him what the trees of the forests are to the others. When the negroes perceive him they take up a great quantity of cover, and, closing by degrees, hem in the stag. When this little animal sees himself surrounded, he no longer thinks of escaping, but suffers himself to be taken; but he is unable to survive the loss of his liberty; if he be not killed he soon dies of grief, or he kills himself against the bars of the cage in which they have confined him; his flesh affords delicate eating.

The forests are filled much more than the plains with an infinity of birds of the prettiest plumage; but richness of colour is all they possess, one never sees enough of them; one bears too much of them; their song is feeble and broken; even the nightingale does nothing but warble; he is larger than ours.

Pheasants and guinea-hens are very common. Parrots and parroquets are not more rare: the negroes take them from their nests to sell the Europeans.

They distinguish two kinds of turtle-dove; there is one not larger than a thrush which has ash-coloured plumage; the other is of the figure and size of ours; she has the same plumage, and her wing is the same.

The negroes do not yet know the art of domesticating bees, and making them labour on their account, by procuring abodes for them. The forests are the ordinary retreat of this industrious insect. The hollow of a tree serves him for a hive, and he there deposits his combs. The bees of Africa work like the bees of Europe; and from flowers entirely different extract the same honey and the same wax; without having their model communicated they copy it perfectly. On both hands there is the same wisdom in the preparations; the same regularity in the proportions, the same activity in the execution; there is no difficulty in perceiving that they are instructed by the same master. The honey which they yield is very delicate; the negroes make a regale of it; they suck the comb and throw away the wax. They do not stifle the bees to obtain their honey; they make fire under the tree whose hollow serves for their retreat. The smoke makes them come out; the honey is then taken; the bees then re-enter the same tree, or seek a dwelling elsewhere.

Here are ants of several species; there is one much larger than ours, she has equal foresight and application to labours; and it is in this country that one might more effectually than in any other send men to his school, in the words of the Sage. These insects in the time of drought eagerly gather food for their subsistence during the rainy season. In order to defend themselves against the inundations, they build, by dint of labour, small houses of glazed earth (potters' clay) which acquire almost the solidity of stone. The negroes, on overturning them, make chafing dishes of them, which are much like our earthen chafing dishes, and they have no others.

In the thickest forests, where the rays of the sun never penetrate, there are many serpents. The most common is that which they call the serpent Boma, which is about fifteen feet long, and thick in proportion; sometimes there are some found of much larger size. They told the missionaries that six months before their arrival in the country a little child had gone to the woods to take birds nests (almost the only occupation of children); his father finding that he tarried long, armed himself, as if for the chase, with his sabre and his gun to go and seek him; on advancing into the forest by the most frequented road he perceived a serpent of enormous size; not doubting that he was the murderer of his son he attacked and killed him. Having opened the carcase he found the child, enclosed in its belly as in a coffin; it was dead, but had received no wound. The negroes eat the serpents which they kill, and the flesh is not bad. When the Europeans ask them why they feed on these animals? they themselves ask, why the Europeans do not feed on them?

them? and they add, that if there is an animal which they ought to eat, it is most certainly that which seeks to eat them.

The rivers breed fine fish in great quantities; that which they fish from the stream of the Zaire is very delicate. There are also fish-breeding lakes in this country; there is one near the village of Kilonga, where the missionaries formed their first establishment. It abounds in fish of several species. Its carps are similar to those of our rivers in France, but more delicate. They fish up fine eels, which are much different from ours; they have a flat and very thick head; their teeth are not edged; and they much resemble in form and size the grinders of a man. Some rivers breed snakes, which are like small serpents.

The sea coasts are frequented by regular professed fishermen; they take most generally a great quantity of ray and soles of different kinds. Although they embark only in perogues they sometimes take very large draughts and great fish. I have had in my hands a jaw which must have belonged to a monstrous fish; its teeth are twenty-four lines in circumference by twenty-nine in height; they are fixed in sockets two and two lines in depth; they are pretty well-edged at the extremity.

On the coasts of Loango there is a species of mischievous fish, which often occasions damage to European captains; it has a head three times as large as that of an ox; it has a great passion for staving barks and canoes; it approaches the places where the vessels are at anchor; it raises its neck above the water; and if it perceives a canoe it darts up to it with impetuosity; staves it at the first onset with its head, and takes to flight; it disdains the perogues; and never attacks them.

The nets of the negroes are wrought much in the same way as those of our fishermen; they make them of a flax filament, which would not yield in strength to the best hemp; and this they procure from the banana-tree and from the bark of some other trees. It is not their practice to salt their fish, in order to preserve it. They dry it in the sun; if it be hot enough; but more frequently they smoke it.

CHAP. VII. — *Societies.*

THE people of these countries, like ourselves, inhabit towns and villages, and they present a most striking image of the origin of society. They are not drawn together so much by reciprocal wants as by ties of blood, which hinder them from separating. The families do not disperse, as with us, so that in the same town and even in the same village you discern an infinite number of little hamlets, which are so many families, each having its patriarch for a president. A family which finds itself too crowded and does not wish to confound itself with the neighbouring one, may go and settle on the first piece of land which is not already occupied, and there found a hamlet; it is the affair of a single day, in a country where the father of a family is able, with the help of his wife and children, to carry away at one journey his house and all his furniture, goods and chattels. The heads of families are the first judges of them. When any dispute has arisen among them, they confront the parties; and after hearing the pleadings on both sides, they pronounce a sort of sentence in juridical form. This domestic tribunal is the model of the other superior tribunals. The laws do not allow a woman to appeal from the sentence of her husband, nor a son from the judgment of his father; indeed, they never think of doing so; but in the sequel we shall see that from the tribunal of the chief of each village there is a power of appeal to the governor of the province, and, lastly, to the king.

The

The country is not equally peopled throughout; the towns and villages are most frequent along the banks of the rivers, the streamlets, lakes and the fountains; because, doubtless, water being one of the most essential necessities of life, they who have the choice of land give the preference to that which offers it naturally, and leave the care of digging wells to the last comers. Those great and superb towns which are to be seen, all built along rivers, have had no other origin; and if we could interrogate the first founders of Paris, they would answer that in erecting their huts on the same spots where we have since constructed palaces, they, like the people in question, thought of procuring a supply of healthy water to quench their thirst and wash their flocks; and had not the smallest idea of building a town, still less of kindling its future splendour by the ease afforded it of extending its commerce.

The towns are, properly speaking, only great villages; they differ from them solely in containing a greater number of inhabitants. Grass grows in them, as in the villages; the streets are merely narrow path-ways. A great town is really a labyrinth; whence a stranger could never get out if he had not the precaution to take a guide with him. The citizens have nothing which distinguishes them from villagers; they are neither better clothed nor better lodged. The female citizens of the capital go to work in the fields like the peasant girls of the smallest hamlet.

The vast forest of which we have been speaking would furnish the negroes with the means of lodging and sheltering themselves very commodiously, if they would only give themselves the trouble; they might even, for want of stone, which is nowhere to be found in this country, make use of bricks, which might be worked from almost all the kinds of earth which the land contains. The woods would supply them with the fuel necessary for burning them; but they are in no humour to take such great pains for a dwelling. Their *houles*, which we call huts, are small cabins made of rushes or branches pretty skilfully interwoven. The covering corresponds to the structure; it consists merely of leaves; they use in preference those of the palm-tree, which are of sufficient consistency to resist for several years the rains and the vicissitudes of the weather. The door of the house is worked into one of the gable-ends, which they take care shall not be exposed to the wind in the rainy quarter. The people know not the use of windows. It is well known that we ourselves, not long ago, had only very small ones, as many of our ancient castles sufficiently evince. Even now in many of our provinces old huts are found which admit the light only by a little door cut in the roof.

Any person in want of a house, goes to market with his wife and children. He buys that which suits him. Each one takes an article or piece according to his strength, and they go to put it in order. To hinder it from being blown down by the wind they tie it to stakes driven deep into the ground. A house of this kind has nothing disagreeable in its appearance; it is a sort of large basket turned upside down. The rich and knowing ones sometimes have their dwellings worked with a deal of art, and lined with mats of different colours, which are the ordinary tapestry of the country.

They who tell us that the inhabitants of Loango make beams to their houses of the palm-tree have no idea of such habitations; and they know not that if they wished to erect edifices similar to ours they might find timber of every kind in their forests, much preferable to the palm-wood for this use: The king of Loango's palace, as several authors describe it to us, bears less resemblance to the real abode of that prince than our palace of the Thuilleries bears to the convent of the Capuchins. They assign to this pretended palace the extent of one ordinary town, yet it is composed only of five or six huts, rather larger than those we have been speaking of; while the towns, on the contrary, contain thousands of them.

CHAP. VIII. — *The Character of the People. Their Vices and Virtues.*

THE author of the *General History of Voyages* expatiates greatly on the manners of these people, and also on their customs and usages. In his collection he has inserted different relations of what passes among them ; but after having perused them one might be led to ask if those who composed them had ever been in the country ? It is from this common source that several writers of our days have drawn the errors which they have published respecting the inhabitants of this country, and they have given us, doubtless unintentionally, imaginary portraits for indubitable facts. The more judicious among them, it is true, shocked at the manifest contradictions which they meet in each page of these relations, have contented themselves with extracting what appeared to them the most probable ; but even the little they have extracted is too much for any one who wants nothing but truth, and is sufficient to demonstrate to any one who has lived among those people, that they have not been painted to the life.

No one can thoroughly know the genius of the people without studying it, and such a study is not the work of a few days. A traveller, supposing one in good earnest, who travels with his journal in his hand through an unknown country, the language of which he does not understand, cannot acquire any thing but a very superficial knowledge of the people who inhabit it. If by chance he should for several days in succession be witness of some traits of cruelty and perfidy, he will represent the people as cruel and perfidious. If he should have taken another route, and witnessed some acts displaying opposite virtues, he passes an eulogium on their love of justice and humanity.

The relations of mariners are not always trustworthy, and ought not to fix our judgment on this matter any more than those of a traveller such as I am supposing. Not only does their business deprive them of leisure to become observers, they are not within the reach of becoming such ; having no connection with any except the small number of trafficking negroes who, from a spirit of gain and a greater facility of satisfying their passions, have corrupted the virtues which distinguish the bulk of the nation.

It must be confessed that those who dwell along the coasts, and the only persons who frequent the Europeans, appear inclined to fraud and libertinism ; but can we reasonably conclude from that, without further examination, as most historians do, that irregularity and double dealing are vices common to all ? We should laugh at the simplicity of an African who, after having passed some time at Paris without ever going a league from the town, should go and tell his own countrymen that our country people do nothing but drink, dance, and divert themselves ; because in traversing the villages in the neighbourhood of the capital he might have heard the noise of instruments, and seen written on the wall “ *here they keep weddings and feasts.*” This barbarian would judge of our nation as we judge of his.

Although the kingdom of Congo borders upon those of which we are now speaking, we have no right to judge of its inhabitants by comparison, and attribute to the one what we know of the other. There may have been a time when these people resembled each other, but that time is no more. No one can deny that the stay which the Portuguese have made in Congo must have altered in a great degree the innocence and simplicity of the manners of its inhabitants. I shall however take great care not to impute to a holy and divine religion abuses which it condemns, and evils which call forth its groans. We must shut our eyes to the light of the sun, and be in fact as ill informed in history as certain modern philosophers appear to be in this point, to be ignorant from what an abyss of corruption the Christian religion has snatched mankind. All that can
reasonably

reasonably be concluded from this decline of manners, which has followed the preaching of the gospel in Congo and elsewhere, is, that if it be worthy the zeal of a Christian prince to favour the propagation of the faith among infidel nations, it is also worthy of his prudence and his duty not to destroy with one hand what he builds up with the other, by sending on the track of the missionaries a set of men who have nothing of the Christian but the name, which they dishonour, and whose worse than heathenish conduct makes the idolaters doubt whether the gods whom they worship be not preferable even to that of the Christian. Religion, such is the might of the empire of grace, had never ceased to make some progress in Congo; and among all the licentiousness to which the Portuguese abandoned themselves, barbarians who had become Christians recalled them to a sense of their duty, and condemned their excesses by the practice of contrary virtues. But since the natives of the country have driven out the Portuguese, and they no longer receive any but missionaries among them; the latter find it a much more easy task to persuade them to the practice of evangelical morality. Cardinal Castelli, president of the congregation of the Propaganda, writes from Rome to the prefect of the mission of Loango, that there are actually more than one hundred thousand Christians in the single kingdom of Congo. But the Capuchins, who, since the dissolution of the Jesuits, have succeeded to the charge of this vast and laborious mission, beginning themselves to be in want of subjects, this flourishing branch of Christianity, if the hand which first formed it do not still support it, runs the risque of seeing itself destitute in a short time of the most needful helps.

They who give to the negroes of Loango, Kakongo, and other neighbouring states, the characters and manners of the slaves whom we draw from among them for our colonies, are the most grossly mistaken of all; since they judge of a nation by its most deadly enemies, and by the most desperate of its subjects. If they do sell us some slaves of the country, they are those whom their crimes have rendered unworthy of being citizens. But most of those whom we buy are taken in war from other savage nations, and who sympathize so little with the people in question, that they have never had either peace or truce with them. Those slaves in general have many bad qualities without any mixture of good ones: they must be made into good men before any thing can be done towards making them Christians. They frequently preserve during life their native ferocity, and the despair of slavery seems to close their heart against virtue.

The missionaries, since their settlement among nations whom the holy see has confided to their zeal, have applied themselves by living and conversing among them, to the task of ascertaining their genius and manners, their qualities of mind and heart, their vices and virtues; and the result of their observations seems to me to form a strong prepossession for them.

These people, generally speaking, have no application; but they seem capable of acquiring that habit, as it is always necessary which commands application; and as they have scarcely any necessities, it is natural that their minds should remain in a sort of inertness, or that it should be never exercised except on frivolous objects, which amuse without engaging. Those who trade, or who have the management of public affairs, want neither application nor activity, and the people themselves as soon as you present to them an object capable of arousing and interesting them, such as religion, will engage in and pursue it; as experience has already shewn.

Sloth of body with them generally accompanies mental idleness. This vice however does not necessarily affect the nation, since it does not belong to the weaker sex. The women, inured from childhood to the hardest toils of husbandry, give themselves up to it with indefatigable ardour. The heat, it is true, invites man to repose, but a

powerful interest awakes him, and renders him superior to the climate and to himself. Our own country people are never more active than in the season of the greatest heats, because it is that of harvest. It is known that the people of ancient *Latium* inhabited the mild climate of Italy; and their patriotism led them to triumph over the warlike hordes of the north. The christian religion, which forbids idleness, and which is unwilling that society should support that person who refuses to labour for it, would infensibly induce men to labour, as education accustoms women to it; this is seen among the christians of Congo.

These defects, which are not irremediable, and which circumstances seem still to excuse, are moreover amply compensated by natural qualities and moral virtues, which in heathens are truly worthy of admiration. They are remarkable for a sound and penetrating mind; when the truths of the Faith are explained to them, some make objections specious enough; others make reflections full of good sense, or ask ingenious questions, which shew that they perfectly comprehend what is proposed to them.

They are endowed with a happy memory. The missionaries saw some who within a month have repeated God's commandments which they had heard only once recited in a public place. They make no use however of this faculty, for transmitting to future ages what passes among them that is memorable, assuming as a principle that they should confine themselves to what is strictly necessary, as well for knowledge as for the wants of life; they all live, with regard to history, in that indifference which characterizes the inhabitants of our country places, who know no more of what passed in France under Louis the Great, than under Julius Cæsar. If you ask them why they do not preserve the remembrance of what has been done by their fathers? they answer, that it signifies little to know how the dead have lived; the main point is, that the living should be honest people. According to the same principle, they keep no account of their age: "It would be," say they, "loading one's memory with an useless reckoning, since it does not hinder us from dying, and gives us no insight into the term of one's life." They regard death as a precipice to which man hastens blindfold, so that it is of no use to him to count his steps, because he can neither perceive when he comes to the last, nor can he avoid it; that is no bad excuse for their ignorance and idleness.

The people of these countries, men and women, are very fond of talking and singing; whence it would appear that nature is not consistent with herself; for all the other animals are silent night and day. No song of birds is heard in the forests; the cock never awakes his master, even the dogs cannot bark. But amid this general silence, the women as they till the field make it echo with their rustic songs; and the men pass their time in telling stories, and in discoursing on the most trifling topics. The afternoon is their particular time for holding their assemblies under the shade of a spreading tufted tree. They sit on the ground in circles, cross legged. Most of them have a pipe in their mouths. Those who have palm wine bring some with them; and now and then they interrupt the speaking to drink a draught, passing the calabash round. He who begins the conversation sometimes speaks a quarter of an hour at a time. Every one listens in deep silence; another takes up the talk, and they listen in the same manner; no one who speaks is ever interrupted. But when he has ceased to utter his rattle, the person whose turn it is to speak has a right to oppose him and utter his own. To see the fury which they throw into their declamations one would think they were discussing the most thorny subjects, and it is a matter of great surprise when on lending an ear, one finds that the argument is a wretched earthen pot or a bird's feather, or some ridiculous and superstitious observances. Any one who attends their conversation and does not understand the language, might easily take it for a child's play. The have a

usage among them singular enough, and well devised for keeping awake the attention of the hearers, and give a zest to conversations in themselves so stale; when they speak in public they express numbers by gestures. He, for example, who would say, "I have seen six parrots and four partridges," says simply "I have seen . . . parrots and . . . partridges," and he makes at the same time two signs, one of which tells for six and the other for four, at the same time all present cry out *six, four*, and the talker goes on. If any one would seem puzzled, or pronounces after the rest, they would suppose him to have been asleep or in a reverie, and he would be considered impolite.

These people are very mild. Disputes and contests are rare among them; and they seldom or never come to blows. If they cannot agree they go and find a judge, who reconciles them in an instant. What a modern Historian says*, that the inhabitants of Loango immolate their slaves to the manes of their kings, is an assertion destitute of the slightest foundation. They have not even an idea of those abominable sacrifices.

The trafficking negroes, who inhabit the coasts, are for the greater part mistrustful and self-interested, even to roguery. Holding as a principle that all the whites are accountable one for another, they would make no scruple of cheating a Frenchman if they could; because ten years before they themselves would have cheated the English. But rapine and duplicity are by no means the character of the nation. On the contrary it is remarked that those who inhabit the interior of the lands, unite to a great deal of justice and frankness, a disinterestedness which may be called excessive. They literally follow the precept of the Gospel, not to take thought for the morrow. They do not even surmise that food and clothing ever can fail. They are always ready to share the little they have with those whom they know to be in need. If they have been fortunate in hunting or fishing, or have procured something rare, they immediately run and tell their friends and neighbours, taking to each his share. They would choose to stint themselves rather than not give them this proof of their friendship. The reproach of avarice is the most cutting that can be made to any of them, and no species of flattery is more agreeable than to praise them for their freedom in giving; and to say that they always give with open hand. They call the Europeans *close fists*, because they give nothing for nothing.

Politeness is not foreign to them. They anticipate each other with reciprocal deferences. They are especially attentive to the manner of giving and receiving salutations. If it be an equal that they meet, they make one genuflection, rise and clap their hands. He who meets a man who is markedly his superior, prostrates himself, bows his head, touches the ground with the ends of his fingers, draws them to his mouth, and, as he lifts them up, claps his hands. The person thus saluted, be it a prince or even a king, never avoids returning the salute, making the genuflection and clapping hands.

They are humane and obliging even to strangers, and to those from whom they have nothing to expect in return. They have no inns among them. A traveller who passes through a village at the hour of repast, enters, without ceremony, into the first hut, and is quite welcome.

The master of the house regales him with the best he has; and after he has reposed awhile conducts him on his way. The missionaries often undertake their journeys without provisions, or merchandize wherewith to procure any; they are humanely and hospitably received every where, nor have they ever wanted any of the necessaries of life.

When a negro perceives that his guest does not eat heartily, he picks out the best morsel in the dish, bites of it, and presents him the rest, saying "Eat, and take my word for it." This politeness is very far from our manners, but it is quite true to nature; one may see two little children in an orchard give and take the fruits that they have first tasted by setting their teeth in them.

During the last war we had with England, a French ship having run aground on the coast of Loango, two or three sailors saved themselves by swimming, and retired into a village called Loubou. The inhabitants of the place received them kindly, and provided generously for their wants. They lodged, fed and clothed them for several years, without requiring any labour from them; all their occupation was to go and walk along the coast, and when they discovered a vessel, they used to inform the negroes, who put them into a perogue to go and reconnoiter her. If she was English, they returned with great haste, for fear lest their guests should fall into the hands of their enemies. They conducted themselves towards the sailors in this manner until they found a favourable opportunity of returning to France, without ever expressing any grudge at the expense which their sojourn occasioned. It was in the very village where this took place that the missionaries heard of it.

In one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, the prefect of the mission received a visit from a naval officer, who said, that having learnt that some French priests had arrived at Loango, he had repaired thither to confess himself, and to render thanks unto God along with them, for his having escaped the most imminent danger. He told them he had embarked in a ship from St. Malo; that the captain of it, seeing a floating island which pressed close upon his quarter, had sent out a canoe with four sailors, to cut grass on it; but that they, being drawn by the violence of the currents, had struggled against the waves for four days and four nights, without being able to regain their ship; that at length on the fifth day, the wind drove their boat on shore. Of the four sailors who accompanied the officer, two had died of hunger and fatigue; a third had expired on the coast on getting out of the canoe. The officer and the sailor who were left, trailed on as well as they could to the next village. The inhabitants hastened to comfort them, and treated them very hospitably in every respect. When they were disposed to quit the place, the people assured them that they might still stay as long as they pleased, without fear of being chargeable to any one. They laid in no provision of food when they set out from Loango; the people in all the villages where they stopt, offered them liberally whatever they wanted; and this treatment they met with along their whole course, to the end of their journey.

These people are poor, compared with us; but in truth, he who wants nothing is as rich as he who has every thing in plenty, and he lives much more contented. In our way of life, we should think that man the most to be pitied, who had not the means of procuring a bed to lie on, or seat to sit on: at Loango, it would be sentencing a man to actual punishment to oblige him to pass one night in a good bed, or to remain two hours in an arm-chair. The Mateia of Kakongo, one of the most powerful princes in the kingdom, has an apartment furnished in the European style; there are beds, commodes, beaufets garnished with silver mountings. The prince offers seats to the Europeans who go to visit him; as for himself, he finds it much more convenient to sit on the ground, according to the custom of the country. With these people, nothing is known either of houses of office, cellars, granaries or wardrobes. In entering a hut you perceive a mat, which is the master's bed, his table, and his seats; some earthen vessels, which constitute his kitchen tackle; some roots and fruits, these are his belly-provisions. When they take a piece of game or a fish, they make a ragout of it,

it, which Europeans deem detestable, but to their taste it is delicious. If hunting or fishing furnishes them nothing for their table, they stick to their roots and fruits; and they always appear content with what they are eating. If a stranger comes upon them, and they have only manioc to offer him, they make no excuse for making him partake such poor cheer; supposing that he ought to think it is because they have nothing better to offer him.

Reared in the midst of plenty, or at least in a good opinion of our own comforts of life, and of the wealth which procures them, we feel ourselves naturally led to despise a people so simple and poor; but if, they themselves understanding that we are the laborious artificers of a thousand wants which they never experienced; if, witnessing our delicacies, our profusions, and the luxuries of our tables, they paid us back scorn for scorn, and said they were wiser than we were, I should doubt whether an impartial umpire would decide the difference in our favour.

It is an opinion which daily gains credit, that licentiousness of manners among these people is carried to very dissoluteness; thus aver the modern authors who treat on this country. Pretended travellers, sporting with the good faith of the public, are not afraid of stating, that prostitutions, adultery, and the most monstrous excesses of debauchery, are tricks of custom among them, to such a degree, that husbands themselves favour the lightness of their wives, and that the obsequies of their dead are celebrated by abominations and infamy. A mercenary writer has little respect for truth, when he finds his account in disguising it. Such is the case here; he is sure of giving pleasure by licentious tales to that numerous class of frivolous and libertine readers, who seize with avidity all that seems to ennoble their weakness, or to extend over thousands the empire of those passions which rule them. And notwithstanding, it is after these calumnious relations that systems are built, and hence we affirm very gravely, that the Christian religion can never be the religion of all climates; for the chastity which it prescribes, forms an invincible obstacle to its establishment in torrid climates, and under the burning zone.

But they, who from the recesses of their cabinets, calculate, after their own way; the influence of climate on manners, and who make no difficulty in assigning (compass in hand) the regions beyond which the worship and religion of the true God cannot be extended; those pretended sages, I say, ought to take heed how they thus constitute themselves accusers and judges of the Divinity; for, supposing that they belong not to that horde of madmen, who regard the universe as the production of a blind agent, or the sport of chance, I would only wish to say this, to confound them, "explain to us how it could have happened, that he who has ordained times and formed seasons; who has divided the climates and presided over the general economy of the universe, should have so strangely miscalculated to his own disadvantage, by offering an abode to a great portion of his creatures, in regions where his name could never be known aright, and where his law would be despised?" But providence has justified itself from this reproach, long before any one thought of making it. No one can be ignorant that it was in the hottest climates that the Christian religion operated the greatest miracles; it was in the midst of the arid deserts and burning sands of the Thebais, that during many ages, whole millions of solitary men, before the admiring eyes of the whole world, preserved the most perfect chastity, and led a life totally angelic.

But whatever may be the result of observations made on other people, they cannot destroy those which the missionaries have made for many years, on those of whom we are speaking. To sit in true judgment, we must have seen every thing, calculated every thing; the heat of the climate, if it is tempered by a sober and frugal life, will
always

always be much less hurtful to chastity, than other stimulants in the coldest countries; than the wines, the succulent viands, the fights, the impassioned accents of music, the licentious writings, the association and intercourse of young persons of both sexes; baits of voluptuousness which are quite unknown among the people in question. They feed habitually on roots, vegetables, and fruits; they drink water; they lie on hard surfaces; they are chaste as it were, by nature, and without the efforts of virtue. They, however, attach honour to the practice of chastity, and shame to the contrary vices. An author, cited in the *General History of Voyages*, says, that at Loango they are persuaded that the crime of a maid who has not resisted seduction, would be sufficient to draw down a total ruin on the whole country, were it not expiated by a public avowal made to the king; and the same writer, impelled by I know not what kind of blind bias for calumniating the manners of this people, adds, that this avowal, however, has nothing in it humiliating. But it is easy to judge, that a fault which is deemed sufficiently enormous to provoke the wrath of Heaven, must condemn to opprobrium and shame, the culprit who is obliged to make the avowal.

A man, as we shall soon see, may marry as many women as he finds willing to attach themselves to him; but it is an unheard-of thing for a man and woman to cohabit publicly, without being lawfully espoused. There are never seen in this country, as in the great towns of Europe, any of those societies of women, who keep a school of debauchery.

They would not suffer them to traffic shamefully with their honour, by walking in the streets; still less would they be allowed to exercise the infamous trade of seducing and corrupting youth. The language, though very rich, offers no term which corresponds with that of a female debauchee; it is expressed by a Portuguese word.

The Negresses have, like the Negroes, their arms and bosoms uncovered, especially when at work; but the custom is general; no one thinks of it; no one is scandalized at it; and it is wrong with authors to have concluded thence, that they brave all the laws of modesty. This nudity of a Negress, who from morning to night is occupied in cultivating the field under a burning sun, is less insidious and less shocking to public decency, in that country, than the half-nakedness of our court ladies among us. Whenever the missionaries found themselves among the inhabitants of the country, in the passage of rivers where there are no boats, they observed, that when a woman entered the water, all the men turned away their eyes until she had got to the other side; the women on their part, do the same when the men pass.

The young girls accompany their mothers every where, who require from them the strictest reserve. A youth durst not speak to a girl, except in her mother's presence; he cannot make her a present except when he asks her in marriage. A missionary one day met a little Negress returning from the fields with her mother; she said to him in the language of the country, and in a jocular tone, "*Good day, man of God!*" Her mother immediately gave her a severe reprimand for having spoken to a man, and with so little reserve. Dancing is in this country a daily exercise, but the men never dance except with men, nor the women, except with women. The songs of joy, which generally accompany their dances, have nothing in them offensive to modesty.

CHAP. IX.—Of Marriages and Alliances.

POLYGAMY is authorized by the national laws, and it is allowable for a man to marry as many women as he thinks proper; but this liberty which the law allows, is restrained by nature. The number of women among them does not appear to sur-

pass

pass that of the men, perhaps it does not even reach it; so that a Grandee of the country cannot marry twenty women, without placing nineteen of his fellow citizens under the necessity of observing celibacy. Besides, a woman generally prefers the advantage of being the sole spouse of an individual, to the honour of being the wife of a lord, who must give her a great number of rivals; thus it is only the rich who can use the privilege, or rather the abuse of the law, for that is the only name which can suit a disposition which favours one party in society, to the detriment of the other. But as the class of rich persons is far from numerous, all the free men, and even most of the slaves still find means to marry. Those who stated that the commonest Negroes in the country have each two or three wives, would have to reckon beforehand, whether the number of women twice or thrice surpassed that of the men; as those who allot seven thousand to a king of Loango, must have ascertained that there is that number in his whole capital; this, no one who has been upon the spot dare assure them.

The fathers and mothers leave to their boys the care of choosing a wife. The marriage of the girls is considered a household affair, which concerns the mother only. The wives bring no portion to their husband; on the contrary, when a boy wants to have a maid in marriage, he goes to find her mother, and makes her those presents which he judges will be most agreeable to her. If these presents, or the hand which offers them, do not please the mother, she refuses them. If she accepts them, the young man immediately presents gifts to the maid also, who is still free to receive or reject them. The acceptance of presents on the part of the mother and daughter is equivalent to a promise of marriage. The nuptials, however, are not celebrated until about a month afterwards; and during that time the girl appears in public, with her body painted red, in order that all the world may know, that the man with whom she is seen to cohabit is her husband. Were not this ceremony previously observed, the marriage would be deemed illegal and sacrilegious, and the parents of the girl would have a right to punish her with death. The term prescribed by usage being expired, the girl washes away the red colour with which she has been stained, and the nuptials are celebrated with dances and rustic songs.

Marriage thus contracted, forms an indissoluble bond. There are only certain particular cases excepted by the law, which authorize a husband to divorce his wife; as for instance, when a princess chooses him for her husband. Conjugal chastity is singularly respected among these people; adultery is placed in the list of the greatest crimes. By an opinion generally received, the women are persuaded that if they were to render themselves guilty of infidelity, the greatest misfortunes would overwhelm them, unless they averted them by an avowal made to their husbands, and in obtaining their pardon for the injury they might have done. There are still some more faults of which the wives think themselves bound to accuse themselves to their husbands. This accusation is a sort of religious ceremony. The husband takes care to be always easily to be intreated to pardon his wife for the faults which she avows to him; but if she names an accomplice, he has a right to prosecute and bring that offender to justice; and he never fails to do so, especially if the man has carried his audacity so far as to stain the nuptial couch. When this crime is in agitation, the judge does not require other proofs than the denunciation of the husband, confirmed by the avowal of the wife; because he supposes that this avowal, which condemns her to infamy, cannot but be the cry of conscience. She is acquitted of it at the tribunal of the judge, as she is before her husband, for the sake of her repentance and shame; but it is not so with the seducer; the law ordains that he shall be placed in the power, and at the discretion of the man

whom he has outraged; and he becomes his slave, at least unless he be rich enough to ransom himself. It is not to be supposed that such slaves are at all spared by their masters.

A princess has the double right of choosing from among the people, such a husband as she thinks proper, even if he be already married, and to oblige him to have her alone for his spouse. As this last condition generally appears too hard to the princes, it is rare that the princesses find any of them willing to marry them, even the commoners dread their alliance; but when it is offered them, they are obliged to accept it, on pain of being constrained by confiscation of body and goods. They have also a liberty, which none of the women of the people have; they can divorce a husband who no longer suits them, and choose another; and it does not appear that they need assign any other motive for their divorce, than their will. In order that the divorced husband of a princess may marry, or even take back his former wife, if he had one before his marriage with the princess, he must obtain the permission of the king, who is generally very free and easy on this point.

The little kingdom of n'-Goio acknowledges its dependence on that of Loango, by giving to the king a princess of the blood, who is not to be the first among his spouses, and has none of the privileges of the other princesses.

He on whom the princess fixes her choice to become her husband, begins by rubbing his body with palm oil, and painting himself red: this is the first exercise of a month's retreat, which he passes altogether at home, without ever stepping outside the door. During this time he feeds on the commonest meat, and drinks only water. At the end of the month he washes himself, and marries the princess with a great deal of magnificence. But the day of his wedding is the last of his liberty. The husband of a princess is less her spouse than her slave and her prisoner. He engages himself, in marrying her, never more to look on a woman during the whole time he cohabits with her. Never does he go out, unless accompanied by a numerous escort of part of his guards before, to drive aside all the women on the road where he is to pass. If, in spite of these precautions, a woman meet him on his way, and he has the ill luck to cast his eyes upon her, the princess, on the deposition of her spies, may have his head chopped off, and she commonly uses this right. This sort of libertinism, sustained by power, often carries the princesses to the greatest excesses: but nothing is dreaded so much as their anger. Cruelty seems to be their nature, and it might be said, that they wish to revenge themselves on all who approach them, of the sort of servitude to which their sex is condemned.

The condition of other women actually forms a striking contrast with that of the princesses. While the latter treat their husbands as imperious mistresses; the former are to theirs in a state of dependence bordering on slavery. When they speak to them, it is always kneeling. They alone are charged with the cultivation of the lands, and with all in-door work; it is their business to provide for their own subsistence, and that of their children and husband.

If a man has many wives, each in her turn dresses his viands, and holds herself honoured in waiting on him at table, and then in receiving at his hand, the leavings for herself and children. The husband, in order not to excite jealousy among his wives, uses no familiarity with any of them. He always dwells alone in his hut, and each of them in hers, with her children. This separation of dwelling does not prevent differences from arising among them now and then, which the husband, according to the usage of the country, has a right to terminate juridically. On the complaint which has been preferred to him, he orders the two rivals to appear together before him; each pleads

pleads her cause kneeling; whilst he himself sits on the ground with his feet crossed. After having heard them, he pronounces sentence; they retire in silence, testifying the most entire submission to his judgment. It appears, that those who have several wives, make some distinction among them; and that some are wives of the first order, others of the second order; of the latter class there are some who are truly slaves. The lot of princes' wives differs much from that of princesses; they are not dispersed with in domestic labour, and they are frequently occupied like others in the cultivation of the lands.

The husband commonly is at the charge of giving dresses to his wife, and maintaining her house; he goes a hunting and fishing. When those who have many wives have procured a sufficient quantity of game and fish, they distribute it among all their wives, scrupulously observing, that the shares are equal according to the number of their children. If what they have taken is not sufficient for all, they divide only with her who has charge of the kitchen that day. The commonalty of goods between husbands and wives is not held in this country; it is attended with too many inconveniences for the usage of polygamy. As to successions, the children do not inherit from their father; but only from their mother. The goods of the father are reverfible after death to his eldest uterine brother, if he has one. In defect of brothers, to the eldest son of his eldest uterine sister, or lastly, to the eldest son of his nearest maternal relation.

Successions among the poor, that is to say, the bulk of the nation, are reduced to a house, a gun, a sabre, some wooden or earthen vessels, and a few macoutes; sometimes they are of still less value. Those of the rich, of the princes and kings, consist of slaves, cotton cloths covered with silver, coral, sabres, guns, and other effects drawn from Europe. As the king is proprietary of the kingdom, the lands and lordships which the great hold by the title of government, do not pass to their heirs, unless they purchase the preference by dint of presents to the king and his ministers.

CHAP. X.—*Of the Education of the Children.*

THE fathers take no particular care of the education of their children. They content themselves with inspiring them with a certain vague fear of the Divinity, of which they themselves have very confused notions. They induce them by example, more than discourse, to respect their superstitious practices; to avoid lying, theft, and perjury. They also enjoin them to respect the Ganga or ministers, and the aged. They give them lessons as occasion requires. There is no public school among these people, either for religion, or for sciences; and there are few trades to which they can bind their children. The young girls are as laborious as their mothers. Always at their side, they share with them the hardest toils of the field, and all the cares of the household. They go to gather fire-wood in the forests, and draw water from the river, which is frequently a quarter of a league distant. But the little boys, following the example of their father, will take no part in the labours with which their sisters are overwhelmed; and scarcely do they arrive at years of discretion, when they assume the tone of masters over them, as they see their father do over their mother. A missionary one day heard a mother giving a small commission to her son. The child was only about eight years old, but he answered gravely, "Do you think then that I am a boy?"

Whilst the mother works with her daughters, the boys amuse themselves and idle away their time with children of the same age. They play but little; sometimes they seek

seek sugar-canes, ananas, and other fruits delicious to the taste; but their great and almost only occupation, is to go a bird-nesting in the forests, where they find them in great numbers, and of the finest plumage. They also take them in traps and with nets, using ants' eggs for baits. Many children there are among us, who would more easily accustom themselves to this way of life, than to the severities of study.

When they are come to the age of fifteen or sixteen, they engage voluntarily in fishing; or they go to the chase as soon as they can find means to purchase a gun. Some of them manufacture macoutes, which are little bits of linen cloth, which pass for money in the country.

CHAP. XI.—Of Arts and Trades.

THESE people have no knowledge of writing, nor any signs which may stand in its stead. They have therefore no records but tradition, which is maintained by certain usages. The arts among them are still in their infancy; they exercise those only which are necessary to life, and even those in a very imperfect manner.

Their physicians are revered as very estimable men, quite essential to the welfare of society: their art forms part of the religion. They bear the name of *Ganga*, which in the language of the country signifies minister. When they come to a patient, they ask him where his ailment lies? and they set to blowing on the part affected; after that they make fomentations, and tie up his limbs in different places with bandages: these are the preliminaries used in all diseases; they know nothing either of phlebotomy or of medicines. There are cases in which they employ simples of different sorts, but only topically. The missionaries could not get to know the virtues of them. They always chew some before they breathe upon their patients, which operation may well, especially in external hurts, produce some natural effect. The physicians of the country know also a very salutary remedy, in their opinion, for all diseases; but this they only employ in favour of those who can afford the expense; when they are called in to a rich man, they take with them all the performers on musical instruments they can find in the country: they all enter in silence; but at the first signal which they give, the musical troop begin their performance; some are furnished with stringed instruments; others beat on the trunks of hollow trees, covered with skin, a sort of tabor. All of them uniting their voices with the sound of the instruments, round the patient's bed, make a terrible uproar and din; which is often continued for several days and nights in succession. To an European the remedy would be worse than the disease; but this music, which charms the negroes when they are in good health, cannot make them feel, in sickness, a more disagreeable sensation than the most harmonious concert would to one of us; and in this case the remedy must certainly not be so violent as might at first be imagined. Be that as it may, when the state of the patient begins to grow worse, they endeavour to draw from their instruments the most piercing sounds, and make the whole neighbourhood resound with their cries, as if they wanted to frighten Death and put him to flight. If they do not succeed in this, as it often happens, they console themselves in the thought, that they have done their duty, and that the relations of the deceased have nothing to reproach them with. All the time the choir of musicians remain near the deceased, the physicians pay him frequent visits, and come at stated hours to administer different remedies to him, and to blow upon his pained part.

The most common diseases of these climates are fevers, small-pox, measles, and palsy. The latter is called the King's disease; the negroes regard it as the punishment for some attempt meditated against the king; the paralytic, however, is never judicially prosecuted, because it is supposed that Heaven, who has deprived him of the use of some of his limbs, has punished him according to the degree of his malicious intention; but he is regarded as a wicked citizen.

The physicians prescribe no particular regimen to their patients; they order them to have every thing they want, either to eat or drink, without any regard to quantity or quality; but if they ask for nothing, nothing is to be offered them. This method is not without its inconveniences, but it may also have its advantages. As soon as the patient is dead, or when he is cured, his relations make a gathering on the spot, for the profit of the physician who has attended him during his illness. When the gatherers went to the missionaries, they generally asked them for European brandy, assuring them, that it was the thing which would most please the Doctor.

As the greater part of our diseases are occasioned by excesses of the table, the negroes who always lead an uniform, sober, and frugal life, are rarely sick, and a great number among them, attain an extreme old age. The actual king of Kakongo, named *Poukouta*, is one hundred and twenty-six years of age. He has always been in good health, and it was only in the month of March last year, that he felt, for the first time, the infirmities of old age, and that his sight and legs began to weaken; but his head is still sound, and he habitually employs five or six hours a day, in administering justice to his subjects. The princess *Ma-inteva*, his aunt, is about as old, and in equal health.

When the negroes feel themselves indisposed, they make a potion of dog's tooth, which is the same as ours. Those who have ailments which do not oblige them to keep their bed, go themselves to the Doctors, who prescribe to them some superstitious practices, to which they attribute the cure, which nature herself operates.

Although these physicians, as we have just now sufficiently shewn, are no great conjurors, the people believe them to be very deeply versed in the secrets of magic; and they also do not forbid themselves the acquisition of the occult sciences, which are attributed to them, as well as the commerce, supposed to be established between them and the evil spirit whom they undertake to appease. The children of the Doctors succeed their fathers.

The missionaries one day had occasion to see a negro, the lord of a village, whom neither the sound of instruments nor the breathings of the doctors, nor even their topical remedies, had been able to cure. His disease bore symptoms quite singular and peculiar; at the moment when the fit seized him, day or night, he went out and ran at random over the plains and through the forests, making lamentable howlings and cries, like one possessed with a devil. His eyes were haggard and inflamed, he foamed at the mouth, and when he stopped, he appeared shaken with violent convulsions, although he did harm to no one. The inhabitants of the country, when he was in this state, dreaded to meet him, more than they dreaded a wild beast. When these fits of fury subsided, the man appeared very rational, and spoke sensibly; but all that the missionaries could draw from him, and what he constantly told every body, was, that he was haunted by a great spectre, the sight of which shook him and put him beside himself, and then he knew not where he was, nor what he did. The missionaries not being able to follow this man, and to examine him in his mad fits, supposed that the disorder was occasioned by organic derangement; though it is not impossible that the demon who already possesses the souls of the wretched inhabitants of these countries, may also sometimes

sometimes extend his dominion over the bodies ; and that, by a just judgment of God, he begins to punish them, even in this life, for the sacrilegious worship they paid him.

We have spoken elsewhere of agriculture ; it is the women who carry it on. They have no other instrument of tillage than a little pointed spade, which is pretty much like the trowels of our masons. They who say they have seen a quantity of vine-dressers in Loango, ought to have seen, that there are no vines in the country. The men, besides, by an universal prejudice, founded no doubt on their indolence, would think they degraded themselves if they tilled the ground. They prefer to attach honour to more amusing and less toilsome occupations ; almost all of them are hunters and fishers. A great number are also carpenters, if we may give that name to those who construct such houses as we have described. There are also smiths among them, as well as potters, weavers, and salt-makers.

The smiths get their iron from Europe. To heat it they use charcoal. They hammer it on anvils made of wood harder than stone. There have been seen however, some small iron anvils in the King's forges at Loango. The workmen are slow, and not very skilful ; they make only small ware. The hammers they use are no heavier than those of our upholsterers. Their bellows are of a pretty ingenious make.

The potters make all sorts of earthen vessels, which they bake in the midst of a great fire. They are fashioned almost as well as those of Europe, although no wheel is used. The potters also make tobacco pipes, the great consumption of which forms a considerable branch of their petty trade.

The weavers make their cloths of a grass about two feet high, which grows untilld in the desert plains, and needs no preparation to be put to work. The length of the grass is the length of the web ; they make it rather narrower than long. This cloth is woven like ours ; but they make it on their knees, without shuttle or loom : having the patience to pass the woof through the threads with their fingers, in the same way that our basket-makers weave their hurdles. Although they work with such quickness that one can scarcely follow their fingers with one's eyes, they get slowly forward. The best workmen do not make more than the length of an ell of cloth in the space of eight days.

Their little pieces, which we call macoutes, serve as the current money of the country. The merchants have no right to refuse in exchange for them the goods they bring to market. Besides the common cloths, the negroes make little bags, caps, and other articles, some of which would be admired in Europe for the variety of the design, and the delicacy of the workmanship. In the country is found a tree, the inner bark of which is really a cloth, as strong and flexible as ours : the negroes use it as macoutes, and as materials for clothes.

The peasants of the villages near the sea, are mostly salters. All their art consists in evaporating sea water over a great fire, which deposits the salt at the bottom of vessels employed for the purpose.

CHAP. XII. — *Of the mode of Dress, and of some particular Usages.*

THESE people have no species of vestment which answers to our shirts ; they are uncovered down to the waist in all seasons ; and they go always bare-foot and bare-legged. Their dress consists of a small under petticoat which we call *pagne*, and which resembles that worn by our bakers' boys and brewers' apprentices. It reaches half way down the leg, some of them leave a long tail to it. The poor make it of their own country cloth ;
the

the rich make it of a cotton cloth, or of other light stuffs brought from Europe. This petticoat is furmounted with a broad girdle, commonly of red or blue cloth, most of them have only one dress, which they wear night and day, until it is too much worn or too dirty, for they never wash their clothes. By a usage very different from ours, the men have always caps on, and the women go bare-headed; they wear their hair, the men shave their heads. The heads of those who aspire to glory in apparel, resemble a parterre; you see alleys and figures traced on them with a great deal of symmetry. Allowing for this difference, the women are dressed pretty much like the men; and the author of the General History of Asia, Africa, and America, has been ill informed, when he says in Vol. XII. of his work that their petticoats are not furmounted by a girdle like those of the men; it is however remarked, that they have less inclination than the men for glittering ornaments; on feast days, for want of jewelry they attire themselves in rascades; the rascade is a bead of glass, of which chaplets are made in Europe. They make collars and bracelets of them, and even put them round their legs: some men envy them this brilliant attire; but instead of employing the rascade in collars and bracelets, they make a sort of bandolier of it. The men as well as the women and even the children carry in their girdle a sheathed knife, like our head cooks. This knife, which is always well sharpened, serves as a razor for their beard, and as scissars for their poll. A modern historian, ill informed on the usages of the country, says, that the inhabitants of Loango make their bed posts of the palm tree. If these people used bed posts, they might find in their forests many trees preferable to the palm for this purpose; but their bed is merely a mat for the poor, and an European carpet for the rich; this does not hinder them from sleeping soundly. The most diligent are never up before sun-rise, and the greater part not till long afterwards. If they have any work to do, it is commonly done before dinner. They make only two meals; the first at ten o'clock, and the second at night-fall. Although they tire themselves very little in the forenoon, they rest almost the whole afternoon; except when they take a fancy to go a hunting or a fishing, we have shewn that their most common pastime, is talk. Many of them play at a game very like our games of draughts and chess; they amuse themselves also at a hand game, which consists in beating themselves in cadences quicker or slower, in different parts of the body, so as just to meet and strike at the same time each other's hands; they often gather together in a public place, under the shade of a well-tufted tree, to hold concerts. Each is admitted to play his part; they are less harmonious, but more noisy than ours. They use all sorts of stringed instruments made by themselves in their own way; trumpets, fifes, and drums, comprise also a part of their symphonies; they always mix their verses with the sounds of their instruments. The more noise is made, the better the piece is performed; these concerts, which flatter and transport the negroes, also amuse the Europeans, who cannot help laughing at this strange result of an infinity of voices accompanied by hoarse braying instruments of all kinds. If some of our military musicians were to land in these countries, they would become new Orpheus, and draw after them the towns and villages; but the tender and impassioned airs of our best opera musicians would be laughed at.

Although dancing is a fatiguing exercise in such hot countries, it is much practised. It is sometimes a diversion; but oftener a religious ceremony. The negroes dance when they are in sorrow, just as they do when they are joyful; at the funeral of their fathers, as at their own wedding, the song ever accompanies the dance; the most qualified of the troop, or he who can sing best, begins alone, and the others repeat the song, and dance to it as our provincial peasants do. They have no songs composed, they make them off hand; and take their subject from existing circumstances. The missionaries one day heard of a woman, who, dancing on the occasion of her husband's death, deplored his

his lot and that of her children ; she compared the defunct to the roof of a house, the fall of which soon involves that of the whole edifice ; “ Alas ! (cried she, in her language,) the ridge has fallen ; there lies the building exposed to the weather, all is over ; the ruin is unavoidable.”

The more remote the negroes are from sweetness and nature in their concerts, the more sentiment and truth they throw into their dances and rustic songs. Be they provoked by grief, or excited by joy, they are always the faithful expression of nature. The hearer is moved with them, in spite of himself ; especially when he beholds their action. One day, when two missionaries were passing through a village, they heard of a mother whose son some robbers had stolen, and sold as a slave to the Europeans. This woman, in the first transport of woe, sallies from her house dissolved in tears, holding her daughter by the hand ; she immediately fell to dancing with her, chaunting her misfortune in the most piteous and touching tone. Now she cursed the day when she became a mother ; then she called her son, making imprecations against the wretches who had borne him away ; at other times she reproached for their most cruel avarice those European merchants who buy from all hands those who are offered to them as slaves. Struck by the novelty of the sight, the missionaries stopped a moment : the song of the desolated mother, the abundance of her tears, the irregular movement which agitated her by turns, even the disorder of the dance — all rendered the sentiment, all expressed nature with such energy, that the missionaries themselves, pierced with profound grief, felt their tears flow and retired weeping. The women, like the men, have their assemblies for diversion and dancing : but only on feast days, or when they have finished their toils of the field, and the business of the household. They are never confounded with the men ; even the wife does not dance with her husband, nor the sister with her brother. They never work above three days in succession ; the fourth is for them a general rest day, during which they are not allowed to busy themselves in tillage. The men, who repose habitually, work still less on that day. They walk, sport, and go to market. The missionaries have never been able to procure from the negroes any explanation of this period of four days, which forms their week. They know neither months nor years. When they reckon time, which they rarely do, it is by moons and seasons ; thus to make them understand that our Lord offered himself for the salvation of men at thirty-three years of age, we tell them that he was sixty-six seasons old.

It was matter of surprise to see people who count nothing, not even their age, should have like us the use of numbers, which they carry even to infinity. They begin by numerating like us, one, two, three, &c. &c. as far as ten ; instead of saying ten, they say tithing, and they continue tithing one, tithing two, tithing three, up to twenty : then they say two tithings, next two tithings one, two tithings two, two tithings three, &c. they numerate them as far as nine tithings nine ; then they say a hundred, and begin again ; when they come to ten hundreds, they employ a term which answers to a thousand ; and they thus continue to numerate as far as millions and milliards. Numbers are sometimes matters of entertainment to the sages of the country.

It is commonly at night-fall that the negroes make their second repast ; it is not more splendid than the first. In the evening they light torches, which are of the size of those which our lacqueys carry behind carriages ; they are made of an odoriferous gum, which distils plentifully from one of the forest trees, and which petrifies in rollers. Instead of putting their wick in the torch, they put the torch into the wick, by investing the rollers with flax and bits of dry wood. These torches throw up a light smoke, which spreads an agreeable odour to a great distance. Although the nights are never cold, they commonly light a fire in the evening to purify the air, which by the continual ex-

halations

halations from the earth, is rendered thick and unwholesome. Their hearth, when no rain falls, is in the middle of the court. That is also the place where they take their evening repast. Immediately after supper they retire to their huts, and lie down on their mats, unless some neighbour comes to talk, or they have to dance in honour of a dead person, which very often happens; because they are accustomed, as we shall see in the sequel, to dance for several months for their nearest relatives, and in proportion for others, and each for their friends. On these occasions they watch the greater part of the night, and sleep by day.

CHAP. XIII. — *Of the Government.*

THE government with these people is purely despotic. They say their lives and goods belong to the king; that he may dispose of and deprive them of them when he pleases, without form of process, and without their having any thing to complain of.

In his presence they pay marks of respect which resemble adoration. The individuals of the lower classes are persuaded that his power is not confined to the earth, and that he has credit enough to make rain fall from heaven: hence they fail not, when a continuance of drought makes them fearful about the harvest, to represent to him that if he does not take care to water the lands of his kingdom, they will die of hunger, and will find it impossible to make him the usual presents.

The king, to satisfy the people, without however compromising himself with heaven, devolves the affair on one of his ministers, to whom he gives orders to cause to fall without delay upon the plains as much rain as is wanted to fertilize them. When the minister sees a cloud which he presumes must shed rain, he shews himself in public, as if to exercise the orders of his prince. The women and children troop around him, crying with all their might *Give us rain, give us rain*: and he promises them some.

The king, who reigns as a despot over the people, is often disturbed in the exercise of his power, by the princes his vassals, many of whom are not much inferior to him in force. These princes voluntarily acknowledge their dependance so long as the king exacts nothing from them which impairs their privileges or pretensions; but should the sovereign authority seem inclined to constrain them, they endeavour to withdraw themselves from it by open force and by dint of arms.

The slaves are not the most ill-treated persons in these states: the king and the princes spare those who belong to them, under the apprehension, lest, having nothing which attaches them to their native soil, they should pass into the service of foreign princes, who always very willingly seize the opportunity of augmenting their possessions, by assuring to fugitive slaves who are willing to surrender themselves to them, the same lot and condition in life which they have left. The free negroes are more to be pitied, with respect to their condition. They are obliged to make presents to the king, in proportion to the number of their slaves, of the lands they till, and the cattle they breed. If the king thinks they do not give enough, he sends slaves to their places to take what they have. Just and humane kings do not permit themselves to make these cruel exactions; but their ministers, the governors of provinces, and other subaltern officers, often execute them in their name. The people suffer without complaining, being persuaded that the king in despoiling them, only exercises his right, and console themselves with the thought that they shall always find a few roots of manive to subsist upon.

This form of administration, as it may be easily imagined, stifles the very germ of emulation; the arts do not improve, every thing languishes. Even supposing the king to be sole proprietary of the whole kingdom, if his subjects by paying him a fixed tax, in proportion to the lands they could till, might promise themselves, like the farmers of our lords, to gather in quietness the fruits of their labours and their industry; their rich plains which are now abandoned would be tilled with care, or covered with cattle; the prince would be the richer for it, and the people would live in a state of enjoyment. But, contented with a small field which yields them a few insipid roots, and the tillage of which they leave to the females, they pass their lives in idleness, despising the riches, of which the king when he pleases, may say, "they are mine."

Though the kings do not employ the most proper means for promoting the welfare of their subjects, they hold this as a principle, that it is their interest as well as their duty, to occupy themselves with the care of rendering them happy, and maintaining peace and justice among them. Every day they pass several hours in deciding the processes of those who have appealed with them to their tribunals; they hold frequent councils; but it is rare that they have a real friend, and a disinterested man among those whom they invite thither. The ministers stand charged with the execution of whatever has been determined in the king's council; but as this prince blindly defers to them, it frequently happens, that, while occupied with the details of justice, he pacifies the differences of a few families, one of his ministers, in his name, though without his knowledge, spreads trouble and desolation over a whole province.

The principal ministers are the *ma-ngovo*, the *ma-mpontou*, the *ma-kaka*, the *m-fouka*, and the *ma-komba*. The *ma-ngovo*, whom we call *mangove*, is the minister for foreign affairs, and the introducer of foreigners at court. The *ma-mpontou* is associated to the department of the mangove, and represents him when absent. The *ma-kaka* is minister of war, and even generalissimo of the armies. It is he who causes the troops to be mustered in time of war, who appoints their officers, reviews them, and also leads them to battle. The *m-fouka*, whom the French call *mafouque*, is minister of commerce. He makes frequent voyages on the sea coasts, where are the warehouses and factories of the Europeans. He is obliged, by the nature of his office, to make frequent representations of the state of the exchanges which are made between the Europeans and the Africans, and to take care that no frauds are committed on either side. He also presides over the recovery of the droits which the king exacts from strangers who trade in his states; and he is charged with the general police of the markets. The *ma-kimba* is grand master of the waters and forests. It is he who has the inspection of all the boatmen, fishermen, and hunters; and it is to him that the fish and game intended for the king are directed. They reckon also in the number of ministers a *ma-nibanza*, a *main-bile*, and some others whose functions are unknown.

These ministers have no offices or houses of business as ours have; they even know not how either to read or write: with the exception of a small number of important affairs, they dispatch all others on the spot, and as soon as they present themselves, in order not to run the risk of forgetting them. Their clerks are intelligent slaves whom they send into the towns and provinces, to signify to private individuals, as well as persons in place, the king's intentions. In all the provinces and in all the towns, there is a governor for the king. The chiefs of the villages are also king's officers; they administer justice in his name. They are the more exact in requiring that every one shall make presents proportioned to his revenues, inasmuch as they themselves are charged with the receipt and transmission of them to court. The peasants are frequently obliged to compound with them, and to make them particular presents in order to ransom them-

selves from the vexations which those officers are disposed to inflict in the name of the king. He, for example, who has four goats, in order not to be constrained to give three of them to the king, or even to give up the whole four, begins by making a present of the finest among them to the chief of the village, who will then content himself with a second for the king. The king alone nominates persons to all state offices, and he does it in council. There is no examination as to who might be the subjects most worthy of holding them, but who are they who offer most for them. The lucrative governments are usually adjudged to the relatives of the ministers, or to the ministers themselves. The day on which the king has nominated a person to an important place, is always a feast day in the capital. The province also, in which the officer is to exercise his charge, makes great rejoicing when he arrives to take possession of it: and the poor people, who when they are suffering always expect that a change must be for the better, run singing and dancing before him who has just bought, at the highest price, the right of despoiling them with impunity, and on behalf of the king.

CHAP. XIV. — *Of the Princes and the Rights of the Crown.*

THE crown among these people is not hereditary, as several authors aver, who in this point as well as in an infinite number of others, merely copy each other's errors. There is in each kingdom a family, or if you please a class of princes, for they are very numerous, and they know not the order of their genealogy so correctly as to know if they be of a common origin. It is sufficient to be prince in order to have the right of pretending to the crown: and it must necessarily be so, in order to possess certain noble fiefs which are held more immediately on that tenure.

No nobles are known in these countries, except the princes, and nobility does not descend except by the females, so that all the children of a princess-mother are princes or princesses, though begotten by a plebeian father; as, on the other hand, the children of a prince, or even those of a king, are not nobles, unless their father has married a princess, which scarcely ever happens, because the princesses, as we have already remarked, have the privilege of obliging their husbands to have only a single wife, and because the princes and the kings generally prefer marrying plebeian females, and seeing their nobility terminate with them, to renouncing the rights of polygamy.

On the death of every king there is always an interregnum, during which are celebrated the obsequies of the defunct, who is commonly interred after the lapse of some years. The kingdom is then governed by a regent, who takes the title of *ma-boman*, that is to say, *lord of terror*, because he has the right of making himself feared throughout the whole kingdom. It is the king who in his lifetime nominates the *ma-boman*: the law itself, in order to prevent the inconveniences of anarchy, obliges him to designate two of them, the second of whom, in case the first dies, is charged with the affairs of state until they have proceeded to the election of a new king. It is during this interregnum that the pretenders to the crown, from their canvass, and by means of presents and promises, try to render the electors favourable to themselves. These electors are the princes, the ministers, and the regent. The actual king of Loango was not elected till after an interregnum of seven years, and his predecessor, who died in 1766, is not yet buried; this delay was occasioned by a contest which arose between the citizens of Loango, who pretend that the prince ought to be interred in his capital; and those of Loanguilli, the usual burial place of the kings, who will not cede their privilege. However, as the difference was not made up, and the time

determined by usage for the interment of the king had expired several years before, it was thought that the election of his successor might be proceeded in, and he has now occupied the throne four years.

In certain kingdoms the prince himself designates his successor; but all the sovereigns have not this right; it is contested against the kings of Loango and n'-Goio. The king designates his successor by putting him in possession of a fief which cannot be possessed except by him who is to succeed to the crown. This fief is called *Kaïa*, and the Prince to whom the king gives the investiture of it, quits all other titles to assume that of *ma-kaïa*. From the day on which the *ma-kaïa* has taken possession of his lordship, entrance into the capital is forbidden him, until the king be dead and buried. The king, either in order not to remove to a distance from his person him whom he loves well enough to make his successor, or to hold all the princes strictly attached to his interest, by letting each of them enjoy his hope of having the choice fixed on him, defers as long as he can the having a *ma-kaïa* proclaimed. It even happens sometimes that not being able to resolve, on creating a number of malcontents by preference of one, he dies without having nominated his successor. It is but a few years since the king of Loango, now very old, declared his. Though according to the laws of certain states the right of the *ma-kaïas* to the crown be incontestible, as it has not been conferred but by the choice of one man, it is never respected so much as that would be, which should be founded on the order of truth; and after a powerful prince, jealous of a preference with which he perhaps had flattered himself, raises a part of the kingdom in revolt, and declares war on the new king. No one doubts, in the kingdom of Kakongo, that after the death of the actual king the crown may be disputed against the *ma-kaïa* by the *ma-nboukou*, or prince who is below him in dignity, but surpasses him in power, and neglects nothing to conciliate the favour of the people.

It is here rather than any where else, that every one is enabled to feel how advantageous it is for a state, that the sovereign authority should be perpetuated in the same family by an invariable order and succession; and if those pretended sages, who pass themselves for protectors of mankind in matters of government as well as of religion, had gone through a course of politics in these countries in the school of experience, they would doubtless not be seen to attack with their pens a form of government the most wisely established for ensuring the happiness and tranquillity of the people; and they would be forced to agree that hereditary sovereignty with all its inconveniences, a necessary consequence of all human establishments, has inestimable advantages over an elective form of government. In fact when a king dies without having designated his successor, and in kingdoms where he has no right to designate one, it is as it were become customary to celebrate his obsequies by battles, and for the country to become the theatre of civil war; such results are expected and prepared for. This happened very lately in the little kingdom of n'-Goio: The prince who was elected king had to sustain his election with arms in hand, against the *ma-ntoakou* of the same kingdom. The latter, finding himself too weak to maintain a campaign against the royal army with his own forces alone, contracted an alliance with the count of Logno, a powerful prince, feudatory at Congo, the states of which border on the kingdom of n'-Goio. The Count gathered his troops together, led them in person to the *m-anboukou*, who by the help of these succours saw himself in a condition to seek out his enemy, before whom he was flying previously. The armies met, and battle was given, the king's troops were defeated; he himself made prisoner, and the *m-anboukou*, who felt no horror at confirming the crime of rebellion by a still greater crime, had his sovereign's head chopped off. Deeming himself in peaceable possession of the kingdom he had just usurped, he wanted to dismiss the army of his allies,

but

but this was what the count of Logno did not understand, and assuming a tone of authority with the pretended king, told him that every body knew he held the crown by incontestible rights; that if he would himself acknowledge them, he would treat him as a friend; but if he pretended to dispute them with him, he knew how to avail himself of the arms in his hand. In fact, the war was renewed, and lasted several years, during which the trade of the Europeans was interrupted on those coasts; it has just been terminated, but no one yet knows whether by a treaty of peace, or by the death of one or both of the combatants.

CHAP. XV. — *Of the Laws, and the manner in which Justice is administered.*

THERE are few laws among these people, and they are not written. These are preserved by usage and tradition; there is no one ignorant of the cases which incur pain of death, and of those for which the offender becomes the slave of the person offended; murder and poisoning are punished with death, and confiscation of a part of the culprit's goods to the profit of the heirs of the deceased. It is very rare that a negro openly attempts the life of another: but the Europeans, according to an old prejudice, believe that many die among them by poison; and they themselves, through an excess of simplicity believing their nation capable of hurrying into atrocities which are by no means characteristic of it, do not fail to attribute to poison all sudden deaths, and those which are preceded by certain violent diseases. The relatives of the deceased on these occasions consult divines and forcerers, and know whom they are to come upon; but it is enough to dwell awhile in the country in order to perceive that they slander themselves, and that these vague suspicions of poison or malefactions, the pretended authors of which are never convicted, are with them, as with all credulous people in our country places, the pure effect of ignorance, and the chimera of a clouded imagination.

Robbery is not punished with death; but he who is taken in the act of stealing, even things of the smallest value, is condemned to become the slave of the person he has robbed, unless he can make it up with him, by furnishing him with a slave in kind or in value. The same penalty lies against any one who shall insult a prince, or a minister, even by words. We have seen that he who was convicted of adultery, was given up as a slave to the offended party. Only the princesses have the right of insisting on the punishment of death for the faithlessness of their husbands.

All the ordinances of the king are arbitrary, and commonly bear the stamp of the most absolute despotism. It is a maxim generally adopted by sovereigns, and regarded as a cardinal point of their policy, that the multitude may be restrained by severe rules; but each makes an application of this principle with more or less discretion, according to his humanity, his sense, or his council. By an ill-judged zeal with regard to order and policy, princes, otherwise well-intentioned, sometimes proscribe as crimes and on pain of death abuses which would disappear on the menace of the slightest punishment. The missionaries, on their arrival at Kakongo, having been troubled for several days in succession by some individuals who affected to sing and cry around their dwelling, carried their complaints to the king, when they had occasion to go and see him; he promised them that he would restore order; in fact, they were very much surprised on the same day to hear proclaimed an ordinance, denouncing pain of death on all persons, of whatever age or condition they might be, who should dare in future to disturb the repose of the missionaries. The first time they went to salute the prince he asked them,

them, if any one had since molested them, and he told them, the first man they denounced should lose his head. The reason they assign for this severity in punishing slight faults with the same vigour as the greatest, is, that the easier it is to abstain from the thing forbidden, or to do what is ordained, the less excusable is the disobedience; and the more of course does it deserve to be severely punished.

When the king is inclined to pass a law, he assembles his ministers and principal officers, and after having taken their advice, he declares his final will, which they cause to be known immediately by the governors of the provinces. The latter publish the law, by a herald, in all the markets which they hold in all the towns and villages of their government; and they are charged jointly with the governors of the towns to see it duly executed. It is also in council that the king appoints persons to vacant charges and offices; fixes the price of goods, and regulates all that concerns trade and police.

The governors of the towns and the chiefs of villages are at the same time judges civil and criminal. They have a right of sentencing to slavery and even to death; but it is open to every one to appeal from their sentence to the tribunal of the governor general of the province, and in the last resort to the king himself.

The room where the king gives his audiences and administers justice, is a sort of hall; he is seated on the ground upon a carpet, having round him several assessors whom he consults on difficult cases. There are always seen a great number of negroes at his audiences. Some attend from curiosity, others from the interest they take in the affairs that are to be decided. When the king is ready to hear the parties, he orders the officers to confront them in his presence; often in this country they do not plead by counsel, unless in case of sickness, when one of the nearest relatives takes charge of the affair. The pleaders in appearing before the judge always begin by making him a small present. The party pretending to be lesed, speaks first, and as long as he pleases. The women plead their causes themselves, like the men. One party never interrupts the adverse party; he waits till the other has done, in order to repel falsehoods and bad faith. If the facts be contested, and there be witnesses, the king orders them to make deposition of what they know; if there be no witnesses, and the affair be of some importance, as those generally are in which appeal is made to the king, the decision is deferred until ampler information is brought; then the ministers charge certain intelligent negroes, whose employ pretty nearly answers to that of our police spies, to discover the truth. They repair to the places where the people of the country talk; and sometimes address the parties themselves and try to insinuate themselves into their confidence, in order to worm out the secret. They rarely return without having the information necessary to serve as foundation for judgement.

When any one is accused of a crime of which they cannot convict him, they permit him to justify himself by drinking the *kassa*. The *kassa* is prepared by infusing in water a bit of wood so called. This potion is a true poison to weak stomachs, which have not strength to throw it up immediately. He who stands the proof is declared innocent, and his accuser is condemned as a slanderer. If the fault of which the pretended culprit is accused does not deserve death, as soon as they perceive him just ready to expire they make him take an antidote, which excites vomiting, and brings him back to life; but they condemn him as a culprit to the penalty fixed by law.

The inhabitants of the country have the greatest faith in this cordial. The princes and lords sometimes cause *kassa* to be taken in order to clear up their suspicions, but they must first obtain the king's permission to do so, which is not difficult when the suspicions are of weighty concern.

About two years ago, a prince of the kingdom of Kakongo, who suspected that a design had been entertained of poisoning him, caused all the people of his household to take *kassa*;

king; a great number of them died, and among others, a man of his officers whom he most loved, and who passed in the country for the honestest man in his service.

If the accused does not appear to answer him who prefers a complaint against him, the king sends servants to seek him, who are at once tipstaves, sergeants, bailiffs, marshmen. Those who have to dread being condemned to death try to quit the kingdom, and take refuge with some foreign prince, who receives them among his slaves.

There are no public prisons. When the king thinks fit to superintend the execution of any criminals, they are held by the neck to a piece of forked wood, eight or ten feet long, and too heavy for them to bear up in their hands, so that they remain captive in the open plain. It has been sometimes seen that not being able to walk forward because the piece of wood cut their breath, they tried to drag themselves backwards: but no one ran after them, because it is well known they could not go very far. These vagabond prisoners have no other nourishment than that which is given them through compassion. No one thinks of delivering them; he who did so, would be put in their place, if discovered.

As there are few laws in this country, the science of jurisprudence is not, properly speaking, any thing but the knowledge of the human heart, which is acquired by experience. The causes, moreover, being never distorted by the subtilties of chicanery; let but the kings apply themselves; and the necessity they are under of terminating every day of themselves the differences of their subjects, puts them in a way to judge with wisdom and equity. When the king has pronounced sentence the parties retire, testifying by exterior marks of respect, that they abide by his judgment. The governors of the provinces, towns, and villages, follow the same method as the king in the administration of justice.

CHAP. XVI. — *On some particular usages of the Kings of Kakongo.*

BY an usage of which the inhabitants are equally ignorant of the origin and the end, and which they regard as holding essentially to the constitution of their monarchy, the kings of Kakongo cannot possess or even touch the different sorts of merchandize which come from Europe, except metals, arms, and articles made of wood and ivory. The Europeans and the negroes who are clothed in European stuffs are not admitted into their palaces.* It is to be presumed that the first legislator of the nation must have imposed this law on the sovereigns in order to retard the progress of luxury, and attach the people by the example of their masters to do without any thing from foreigners, and seek supplies for their wants in their own industry. But as the law binds the king alone, he is the only one who observes it. All the subjects, even his ministers, traffic indiscriminately in all kinds of goods that are brought them; they make use of the victuals and liquors of Europe; and those who are clad in foreign stuffs are exonerated from the offence by changing their dresses when they go to the king's houses.

This prince eats in one room and goes to drink in another: he eats in private, and drinks in public: his common beverage is palm-wine. The hall where he drinks is closed only on three sides, and is pretty much like a great coach-house. There is always a great number of negroes who assist in the ceremony of the king's drinking; that is the time they

* The king of Kakongo is permitted to receive European goods in his palace, provided he do not touch them. They who wear clothes made of foreign stuffs take great care to keep at a certain distance from his person, for fear of touching him. He drinks to the sound of a little bell in the Audience Hall. I stated the present king to be 25 years of age: he is turned 128. A gentleman, M. De Foligny, captain of a vessel of Nantes, who saw him last year, and hunted with him, assures me, that his age was known to all the navigators who frequent the coast of Loango.

choose for paying court to him. When the king appears, every body places himself in the most respectful attitude; his cup-bearer gives him drink in a vessel of the country make; and at the same time a *ganga*, who is at once his physician, his forcerer, and his major-domo, begins to ring a little bell, crying with all his might *Tina foua, tina foua, prostrate yourselves or begone*. Then all present, except the *ganga*, fall flat with their faces on the ground. They think the king would die if any of his subjects were to see him drink. When he has drunk the *ganga* leaves off ringing and crying; every one rises, clapping his hands, and the king goes to finish his dinner.

By an usage equally singular the king of Kakongo is obliged to drink a draught at every cause which he decides; and sometimes he decides fifty at a sitting; but palm-wine is merely a refreshing liquor. If he were not to drink the sentence would not be legal. They then observe the same ceremonial as when he drinks during his repasts. He holds his audience daily from sunrise, that is to say, about six o'clock, until there are no more causes to try. He is very rarely at liberty before eleven in the forenoon.

The now reigning king is generally beloved and esteemed by his subjects, for his patience in hearing and his wisdom in judging. His age (one hundred and twenty-six years) which gives him the superiority of experience over all the judges in this kingdom, has not weakened the vigour of his mind.

When the king falls sick the first care of his physicians is to publish the intelligence in all the provinces of his kingdom. At this news every one is obliged to kill a cock, nobody knows why. The most sensible among them laugh at this foolery, and say that the dead cock does more good to them, than to the king, because they eat it. But they raise a great outcry against a usage equally whimsical and more hurtful to society; it is, not to till the ground throughout the whole extent of the kingdom for several months from the date of the king's death, and during a similar space of time in the province where a prince or a princess has died. The missionaries one day heard some negroes saying to each other, "We must surely be very mad to submit to such ridiculous usages. How! because the king is dead of sickness, shall all his subjects expose themselves to die of hunger?" Yet usage and superstition prevail over reason.

CHAP. XVII. — *Of the Trade.*

THE principal trade of these people is that in slaves, whom they sell to the Europeans, that is to say, to the French, the English, and the Dutch, who transport them to their American Colonies. The slaves taken from Loango and other neighbouring kingdoms, pass for the blackest and most robust in Africa. They are taken in war by those who sell them. In the interior of the territory there are hostile people irreconcilable to those of whom we are speaking. The latter say they are cruel and ferocious, that they drink human blood, and eat as many victims as they can take. It is by way of reprisals that they themselves wage open war on them, and they pretend that they treat them humanely, contenting themselves with selling them to the Europeans at the same time when they have a right to deprive them of life. This war, though continual, does not however trouble the tranquillity of the kingdom, because it is carried on far beyond the frontiers by certain individuals, and, properly speaking, it is less a war than a chase; but one in which the hunter is often liable to become the prey of the game he follows.

Those who have made captives sell them to merchants of the country, or bring them to the coasts, but they are not allowed themselves to sell them to the Europeans: they are obliged to address themselves to brokers, nominated by the minister of commerce, who treat with the captains of ships. These slaves are estimated according to their age, sex, and strength; they pay for them in European goods.

Though the different kingdoms of which we are speaking be not far distant from each other; the manner of valuing goods and turning slaves to account is not uniform among them. On the coasts of Malimha and Cabinda, that is to say, in the kingdoms of Kakongo and n'Goio, they reckon by *goods*; and in Loango by pieces; what they call *goods*, is a piece of cotton or Indian cloth ten or fourteen ells long. The negroes before striking a bargain go and mark off at the captain's store, which is on the sea side, the pieces of stuffs they choose to take; and he who has sold four slaves at fifteen *goods* a head, goes to receive sixty pieces of the stuffs marked off. In the kingdoms where they buy by goods it is customary to give for each slave what is called *the over and above*, which commonly consists of three or four guns and as many swords; fifteen pots of brandy, fifteen pounds of gunpowder, and some dozens of knives. If these articles be not always given them, others are substituted as an equivalent.

At Loango they reckon by pieces, and every sort of goods is entered in a line of the account with the stuffs to form the piece; thus, when they say a slave costs thirty pieces, it does not mean he costs thirty pieces of stuffs, but thirty times the ideal value which they think fit to fix on, and call a *piece*; so that a single piece of stuff is sometimes estimated at two or three *pieces*, as sometimes several objects must form a single piece. This difference in the manner of reckoning is nothing at bottom, and the price of slaves is nearly the same in all the kingdoms bordering on Loango.

It is possible by inspecting the following account to estimate the real value of the piece, and to see what are the goods which commonly pass among the negroes in exchange for slaves.

I have paid to the Ma-nboukou, for the slave Makviota, twenty-two years of age, whom he has sold me at thirty pieces,

An <i>indienne</i> of fourteen ells valued at two and a half pieces	-	2½
Two guineas (they are cotton cloths dyed deep blue) each valued at two and a half pieces	-	5
A chassielat (white grape), and a bajutapeau (hog's cheek), fourteen ells each (they are cotton cloths), estimated at four pieces	-	4
A neganopeau of 14 ells and a great nicané of 9½ ells (other cotton cloths), estimated at three and a half pieces	-	3½
A piece of handkerchiefs of 9 ells, estimated at a piece and a half	-	1½
A rod (about an ell and a quarter of thick woollen stuff) estimated at a piece	-	1
A girdle of red cloth (an ell long by one foot broad) estimated at a piece	-	1
Two common guns, valued at two pieces	-	2
Two barrels of gunpowder (about 5lbs. each) valued at two pieces	-	2
Two bags of leaden musket balls, (weight 3lbs. each) valued at half a piece	-	0½
Two swords, valued at each a quarter of a piece	-	0½
Two dozens of common sheath knives, estimated at half a piece	-	0½
Two bars of iron (weight both together 20lb.) valued at a piece	-	1
Five pots of Dutch ware, valued at half a piece	-	0½
Four barrels of brandy, each containing five pots, valued at four pieces	-	4
Ten strings of bugles (glass beads, of which chaplets are made) valued at half a piece	-	0½

Total 30 pieces.

I have paid moreover to the broker for his trouble the value of six pieces in guns, powder, swords, and brandy - 6 pieces.

General total 36 pieces.
Besides

Besides the pieces determined on for each slave, the captain must also, ere the bargain be closed, make a present to the Mafouka and the brokers who have served him best, and whom he is very glad to attach to himself: these presents are made in coral, services of plate, carpets, and other moveables, more or less precious.

Slaves are at present much dearer than formerly, at least to the French; for they may be dear with respect to one nation and not to another; the French, English and Dutch alike make their exchanges with goods, but these goods differ; so that the dearth of slaves to one nation depends on the price which she herself puts on the goods she carries to the negroes, and this price, as it may be imagined, must vary by reason of the better or worse understanding which reigns among individuals engaged in the same commerce. It would be easy for them not to pay for slaves more than their just value, or even below it, if it were moreover allowable to exercise monopoly and be more unjust towards the barbarian and the stranger than to the citizen, but through want of good understanding among the captains the reverse always takes place; the slaves are bought as it were by auction, and at more than their value. A reasonable price however is sometimes fixed, which they agree not to exceed in their purchases; but even then, every one for himself, desiring to make a ready bargain, renders this convention illusory, by a tacit agreement with the brokers, to pay them in secret a higher price for him whom they have publicly bargained for, to save appearances. The matter at present has come to this pitch, that the negroes are themselves afraid lest the French should in the end make up their minds to renounce a commerce which becomes daily more and more expensive to them. An old Mafouka one day came to see a missionary respecting this subject, and imagining that the king of France was to be treated with in the same way as the king of Kakongo, and that a missionary could indiscriminately preside over commerce or announce the gospel; thou must, says he, "write to the king of France, and advise him, for his own advantage and ours, to establish thee here to see that the captains of ships do not buy any more of our slaves below the reasonable price, for we see very well, that after having bought them of us too dear they will finish by buying no more of us at all."

The function of the brokers is not limited to facilitating the slave trade; they are also charged with superintending the execution of the regulations established by the king or the Mafouka, the most important of which is, that there shall not be sold any slaves to the Europeans except those which have been taken in war or purchased from abroad. Every slave born in the kingdom is under the protection of the Mafouka, and may appeal against his master, should he be inclined to sell him to the Europeans, unless he have given him that right through his own misconduct; for the law authorises a master to rid himself of a slave, who may have been guilty of bad faith, rebellion, or any other crime. The Mafouka of Kakongo, to prevent the violences and frauds which might be exercised in this trade, has issued prohibitions against the brokers from trafficking in slaves during the night time, or even from introducing them into the stores of the Europeans, under pretext of shewing them to the captains. They are equally forbidden to receive, without an express permission, advance or earnest for the price of the slaves who have not as yet been delivered up.*

The slave trade is the only one which the French carry on, upon these coasts; that in ivory, monkeys, parrots, and some other merchandize of that kind, forms an object of so little importance that they reckon nothing of it. The English obtain yearly from

* The prohibition made by the Mafouka of Kakongo to the brokers, against receiving advances on the price of the slaves they had to deliver, is habitually transgressed under the very eye of that minister.

the forest of Jomba several ships cargoes of a very good red wood for dying, though of an inferior quality to that of Brazil. The trade carried on upon the coasts with foreigners, interests, as I have just observed, only the small number of individuals who may be regarded as the rich and mighty ones of the country. As to the people; knowing no need, but that of food and clothing in the grossest and simplest manner, they confine their traffic to a very few things; there is a market daily in all the towns and great villages, it is held in the public place under the shade of some thick trees. They sell smoke-dried fish, manioc and other roots, salt, palm-nuts, sugar-canes, bananas, fig bananas, and some other fruits. It is on feast days that the greatest afflux of buyers and sellers is seen. No fraud is known in the market; a mother sends thither a child six years old, convinced that they will not deceive him. It is not necessary to understand the language in order to buy, no one ever cheats or bargains: all goods are divided equally in small portions of the standard weight, and each portion is worth a maccuta. There is not much greater risk of being cheated in the quality than in the quantity; one person's salt and manioc is worth the salt and manioc of another. Thus, without taking the trouble of comparing one dealer's goods with those of another, they take from the first they find as many small packets as they have maccutas to give, and make room for others.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Of Wars.*

IN these countries where the crown is elective, the death of the kings, according to a remark already made, is as it were the signal of a civil war. A prince who, ambitious enough to direct his views to the throne, has no reason to count on the favour of the electors, makes his vassals take up arms to force their suffrages, or to dispute the crown with him whom they may have preferred. If he fears that his party may not be the strongest, he addresses himself to a foreign prince, who, for a few pieces of European stuffs, or vessels of silver, lends him a whole army.

The reciprocal pretensions of the sovereigns to certain provinces, or even on the states bordering on theirs, are the common pretext of all wars between people of different kingdoms. All these barbarous kings have their chimæra in this respect, which they realize when a favourable opportunity offers; it is thus that the count of Sagos has just availed himself of his pretensions to the kingdom of n'Goio. The king of Congo claims the kingdom of Kakongo as a province of his states; and the king of Kakongo, doubtless by way of reprisals, never calls himself any other title than *Ma-Congo*, king of Congo, instead of *Ma-Kakongo* king of Kakongo, a title given him by foreigners, and the only one that suits him. These pretensions are not always unfounded; many small kingdoms or sovereign states, which at the present day share Africa among them, were originally provinces dependent on other kingdoms, the particular governors of which usurped the sovereignty. It is not a long time since the Sogno ceased to be a province of the kingdom of Congo.

The sovereigns of these countries maintain no regular troops. When a king has determined on war, his *Makaka*, minister of war and generalissimo of his armies, transmits orders to the princes and governors of provinces, to levy troops; the latter never fail to lead to the rendezvous the quota demanded of them. If the *Makaka* in the review he makes of his armies thinks it does not cover a sufficient space of ground, he has only to say a word in the king's name and in a few days he finds it more numerous

by half. Among these people, as among the ancient Romans, every citizen in a state, to bear arms is a soldier of need; but a very bad soldier.

They who march on some military expedition never fail to paint their whole bodies red, confident that this colour will render them invulnerable to fire arms; part of them wear panaches, even greater and richer in colours than those with which our ladies of the great world adorn themselves at the present day; but they regard them less as ornaments than as scarecrows to inspire their foes with dread. Many are also persuaded that certain feathers of certain birds arranged in a certain guise on their caps have the virtue of putting danger aside, and placing their head in safety. All take with them victuals for a few days, and what arms they can procure, for they have none furnished them. These troops advance on either part without order and without discipline; and the chiefs who command them seem rather to perform the function of shepherds or herdsmen, than that of generals of armies. If a meeting take place they fall to directly, and each, regardless of rank, inattentive to order, goes right upon the enemy he has in his head; the battle always begins with disorder and confusion, soon ending by a general rout or a complete victory. All depends on the first shock, the party that sustains it with most vigour cannot fail to remain master of the field of battle. The combats are neither bloody nor obstinate: the action is scarce commenced ere fright seizes one or both armies. To determine on a general flight, there only needs that of some soldiers who have seen a comrade of theirs fall by their sides, in an instant all is dissipated, and the whole is disbanding. Then the victors pursue the vanquished, sticking to no employ but that of making prisoners, whom they sell as slaves to the Europeans.

But it is very rare that the armies advance thus to encounter each other with the intention of coming to blows. The great art of making war is to avoid an enemy and to pounce on the villages known to be abandoned, in order to pillage them, reduce them to ashes, and take some prisoners there. So that no resistance be found, they advance fiercely, burn and sack every thing, and often both armies are despoiling, each on their side, at once, on the hostile territories. They then return, always avoiding an encounter except in case a favourable opportunity occurs for making prisoners. If the *makaka* hears that a hostile party is to pass along a wood, or through some defile, he puts a much stronger body in ambush, which bounces suddenly upon it, surrounds it, and masters it without fighting.

The armies in general do not make long campaigns, a war is sometimes over in less than eight days. When the soldiers have eaten the provisions they brought with them, and find none in the hostile country, or when they want powder and lead, nothing can hold them; all, without asking leave, take the road home; and if the king is not satisfied with this expedition, it rests only with him to prepare another, which terminates by desolating the country, without however occasioning any more bloodshed. The kings sometimes make war in person; but if they be taken, they have no mercy to expect. Their heads are chopped off on the field of battle; a piece of cruelty which always implies weakness in him who performs it, a dastardly and timid soul which fears to repent in future of having been generous to an enemy who had fallen into its power.

It is less by their strength, as we see, than by their respective weakness that these different states maintain themselves; and because the soldiers of one kingdom are neither braver nor better commanded than those of another. Two hundred men of our regular troops, would conquer as much of the country as they could run over; but after triumphing over kings and nations, they soon, as if in turn besieged by the action of the climate, and by all the wants of life, would find themselves at the discretion of those whom they had insulted but a few days before. It is thus that providence seems

to have wished to protect these poor people, by their very misery and their weakness, against the ambition and cupidity of polished nations.

Though the Negroes do not pique themselves on courage and valour in fight, they however passionately desire the reputation of brave men; no greater wrong could be uttered to a man, than to call him a coward; as, on the other hand, no more flattering compliment could be paid him, than to say he has an intrepid and martial air. Beauty of countenance is regarded as a defect in men; every one envies him whom the small-pox have worst used. Many, in order to give themselves a terrible air, and through a foolish ostentation of firmness and courage, make incisions on their visages, on their shoulders and arms. It might be thought, on seeing them after this cruel operation, that they had just been engaged in a sanguinary battle.

They use nothing for staunching blood but gunpowder, and their wounds cicatrize in a short time. A Missionary one day asked a Negro, who was getting his visage furrowed, why he condemned himself to so much suffering? "For honour," said he, "and because, on seeing me, people will say, there's a man of heart." Doubtless, greater and truer courage would be shewn, in exposing the person to the steel of his foes, than in getting himself slashed with the edge of a knife; but it must nevertheless be allowed, that men who have constancy enough to submit, through vain-glory, to such painful operations, would not be incapable of generous actions of another description. Nor can it be doubted, that the form of the government which naturally invites the people to repose and sloth, is also one of the causes which most contributes to sustain their cowardice. A slave, whose condition is independent of all revolutions, will never rush headlong into dangers, like a soldier whose interest is confounded with that of his sovereign, and who knows that in fighting for his country, he is also fighting for the little inheritance which he has received from his fathers.

CHAP. XIX. — *Of the Language.*

Among that prodigious mass of narratives, from which has been formed the *general* history of *Voyages* and *Travels*, and an infinity of others published every day, no mention is made of the languages which are spoken in the different countries, the manners and usages of which are described to us; and if the authors did not from time to time put into the mouths of the inhabitants of those distant regions, some words of which they know the meaning, we should be tempted to believe, that only dumb people had travelled among those nations. All seem to have agreed on observing the profoundest silence on this matter, either because it appeared to them foreign to the province of history, and far from proper to stimulate the curiosity of the readers, or more probably, because they had not made a stay long enough among the people of whom they speak to us, to learn their language, and undertake to give us an idea of it. Be it as it may, all will agree at least, that whatever relates to the language, its genius, its relation with other known languages, even its mechanism and its flow are not traits which would look misplaced in the historical picture of a nation; and if we have to dread offending the delicacy of some of our readers, by referring them to the *a, b, c*, we dare hope that the greater number, and those especially who love the sciences, and cultivate the languages, will not be sorry to add to their acquirements, some succinct notions of a language which, considering it to be that of a barbarous people, is not on that account less interesting.

The idiom of Kakongo, nearly the same with that of Loango, n'Goio-samba, and other small circumjacent states, differs essentially from that of Congo. Several similar articles, and a great number of common roots, seem however to indicate that these languages had a common origin; but they know not which of the two is the mother tongue. The cleverest among the Negroes have not the smallest idea of the origin and progress of their language; they speak, say they, as they have heard their fathers speak. It has been thought that there might be perceived some marked connections between this language and some ancient tongues, especially the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

Though the Missionaries, in considering the richness and beauty of the language, suspected that it was formerly written, nothing however has been found capable of convincing them; they have no where found any traces of writing, nor any vestiges of signs which might stand in its stead. The Negroes consider it as a sort of prodigy, that the Europeans, by means of certain characters, communicate ideas, and converse at a hundred or a thousand leagues distance, as if they were present; but they did not even suspect that it was possible to introduce this marvellous art into their language, and still less that it could be practised even with the most limited capacity. Writing, in fact the finest invention of the human mind, if its origin be not divine, has something in it which astonishes reason; and, had we not the use of it, we should doubtless feel the same sentiments as did these barbarians, at the recital made to them of its valuable advantages, which often equal and sometimes surpass even those of speech.

The Missionaries, deeming themselves the first writers of the language, used the right which belonged to them in that capacity, of determining the figure of the characters, and of regulating the orthography. They consulted the pronunciation in order to fix the number of letters which were to be employed in writing. They have taken them from our alphabet, only to the number of eighteen, which seemed to them sufficient; A, B, D, E, F, G, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, S, T, U, V, Z. The S, is put for the C, before the vowels *a, e, i*; the K stands for it before *o, u*, and all the consonants; it also stands for the Q on all occasions. The pronunciation of the language is soft and easy; it excludes the H aspirate, and hence that letter becomes as useless as it is with us in the words *horloge, hirondelle, heures*, and others, the first syllable of which in nowise participates the sound of the H, with which they are spelt. The R is of no use to them, their organ admits not the roughness of its pronunciation; they change it into L, and if you tell them to pronounce *ra, re, ri*, they say *la, le, li*. They know not the sound of the U, which they pronounce ou. The X is useless in their alphabet. The J, consonant, is equally unnecessary; they never use our syllables *ja, je, jo, ju*; but they always pronounce it hard, *ga, gue, gui, go, gou*.

Almost all the syllables are simple, and form only one sound, this renders the pronunciation light and rapid; there are, however, many words in the language, which begin with *m*, or *n*, as in the words *m-Fouka, n'Goio*, but these letters are pronounced so slightly, that they who are strangers to the language, would pronounce after them *Fouka* and *Goio*. The letters *a* and *o* are often repeated, and terminate a great number of words. Many liquid syllables also contribute to soften the pronunciation.

The language has not, properly speaking, either genders, numbers, or cases. To express the difference of gender in animated things, they add the word *bakala*, male, or *kento*, female; thus, *n-sousou-ba kala* signifies a cock; *n-sousou-kento*, a hen. We say likewise, a male or female canary; a soft-roed or a hard-roed carp, &c. The cases are distinguished as with us, by articles, and it is the same with the nouns. The nominative of the verb has its case distinguished by the place it occupies in the phrase.

The nouns adjective are not of more frequent use than in the Hebrew ; the qualities of the person or thing are expressed by substantives, which gives to their discourse a strength and energy of which our language is not susceptible. They also, sometimes, render the adjectives by verbs ; instead of saying he is a *despicable man*, they say, *he is a man to be despised* ; 'tis a *monster to be dreaded*, instead of saying 'tis a *dreadful monster*.

The language admits neither of comparatives nor superlatives ; verbs joined to substantives supply their places ; thus, in order to say, *the king is mightier than the makala*, they would say, the king surpasses the makala in might : *the Zaira is the collector of all the rivers ; the Zaira exceeds in width all the rivers ; or all the rivers lead to the Zaira in width*. The superlative is also rendered by repetition of the positive. In order to say, *a very high mountain, a very black cloud*, they would say, *a high high mountain, a black black cloud ; early in the morning, morning morning ; mène mène*. It appears that this mode of expression is quite in nature ; we see among us, that the little children who have not yet learned the use of the superlative, make up for it, in their little stories, by repeating the positive, and say, great great for *very great* ; far far for *very far*, and so forth.

There are very few adverbs ; there are, however, verbs which stand in their stead. The greater part of the conjunctions which serve to connect discourse are unknown to them ; they have no terms which may be rendered by *for*, *then*, nor have they the conjunction *or* ; they supply them by different turns of phrases. They also want the conjunction *and* ; they supply it by another, which has the signification of our *with*, or otherwise they repeat it, and to say, for example, he *knows good and evil*, they say, *he knows good, he knows evil* ; the army was powerful and trained to war ; the army was powerful, it was trained to war ; a mode of expression which, properly managed, has a fine effect in discourse.

The pronouns which mark possession are expressed by adverbs ; thus, *my*, is rendered by *amé* ; *thy*, by *akou* ; *his*, *her*, *their*, by *andi*, and so forth ; *my sheep*, *li mémé, li ame* ; *thy scissars*, *tu ziolo tou akou* ; *his mats*, *n'teva vi-andi*. This is as much as to say, the mutton to me, the scissars to thee, the mats to him. The nominative pronouns of the verb, *I*, *thou*, *he*, *we*, *ye*, *they*, are rendered by *i*, *ou*, *ka*, *tou*, *lou*, *ba*, when men or women are spoken of ; and by the articles proper for nouns, when beasts or inanimate things are spoken of.

One of the great difficulties of the language consists in the articles ; there are thirteen of them, seven for the singular and six for the plural. Those of the singular are *i*, *bou*, *li*, *kou*, *ou*, *lou*, and those for the plural *i*, *ba*, *bi*, *ma*, *tou*, *zi*. Each of these articles has under it a class of substantives to which only it can be joined. The article of *ka*, which signifies a bed, is *ki* for the singular and *bi* for the plural. A person would not be understood if, changing the articles, he said *li-ka* in the singular for *ki-ka*, or *zi-ka* in the plural for *bi-ka*.

Certain substantives are always preceded by their articles ; others must have them immediately after them. *Lézè**, for example, which signifies a man servant, and *oula*, which signifies a toad, both have *ki* for their article ; but *lézè* is always followed by that article, and *oula* has it always before ; hence they say, *lézè-ki*, a man servant, *ki-oula*, a toad. He would be unintelligible, who, transposing the articles, should say *ki-lézè, oula-ki*.

* *Lézè*, which I have cited as one of the substantives always followed by their articles, takes its own before or after it, according to circumstances.

Several of these articles follow particular rules ; the article *li*, for example, only precedes its substantive when it is nominative to the verb ; in other circumstances it follows. The article *ma*, agrees only with the genitive plural, and always precedes its noun : it is of great use in the language ; besides its peculiar function, it represents the names of *King, Prince, Governor, Chief of a village*, according as it precedes the name of a kingdom, principality, government, or village ; thus, *ma-Loango* signifies King of Loango ; *ma-Kaïa*, Prince of Kaïa ; *ma-Singa*, Governor of Singa ; *ma-Kibota*, Lord of Kibota. It is evident that this article corresponds in signification with our article *de* (of) in the genitive singular. When we say Monsieur d'Artois, M. d'Orleans, M. de Champigny, we mean the Count of Artois, the Duke of Orleans, the Marquis of Champigny. The plural which the Nègroes use has something more majestic ; and *des Artois* would present to the imagination a richer image than *d'Artois* ; doubtless by reason, that all which has the air of aggrandizing a man and augmenting his domains, ever flatters his vanity most agreeably.

If there is nothing so difficult in the language as the articles, there is nothing finer and more satisfactory than the verbs. They may be reduced to three classes ; common verbs, which vary only in their terminations, and these are the most numerous. The second is that of the verbs, which begin by *kan*, and lose that first syllable in many circumstances. The third comprehends those which begin with L and V, and which change at certain times the L into D, and the V into P. These three classes of verbs have common rules for varying their terminations ; they have all the tenses which we have, and many which we have not ; *i-mènè-lia* signifies, for example, I have eaten ; *ia-lili*, I have eaten long ago ; *ia-lia*, I have eaten a very great while ago.

Besides this multiplication of tenses, which does infinite service towards the precision of discourse, and which has supplied the want of adverbs, there is in this language a multiplicity of verbs which greatly simplify their expressions. Each simple verb has under it a many other verbs, of which it is the root, and which, besides the principal signification, have an accessory one, which we render only by periphrases ; *sala*, for example, means to work ; *salila*, to facilitate work ; *salisia*, to work along with some one ; *salisila*, to make a person work for some one's profit ; *sazia*, to help some one to work ; *salanga*, to be in the habit of working ; *salasiana*, to work for each other ; *salangana*, to be fit for work. There are no radical verbs which do not admit similar modifications ; and by means of certain particles or augmentatives, each of these verbs and all its affiliations, designate also whether the action they express be rare or frequent ; whether there be in this action difficulty, ease, excess, and so on for other differences. This multiplicity of verbs, joined to all the modifications of which they are susceptible, form an inexhaustible fountain of riches for the language, and display beauties which cannot be felt and appreciated but by use.

In the midst of this profusion of verbs, it is surprising that not one has been found which answered to that of *to live* ; this is rendered by the periphrases, *to accompany one's soul, to be with one's heart*.

There are to be remarked in the language of the Nègroes, many turns of phrases which appertain to the Hebrew. We have observed that they expressed, like the latter, by substantives, the qualities of the person or thing which are rendered by adjectives in other languages. Thus in order to say *hot water*, they say *water of fire*, *mazia-ma n'bazou*. They say also a *man of blood*, for a *cruel man* ; a *man of riches*, for a *rich man*, and so forth. They never express the affections of love or hatred, joy or affliction, by present tenses, but by preterites, like the Hebrews : they say *I have loved*, *I have hated*, for *I love*, and *I hate*.

There are also found in the language many words pretty much resembling Hebrew words, and which have the same signification: in Hebrew, *bana* or *banak* בָּנָה, whence is derived the word *bén* בֶּן, son, signifies he has built, because they considered the children as living stones which composed the edifice of the family: in Kakongo, *mania* signifies stones, and *bana* children; *n'tamer* means a rule, a measure; and in Hebrew *támam* or *thámam* תָּמַם, fulness and perfection; *infi*, in the language of the negroes, the lower parts, the foundation; in Hebrew *ifa*, which is written *isháb* יִשָּׁב, signifies lower parts; foundation. *Kóma*, to approach, to meet; in Hebrew *koum* קָם, to rise up, and go and meet. *Lika*, to eat; in Hebrew *lakam*, which is written *lakham* לָכַם, signifies the same thing; and *likem* or *lekhem* לֶחֶם, means bread. The latter H, as we have remarked, does not enter into the pronunciation of these Africans. The little practice which the compositors have in Hebrew, does not permit us to augment, as we might easily do, the list of similar words.

The connections of this language with the Greek, appear equally marked. Besides several constructions of similar phrases, there are, as we have observed, several verbs which change their initials, and take augments and double letters as with the Greeks. There are to be found also a great number of words which differ little from Greek words, and signify the same thing: *Bafita*, which is pronounced *Bafitou*, means, like the *bafleus*, βασιλευς of the Greeks, chief, man of dignity. *Bembo*, noise, sound of voice; in Greek *bembex* βεμβέξ, noise of wind. *Bima*, paste, *bialia*, victuals; in Greek βίος, life, and what belongs to life. *Doko*, to walk or follow; in Greek *dioko*, διώκω, I pursue. *Foulla*, to blow; in Greek *follis* φολλίς, bellows. *Kama*, a mound, an obstacle; in Greek *kamax*, καμάχ, a stake, a prop. *Mazia*, the waters, the sources; in Greek *mazos* μαζός, the nurse's teat. *Baia*, poor, little; in Greek *baioi*, βαιοί, small, single, and without support. *Muna*, space of time; in Greek *mune*, μύνη, delay. *Munomai*, μυνομαι, to temporize. *Nota*, cloud, thick fog; in Greek *notis*, νοτίς, humidity. *Paka*, stable where animals are shut up; in Greek *pacico*, πακίσω, I shut up. *Pakoua*, revenues, domains of the king; in Greek *pacus*, παχύς, rich. *Dobo*, gift, present; in Greek *doó*, δόω, I give. *Pena*, pain, misery, inquietude; in Greek *peneis*, πένεις, πένος, pain, travail, inquietude, &c.

There are also to be found several words which seem to have come from the Latin, such as *méfa*, table; *passi*, suffering; *mongo*, mountain; *méné*, morning; *béné*, much, largely, strongly. *Nzala*, zeal, haste; *zelus* is employed in the same sense by several Latin authors. *Ilia*, the intestines; the same word signifies the same thing in Latin.

We pretend not in this place to assign all the relations which this language may have with the ancient tongues: we have contented ourselves with citing some of those which struck us most, and without deciding of ourselves, we leave the informed reader, and him who is versed in antiquities, to decide whether we may not reasonably suspect some analogy between these languages; and, supposing that he judges so, to explain how it could have happened that the language of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, should have concurred to form that of the Africans.

CHAP. XX.—Of the Religion and its Ministers.

THESE people, in order not to expose their religion to contempt, are very reserved in speaking of it to Europeans; and it is only by the long sojourn that the missionaries have

made among them that they have discovered, at least in part, what constitutes the object of their superstitions.

They acknowledge a Supreme Being, who, having no origin, is himself the origin of all things. They believe he has created all that is fine, all that is good in the universe; that being by nature just, he loves justice in others, and severely punishes fraud and perjury. They call him *Zambi*; they take his name in testimony of the truth; and they regard perjury as one of the greatest of crimes; they even pretend that a species of malady called *Zambi-a-n-pongou*, is the punishment of it; and they say, when they see one attacked with it, "there's a perjured man."

Besides this just and perfect God, they admit another, to whom they give quite different attributes; the first created all, the latter would destroy all; he delights in the disorder and evil which he causes among men; it is he who counsels them to injustice, perjury, thefts, poisonings, and all crimes; he is the author of accidents, losses, diseases, barrenness of land, in a word, of all the miseries which afflict humanity, and even of death itself; they call him *Zambi-a-n'bi*, God of wickedness. Here may be perceived the error of the Manichæans touching the Divinity. It appears natural enough that man who is not enlightened with the torch of revelation, considering the evils of all kinds which beset him from his entrance into the world to his departure, should study to discover the cause, and that, ignorance being one of the greatest disorders of his soul, he should be bewildered in his conjectures on matters so much above his faculties.

It is true, that the philosophers of antiquity have attained, by dint of reason alone, to a surmise of the truth, and have been able to say, that man doubtless was not born so unhappy except in punishment of some crime which was imputed to him, though he knew it not; the people of whom we speak did not carry their philosophy so far, and, little supposing that it was in man himself that we must seek the principle of the evils which afflict man, they believed, while they shut their eyes on the want of consequence to the supposition, that they could not dispense with acknowledging a maleficent divinity; but no sooner was a glimpse of the truth shewn them upon this point, than they seized it as if of their own accord; the history of the fall of the first man and the dogma of original sin, which shock and scandalize the proud reason of our modern philosophers, are to them a satisfactory unravelling, and, as it were, the first step which conducts them to the faith of a sole Supreme Being, sovereignly perfect, who is the author of all good, and who permits evil without participating in it. It appears to them much more reasonable to believe what is above the reach of reason, than what is at variance with it,—a mystery rather than a contradiction, the existence of original sin, rather than that of two rival deities.

They who know only the theology of the country, persuaded that the good God will always be sufficiently favourable, think only of appeasing the God of wickedness: some, to render him propitious to them, never eat fowls or game; others eat only certain sorts of fish, fruits, or vegetables; not one among them but makes profession of abstaining all his life-time from some sort of nourishment. The only way of making him offerings is to let die under their feet, in honour of him, some shrubs laden with their fruits; the banana tree is that which they consecrate to him in preference.

They have idols, which they honour less as gods than as interpreters of Divinity: they are wooden figures, rudely wrought, some of which are as large as life; they are shut up in temples which are neither larger nor more richly ornamented than common houses; some of these idols are found in their towns and villages; and sometimes, in woods and by-places, individuals go to consult them, to learn from them what will be the success of their undertakings. Some believe that they now and then speak, but all believe

believe that they inspire those who consult them. When a considerable robbery has been committed of which they know not the perpetrators, they go to seek an idol, which they bring to the public place with sound of drums and trumpets, in the belief that it will tell them who are guilty; if these do not appear, they bring a more celebrated idol, multiplying their songs and religious ceremonies; then they who have some knowledge of the theft, think themselves obliged to come and declare it; frequently the culprits themselves, intimidated by the pomp of the ceremonies, hint to the persons interested to let it cease, and the thing stolen shall be restored, which is done without delay.

Besides these idols of the first order, there are others which private persons keep by them, and which they honour through a vain confidence, without ever addressing any prayers to them. Several persons also carry in their girdles small marmosets, fish teeth, and birds' feathers, as preservatives against accidents with which they are or fancy themselves menaced for misdeeds. All of them, after having tilled their field, take care, in order to rid it of barrenness, to stick in the ground in a particular manner, branches of certain trees with some bits of broken pots. They perform nearly the same operation before their huts, when they have to absent themselves for a considerable time; and the most determined robber dares not cross the threshold, when he sees it defended by these mysterious signs.

The ministers of religion are called *Ganga*; they are as ignorant as the rest of the people, but greater rogues. The oldest among them submit to ordeals, and an infinity of ridiculous ceremonies are imposed on those who wish to become members of their body. No one doubts that the *Ganga* hold commerce with the God of wickedness, and that they know the fittest means of appeasing him. It appears that there is as much or even more confidence placed in them than in their idols; they are consulted respecting futurity and the discovery of the most secret things; the people ask of them, as they do of the king, rain and fair weather. It is believed that by virtue of their enchantments, they can render themselves invisible, and pass through closed doors, were they of the hardest wood or even of iron.

It has never been remarked that the *Ganga* offer any sort of sacrifices to the Divinity; and considering the functions of their ministry, they do not deserve any names but those of diviners, magicians, or tellers of good fortune. There are some among them, as we have observed, who practise medicine, and who make a trade of curing the sick by the sound of instruments, by breathings, and by incantations.

At the birth of children the *Ganga* are called in, who impose on them some superstitious practices to which they are to be faithful all their lives, and of which their mothers are obliged to remind them when they come to years of discretion. These practices are more or less austere and ridiculous in proportion as the *Ganga* is inspired at the moment; but whatever they be, those to whom they are prescribed never fail to adhere to them religiously.

The missionaries saw in the village of Loubou, in the kingdom of Loango, a boy and a girl to whom marriage was forbidden, and who were obliged on pain of death to observe a perfect continency all their lives. It is not known whether this law was common with others; whether it had been imposed from the time of their birth by the *Ganga*, or whether they had voluntarily prescribed it to themselves; in other respects nothing distinguished them from the common people; they held no ministry in the religion. There are some families who faithfully observe, without knowing why, the practice of circumcision.

The *Ganga*, who in other respects do not pique themselves on uniformity in their doctrine, unanimously teach every body that there would be an extreme danger in eating partridges,

partridges, and no one dare hazard the experiment. All the inhabitants of the country dread them, as fatal and ill-omen'd birds; they especially dread their cry. They who have zeal for the public good kill as many of them as they can; and as they know that the Europeans make no scruple in eating them, they carry them to the stores which they find on the coasts, where they obtain liberal supplies of powder and ball to kill more. When they are asked why they have such an aversion to eating game so delicate, and of which foreigners make a feast? they answer, that apparently what is good for one country is not good for another, and as for themselves they know well that no sooner should they have eaten of it than their fingers would have dropped from their hands.

Though the people who inhabit these climates have skins of the finest black, there does not however want an example of a child preserving the colour which all have when they are born, and its preserving it during life as white as that of an European. It is remarked, that this sort of whites have always sandy or red hair and beards, weak eye-sight, and hesitating looks. This error of nature, far from being a disgrace to those on whom it falls, conciliates the respect and veneration of the people for them; they are placed above the *ganga*, they are regarded as extraordinary men and quite divine; so much so, that the missionaries saw one whose hairs were sold as reliques, which, it was said, had the virtue of preserving the bearer from all kinds of accidents.

The missionaries, ever since their arrival in these countries, employed themselves in a particular manner, in finding out what was the opinion of the people on the nature of the soul, and its destiny; and they found, there was only one sentiment on this head; that all believed the soul to be spiritual, and that it survived the body; without however knowing what was its state after separation from the body, whether joy or pain; they only say, "that they believe it flies from the towns and villages, and flutters in the air above the woods and forests, in the way which the Deity pleases."

They who inhabit the farthest lands, and who have never had any connection with foreigners, think on this point with those who frequent the Europeans, and constantly answer the missionaries, who ask them what becomes of man after death: "that his body rots in the earth, but that his soul, being a spiritual substance, is incapable of dissolution, and subsists always."

This statement of the negroes on the immortality of the soul, joined to their uncertainty respecting its state after separation from the body, inspires them at once with great respect for the dead, and great fear of ghosts; since they never fail, in order to acquit themselves well toward their parents and friends, to celebrate their obsequies with all the pomp they can afford. As soon as the sick person has breathed his last, the ministers of medicine retire, as well as the players of instruments; his nearest relatives take possession of the body, which they exalt on a scaffold, under which they light a fire, which throws up a thick smoke. When the corpse is sufficiently smoked, they expose it for some days in the open air, placing beside it a person who has nothing to do but to drive away the flies that want to come nigh it. Then they wrap it in a prodigious quantity of foreign stuffs, or stuffs of the country. They judge of the riches of the heirs by the quality of their stuffs, and of their affection for the dead by the thickness of the roller. The mummy thus dressed is taken to a public place, and sometimes lodged in a sort of niche, where it remains a greater or less time according to the rank it occupied in the world when living. The shortest exposure is always for several months, and it often lasts a whole year. During all this time the parents, the nearest relatives, the friends, and above all, the spouses of the dead, who have placed their huts near the spot where it is exposed, assemble regularly every evening to weep, sing, and dance round the funeral lodge.

On the eve of the day fixed for interment, they enclose the body with all the stuffs that envelope it in a large coffin wrought by art, in the form of a tun. On the morrow, when all the relatives and friends are arrived, they put the coffin on a sort of funeral car, to which men are yoked ; and they set forward. Care has been taken to level the roads by which the convoy had to pass. For the illustrious dead, such as kings and princes, they cut new ones across the plains, of the breadth of thirty or forty feet ; along the road they make the greatest noise possible ; they dance, sing, play on instruments, and all this is done with the greatest demonstrations of grief. Frequently the same person dances, sings, and weeps at the same time. When they reach the burial place, which is sometimes very far from the town or village, they lower the coffin into a hole about fifteen feet deep, cut like a well, which they instantly fill with earth. The rich often inter with the dead his favourite jewels, some pieces of coral or silver. There are some who raise the tomb, and place by it eatables, animals' teeth, or some antiquities by which the deceased set the greatest store, and which were formerly the instruments of his superstition.

Though these people are minute observers of the practices of the religion their fathers have taught them, the missionaries remarked, that they were not headstrong in them. They blindly follow prejudices which no one had hitherto undertaken to rid them of ; but they have good sense enough to feel the vanity of their observances, the ridicule which attaches to their superstitions, and have too much good faith not to admit it, when occasion serves. All those to whom missionaries have spoken of religion, even the princes and grandees of the country have confessed to them, that they had little confidence in their idols and their ministers, " but," added they, " no one hitherto has spoken to us of the Deity otherwise than our fathers did : we know that European ministers have given sublime ideas of him to several of our neighbouring people, and that they have taught them how he must be honoured, but they have not come as far as us ; stay yourselves ; you shall make us know the truth, we will be docile in following it."

A VOYAGE TO SENEGAL, THE ISLE OF GOREE, AND THE RIVER GAMBIA.

By M. ADANSON, Correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences.

Translated from the FRENCH.—With Notes by an English Gentleman, who resided
some Time in that Country*.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IT is a maxim established by a celebrated philosopher of antiquity, *that if a young man is ambitious to raise a reputation in the world, or to improve in knowledge and wisdom, he should travel into foreign countries* †. This seems to have been strongly verified by the learned M. Adanson, author of the following voyage. The love of natural history, and an ardent desire of fame, excited this gentleman very early in life to exchange his native soil for the burning sands of Senegal; where he spent five years, in making a diligent inquiry into the various curiosities, natural and artificial, of Negroland. Hitherto we had received but very imperfect accounts from that part of Africa, former adventurers having had no notion of improving their minds, but their fortunes; so that their relations are confined to the *auri sacra fames*, the purchase of slaves, teeth and dust, with other materials of gain. Our author is the first philosopher, who adventured to visit the torrid zone, for the propagation of knowledge; and who, in search of this valuable treasure, may be truly said, to have encountered more monsters, than those ancient heroes, represented in fabulous story to have gone in pursuit of the golden fleece.

He begins his observations at his departure from Port L'Orient, the third of March, 1749, and does not finish them till five years after, in the month of March, 1754. By the general account of his voyage, we find, that during this time he employed himself chiefly, in the most curious researches of natural history; consulting rather his zeal for the advancement of learning, than his bodily strength, which was often put to the severest trials. We shudder even at the perusal of the many hardships he went through, to satisfy his own and the public curiosity; either in walking over the burning sands of the deserts of Africa, exposed to the scorching heats of the sun; or in traversing rivers and torrents, upon the back of a negro, who was frequently up to his chin in water; or in defending himself against tigers, wild boars, crocodiles, serpents, and other savage beasts, besides the many noxious insects with which those deserts abound.

A philosopher like M. Adanson, whose aim in travelling is to see and to learn, takes notice of every thing that falls in his way. From so exact and judicious a narrative, one may therefore form a just idea of this part of Africa; a country overspread

* London 1759, 8vo.

† Philostratus in Apollonio.

with misery, the natural consequence of laziness. Thus he informs us of whatever relates to the manners and customs of the negroes, to their dress, habitations, repasts, dances, superstitions, and poverty: neither does he forget to mention their sociability, good-nature, docility, and respect for the French nation, which, we make no doubt, but they will be equally ready to shew to the new conquerors of Senegal*. He likewise takes notice of the Moors of that country, a nation very different from the negroes, but almost as poor and as indolent. Our author lived and conversed with those different people, and met with so kind a reception from them, as must be an encouragement to those, who shall have occasion to trade to that coast, since the French settlements have been so gloriously reduced by the arms of Great Britain.

In regard to the authenticity of this narrative, we may venture to affirm, that nothing of the kind has been published, with such strong marks of veracity, since Lord Anson's voyage. The character of our author, and his learned improvements, are well known at Paris, where he went through a course of study under Messieurs de Jussieu, of the Royal Academy of Sciences. Upon expressing an earnest desire of going over to Africa, with a view of making discoveries in the natural history of that country, he was introduced to M. David, Director of the East India Company, who recommended him in the warmest manner to M. de la Brue†, director general of the factory of Senegal. These are public facts, which evidently prove him to be a man of character and abilities, and every way qualified for this arduous task, so greatly conducive to the advancement of learning and commerce. As to his manner of executing it, we need only to mention the high approbation of the Royal Academy of Sciences, which we shall insert here at full length, as a lasting monument of the author's extraordinary merit.

Extract from the Registers of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Dec. the 4th, 1756.

MESSIEURS de Reaumur and de Jussieu junior, having been appointed to examine a work, written by M. Adanson, correspondent of the Academy, and intitled, *A voyage to Senegal, &c. performed during the Years 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, &c.* and having made their report, the Academy is of opinion, that the ingenious notions, exact descriptions, and judicious observations of the author, afford reason to believe, that his work will be acceptable to the public, and deserves the approbation of the Academy. In witness hereof I have signed the present certificate. Paris, Dec. the 4th, 1756.

Grand Jean de Fouchy, perpetual secretary of the Royal Academy of Sciences.

* This is to be understood, provided they meet with the like good usage they have been so long accustomed to.

† This gentleman being mentioned with great respect by our author, in several parts of this voyage, the reader will not perhaps be displeased with a further account of his character. He lived 27 years on his government, during which time his constant study was to serve not only his country, but the whole human species. I shall give but one instance of his universal benevolence. Having learned that the Moors, in the neighbourhood, either made captives, or killed, such Europeans as had the misfortune to be shipwrecked on their coast; he, from a principle of humanity, offered a reward of the value of twenty moidores for every man in that condition, they should bring to him alive. Thus he redeemed, at different times, and sent home to their native country, at his own expense, fourteen British subjects. He is also a man of genius and learning. The author of this note came to France with him, in the first cartel.

ADVERTISEMENT.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE reader will please to observe, that the French names of several places, animals, trees, &c. have been retained in the translation, as well because some of them seem to be of African original, others have been received in late use by the natives, and others, in fine, (which we may say of most of them) were such as we could not find proper terms to express in our language. In regard to the notes interspersed throughout this work, they were communicated by an English gentleman, of high character and reputation, who resided some time in that country, and whose name would do us honour, were we at liberty to mention it.

A VOYAGE TO SENEGAL, &c.

IT has been long observed, that most people come into the world with an inclination to some particular study or profession, which grows up and is strengthened with years. Whatever views our parents may have had in our education, the predominant taste always prevails, and, generally speaking, determines the pursuits or occupations of the rest of our life. Having in my very early days felt a particular liking to the study of philosophy and natural history, I found my inclinations averse from the profession for which my parents designed me, which was that of the church; and therefore I resigned a benefice, with which I had been already provided, that I might be entirely at liberty to pursue the study of natural philosophy.

The branch I first took up with was that of botany, which I considered as one of the most engaging studies, not only from its considerable use in life, but from its agreeable variety. The opportunity I had of attending the lectures of Mess. de Jussieu at the king's gardens, led me thither very often; and the strong passion I felt for that science, together with my constant application, soon made me known to those gentlemen. I cannot sufficiently express my acknowledgment to those two great masters, under whose direction I first began that vast career, which I have not yet finished. The spirit of observation and inquiry, so remarkable in M. Bernard de Jussieu, and which he transfuses, as it were, into those who sympathise with him in the same kind of studies, took with me immediately, and by degrees led me on from the study of plants to that of minerals, and from thence to that of animals, insects, and shells; in short, to every branch of natural history.

From that time I had access to the king's cabinet, and to those of M. de Reaumur and Mess. de Jussieu; there I laid a foundation of knowledge, to qualify me for making observations of every kind: and as a little astronomy seemed conducive to my purpose, I learnt as much as was necessary under M. le Monnier.

After I had gone through a course of study for upwards of six years, under the direction of those celebrated academicians, I made known the intention, which I had long since formed, of going abroad for further improvement. The observations of those gentlemen on different branches of the natural history of France had very nearly exhausted the subject; I therefore concluded that nothing could be of greater service to me, than to employ a part of my youthful days in a voyage to some distant and unfrequented

unfrequented country, from a persuasion that I should return with several discoveries, which would be new to Europe. I was sensible that the equinoctial parts of Africa had not been visited by any naturalist, consequently that a vast field was open to me, where I might reap a plentiful harvest of observations.

It was not, I confess, a small undertaking, for me alone to execute a work, which requires the joint labours of persons well skilled in botany, natural philosophy, anatomy, and design. This consideration however did not deter me; and I declared my intention to my late father, who introduced me, the beginning of the year 1748, to M. David, knight of the order of St. Michael, and director of the East-India company, to whom he was very well known. M. David, attentive to whatever may be of use to commerce, greatly approved of my design, and expressed vast joy at an undertaking, which might be as serviceable to natural philosophy as to the commerce of the honourable East-India company. He got me a place in the factory of Senegal, and promised me my passage on board the first ship which should set out immediately after the publication of the peace. I was greatly charmed to find my wishes fulfilled, and I set out from Paris the 20th of December the same year, in order to take my passage at Port l'Orient in one of the company's ships.

The winter was still very severe when I embarked, the 3d of March 1749, on board the *Chevalier Marin*, commanded by M. Daprès de Manneville. We set sail about ten o'clock in the morning, and got out of harbour in company with two small vessels, which were designed for the same port with us. The wind being at N. E. soon carried us out to sea; the beauty and serenity of which afforded us a most delightful prospect. An infinite number of porpoises, or sea-hogs, dancing about our ship, seemed to wish us a happy voyage.

These fishes are said to move constantly against the wind; and the sailors can foretell by their motion, which way it is to blow. Though this may not be true on all occasions, it was so at least on this; for we did not long enjoy that agreeable serenity. The wind soon chopped about, and blew so hard from the S. E. that the sea grew very rough in a short time.

No sooner had we reached the latitude of 36, than we began to find the sea more calm. A fresh gale sprung up at N. N. E. so that we had very agreeable weather after the storm, and were enjoying the pleasure of a fine climate, when we espied land the 6th of April. This was the Peak of Teneriff, which appeared to us in the form of a pyramid, or more properly of a sugar-loaf, the sides of which were stuck with several points. Though according to our reckoning we were distant from thence upwards of fourteen leagues at N. E., it seemed to us to be raised under an angle of above five degrees. At this distance, it had more the appearance of a cloud than of a mountain, by reason of its whiteness; and nothing but its stability could make us distinguish it. Sometimes it was perceived above, and at other times below the clouds, according as these were more or less distant from us. The nearer we drew towards it, keeping it always to the south-east, the more it seemed to be upon a level with the neighbouring mountains; so that when we were within four leagues, it was no longer possible for us to distinguish it from the rest. In this position the island of Teneriff seemed to be a cluster of mountains, joined so close to each other, that we could only discern their tops.

The notice we had taken of the isle of Teneriff, pursuant to the established custom of vessels trading to the coast of Africa, was sufficient to direct us in the remainder of our course to Senegal; and we should have followed it, had our present circumstances permitted. But the greatest part of our water and provisions had been consumed,

during the delay occasioned by contrary winds off Cape Finisterre; and what little remained, was insufficient to complete our voyage; so that we were under an absolute necessity of putting into some harbour, in order to take in a fresh supply of provisions. Being so near land, it would have been imprudent to let slip the opportunity: we therefore kept failing till night, and then lay by.

The day following we made the harbour of Santa Cruz, in the eastern part of the island, where we anchored in forty-five fathom water, the length of three cables from land. This place greatly resembles a road for shipping, because it is very open; yet it would be a pretty good harbour, if it had but safe anchorage: but being a rocky bottom, it is apt to let the anchors slip, and to cut the cables. However, it is a very wholesome place. The whole day was spent in mooring the ship, and securing its anchors. We likewise amused ourselves with fishing for mackrel. This seemed to be almost the only fish that could be found in that spot; and there was such plenty thereof, that all the mackrel of the neighbouring seas seemed to have made this their rendezvous. We had only to throw out our line, and we were sure of catching fish; and frequently without bait.

The people of the country catch this fish in a better manner. As soon as the night sets in, and the sea is calm, they light up flambeaus, and spread themselves with their boats all over the harbour, for about a league in circumference. When they come to the spot where there seems to be the greatest plenty of fish, they stop their boats, holding the flambeau above the water, in such a manner as that it shall give light without dazzling their eyes: and as soon as they see the fish sporting on the surface of the waves, and gathering round the light, they cast their net, and drag it immediately into their boat: thus they continue till their quantity is completed.

While this amusement lasted, we were visited every minute by fishermen, who came on board our ship to sell their commodity; and indeed we had it very cheap. The Canary mackrel is not of the same sort as that of Europe; it is not so broad, but much smaller, though very long; the skin is of a deep blue on the back, of a silver colour on the belly, and agreeably streaked. The flesh is white and firm, but somewhat dry; and though inferior to our European mackrel, still it is very well tasted.

The day following we had leave to go ashore. The sea was very calm in the road; but it was quite another thing on the sea-side; where there was a surf that would have frightened the most intrepid. As it is all covered with pebbles, which form a very steep bank, and are alternately impelled and repelled by the sea, it is very difficult landing. They are obliged to make use of the surge which drives towards shore, and to take care that the boat is not turned about, nor carried back to sea. For which purpose there are several sailors waiting on the sea-side; who, as soon as they see the surge approaching, step into the water, lay fast hold on the boat, then lift it up with the people in it, and carry it ashore in a most dexterous manner.

After we had landed we found, at the distance of a hundred paces from the sea-side, the town of Santa Cruz, situate in the east part of the island, as well as the harbour to which it gives its name. This town is neither fortified, nor surrounded with walls. It stands on a plain ascending from the sea, and terminating in a narrow piece of land, very flat, white, and sandy, about a league in extent towards the south. The town is four hundred fathoms in length, and fifty in breadth. It contains three hundred houses, built of stone, and three stories high. The number of inhabitants is about three thousand, all Spaniards, who in their customs and manner of living differ but very little from those of Europe.

Within three leagues west of this city, following the gorges of the mountains, which form an insensible ascent, we found the town of Laguna, capital of the island. It is situated at the foot of the Peak above-mentioned. This mountain, which bears the name of the Peak of Teneriff, is in 28 degrees 12 minutes north latitude, and 18 degrees 52 minutes west longitude of Paris. We found its height to be above two thousand fathoms, that is, near a league perpendicular, which makes it one of the highest mountains in the universe. It is said that the top of it is covered with snow the whole year round, and that it sometimes throws out combustible matter, without much noise. It stands nearly in the middle of the island, and is surrounded with a great number of mountains, which are almost half a league in perpendicular height. At the foot of these mountains you see several gutters like frightful precipices, which are oftentimes above a hundred feet wide, and two hundred deep. They are made by the water-floods precipitated thither during the storms; and as soon as those floods are gone, the bottom is left quite bare.

The soil of this island is of a reddish cast, not at all deep, but extremely fruitful. In the gorges of the mountains to the north and east parts of the town, you see the finest groves of orange, citron, and lemon-trees of all sorts. There are also pomegranate and fig-trees all over the island. Besides the choicest fruits in Europe, the inhabitants of Teneriff have those of Africa, as bananas, papayas, and ananas, or pine apples, which they plant in their gardens. The most ungrateful lands produce carob-trees, and melons of every kind, especially water melons. In the vallies you see fields of the finest corn in the world, variegated at regular distances with rows of dragon-trees*, which in their height and figure greatly resemble the majestic tallness of the palmetto-tree†.

The mountains are laid out in vineyards, which have acquired a high reputation by their excellent wines, known by the name of Canary and Malmsey. The former is extracted from a large grape, which makes a strong heady liquor, and is the common wine. The latter is made of a small grape, the berry of which is round and vastly sweet; and the juice squeezed from it has likewise a sweeter and more agreeable flavour, which gives it greatly the advantage of the other. The quality of these wines is commonly attributed to the climate, and to the nature of the soil; but I apprehend that the culture and form of the vineyards contributes at least as much to their goodness. Their method, as I have seen practised in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, is as follows: They pitch upon a hill that has an advantageous exposition to the south, preferable to any other: the lower part they plant with vines, to an ascent of two hundred feet at the most. Upon the whole ground designed for the vines, they erect little walls breast high, at the distance of four or five feet from one another. These serve for several purposes; in the first place, by upholding the earth, they hinder the roots of the tree from being laid bare; secondly, they withhold the rain-waters, which would otherwise run down the hills, without soaking the earth; lastly, they increase the reflection of the sun-beams, and procure a greater heat to the vine. True it is, that as these walls are made of dry stone, symmetrically ranged without mortar or mud, part of them tumble down sometimes in heavy rains: but the mischief is quickly repaired, and may even be prevented, by laying above the uppermost wall a row of large stones somewhat inclined, to break the force of the waters, and divert their stream.

* *Draco arbor. Clusii.*

† A kind of palm-tree, the leaves of which open like a fan.

The back of these mountains, on the north side, is barren and uncultivated. The prospect it affords to the eye, is an amphitheatre of bare rocks, the colour of slate, cut into vertical parallelopipedons, from six to eight feet high, and from three to four broad, the angles very acute. They may be considered as so many precipices raised one above the other. When you have reached the top, you are suddenly ravished with a prospect bounded only by the horizon of the sea; you find yourself raised far above the clouds, through which you may descry, at the distance of twelve leagues to the south, Canary and the other neighbouring islands. Here, instead of treading upon earth, I was amazed to find nothing under my feet but ashes, pumices, and burnt stones, fragments of which I saw likewise scattered here and there as I descended; but the greatest part of them are fallen down to the foot of the mountains, and even to the sea-side.

Where the earth was open, I perceived under the pumices a stone in large masses, of the colour of slate, and a good deal like the bare rocks which I had observed on the ridge of the mountains. This stone bears so great resemblance to that which is melted by volcanoes, and the comparison I made between it and the lavas which M. de Jussieu had received not only from the volcanoes in Italy, but likewise from that of the isle of Bourbon, confirmed this resemblance in such a manner, that I think we cannot, nor ought we to give it any other name. The like remark I made in the gutters, and in the quarry that has been dug in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz: there we find the same masses underneath a very irregular stratum of burnt stones; and they are cut into pieces for the use of building. The external and internal appearance of these mountains, the lavas of which they are entirely formed, and the several burnt stones which lie scattered as far as the sea shore, leave no room to doubt but that each of the mountains, of which the isle of Teneriff is composed, owes its original to a particular volcano, which, after undermining it inwardly, at length has entirely spent itself: and this subterraneous operation is still continued under the Peak, that huge mountain, which vomits fire from time to time.

There is never a river in this island, because of the smallness of its circumference. The inhabitants supply the want thereof by wooden pipes, which communicate with the springs in the mountains: and from thence the water is conveyed to the town, the distance of about half a league. This water being hard and crude, they filtrate it through a stone which is very common in their quarries. It is a kind of lava, of the colour of soot, in a medium betwixt the density of the grey lava, and the porosity of the pumice.

The temperate climate of Teneriff, and the richness of its pasture, contribute greatly to the goodness of the cattle. They have fine herds of oxen, and excellent kid; but mutton is not so common. They breed all sorts of poultry; but game, especially wild fowl, is very rare. I took notice that the Canary-bird, which grows white in France, is here almost as grey as a linnet. This change of colour very likely is owing to the coldness of our climate.

The passion I had for herborizing, made me regret the backwardness of the season. Most of the plants peculiar to this country, were still concealed in the bosom of the earth; nevertheless my researches were not altogether fruitless. Near the sea-shore I found two sorts of fig-marygolds, otherwise called *ficoides* *: the *jafminoides*, or baltard

Ficoides procumbens, portulacæ folio. *Niff. Mem. Acad.* 1711. page 322. pl. 13. fig. 1.

Aizoon foliis cuneiformi-ovatis, floribus sessilibus. *Linn. Hort. Ups.* page 127.

Ficoides nostras, kali folio flore albo. *Tournef. Mem. Acad.* 1705. page 241.

Mesembryanthemum foliis alternis, teretiusculis, obtusis, ciliatis. *Linn. Hort. Ups.* page 129.

jasmine *, adorned the tops of precipices and gutters with its pendant branches, which were loaded with ripe fruit: and the corn-flag of † Provence enamelled the valleys and meadows with its flowers. As I traversed the mountains, I perceived that the plants peculiar to them, seemed to affect a certain height. For instance, the *kleinia* ‡, and some new plants, which I purpose to make known, always grow on the lower part, where the vineyards are generally planted. About the middle we saw only the *tithymalus* §, or spurge; and the top of all was covered with forests of *euphorbia* ||, whose stalks, though from twelve to fifteen feet high, appeared to me below, like fine moss. The *euphorbia* and the *tithymalus* were then in flower, and surrounded with several sorts of bind-weed, which twisted round their stems. In my walks I met with no more than one sort of land-shell, for the description and figure of which I refer to the history of shells, at the end of this relation ¶.

I was every day more in love with this beautiful country. The mildness of a climate where it never freezes, the advantageous situation of the island, and the variety of its productions, all together gave me infinite pleasure; so that I should have staid much longer if circumstances would have permitted. But as the season was advancing, and we had taken in our supply of water and provisions, we were obliged to think of resuming our voyage.

The fifteenth of April we weighed anchor, and left the isle of Teneriff after eight days refreshment. The trade winds at N. E. were so gentle as not to ruffle the sea, so that we steered a pleasant course till we reached the tropics. There we soon found by the bright serene days, and excessive heats, that we had changed climate the third time: for in less than six weeks we experienced winter, spring, summer, and the dog-days. In these latitudes the sea, when agitated in the night, seemed as if it were on fire, and marked our course by a streak of light which the vessel left behind it. This phenomenon appeared to me very engaging, and I spent several nights in inquiring into the cause of it.

We continued our course with the same favourable weather till the 25th of April, when we found ourselves within sight of the coast of Senegal. The land is low, sandy, and very white, so that with great difficulty could we discern it, though it was very clear weather, and we were within three or four leagues of shore: at length we spied a thicket partly covered by the downs, whereby we knew that we were off the wood of Griel, that is, within two leagues north of the island of Senegal. Not long after we saw hovering over the ship, a bird which seemed greatly tired, and desirous of rest: he pitched upon one of the masts; but a fowling-piece soon brought him down upon deck. This was too beautiful a bird to omit giving a short description of him. He greatly resembled a jay ** in the size of his body, and the figure of his beak and feet; but he differed from him in some other respects. His belly was of a pale blue, and his back fallow. His tail was adorned with two feathers, as long as the rest of his body; and the colour both of the tail and of his wings, was the finest sky-blue that eyes could behold. I often had occasion to see this kind of jay in the country of Senegal; but as

* *Jasminoides Africanum*, *jasmini aculeati foliis*, et facie. *Niff. Mem. Acad.* 1711. page 322. pl. 12. fig. 1.

† *Gladiolus utrinque floridus*, flore rubro. *C. B.* page 41.

‡ *Kleinia* a foliis lanceolatis, planis, caule lævi, ventricoso. *Linn. Hort. Cliff.* page 395.

§ *Tithymalus dendroides linariæ foliis* ex insula Canarina. *Pluk. Phyt.* tab. 319. fig. 1.

|| *Euphorbia aculeata*, nuda, subquincangularis, aculeis germinatis. *Linn. Hort. Cliff.* page 196.

¶ *Conchæ univalves*. 5th sort, pl. 1. fig. 2. *Pouchet*.

** *Garrulus argenteoratenensis*. *Willug. Ornith.* page 89. tab. 20.

I afterwards found he is a bird of passage, that comes to reside for some months of the summer in the southern parts of Europe, and goes back to spend the remainder of the year in Senegal, I would not omit mentioning that he is sometimes met in his passage at sea.

The same day we arrived before the factory of Senegal. After having made the usual signals, and saluted the fort with our guns, we cast anchor three leagues higher, at the mouth of the river Niger, in nine fathoms water, a slimy bottom, and good holding ground. Though we were within half a league of the bar, the sea was very high; and the winds blowing off the shore, made a prodigious surf, which occasioned our ship to roll in a strange manner. Here we were witnesses to a fatal accident, which but too often happens at sea. We put out our boat, but unluckily it overfet, and one of the men was drowned. However, we did not stay long in the road; a boat was sent from the isle of Senegal, to carry us over the bar, and pilot us into the river.

By a bar we understand a particular agitation of the waves, which in passing over a shoal*, swell and rise to a sheet of water, from ten to twelve feet high, and afterwards break in the fall. No sooner has the first wave had its effect, but it is followed by a second, and this by a third. They begin to be perceptible at a hundred and sometimes a hundred and fifty fathoms from the coast, and are as formidable to large as to small vessels. A boat runs the danger of being overfet, and a ship of being dashed to pieces. This bar extends all along the coast of Senegal; at least there are few places it does not reach. Such was the danger we had to encounter before we could enter this river, the mouth of which was covered by a bank of sand, against which the billows dashed with great violence. Luckily for us, we arrived at a time of year when the sea is not so boisterous, consequently when the bar is less difficult to get over: we were piloted by negroes, all hearty fellows, and so well acquainted with this navigation, that very rarely any accidents happen.

The pilot boats belonging to the bar are small-decked vessels, from fifty to sixty tons, and sometimes larger. They generally sail with ballast only, and seldom draw more than four or five feet water. The care of them is entirely committed to negroes, whom you must not pretend either to contradict or advise. When we were on the bar, we were obliged to keep profound silence, that the pilot might not be in the least interrupted: some hid themselves through fear of being drowned, and some through apprehension of being wet: others, more intrepid than the rest, stood upon deck to view the agitation of the waves. I, as an observer, could not help placing myself in this station; and for my pains I got thoroughly wet. We were above half a quarter of an hour in this dangerous passage; now lifted up by billows which bended under us; and now tossed by others which dashed against the sides of the vessel, and covered it all over with water. One wave lifted us up very high, and then left us aground; another came and took us up and was followed by others in the like succession. At length, after being tossed in this manner for some time, we saw ourselves out of danger. As it is customary on this occasion to make a handsome present to the negroes of the bar; each passenger behaved generously towards them, and they were very well satisfied.

As soon as we entered the river Niger, we found ourselves in a very gentle stream, of above three hundred fathoms in breadth, that is, four or five times broader than the Seine at Pont Royal. Its direction is exactly north and south, parallel to the coast,

* Which shoal, or bank of sand, our author should have understood by a bar; but what he says above, is only the effect of the shoal or bar. I only mean, the shoal is the bar.

for the space of three leagues, from its mouth to the island of Senegal. The land on both sides is only one continued plain of quick sands, extremely white, with a few downs scattered here and there, and continually shifting according to the caprice of the winds. The western bank forms a very low cape or narrow slip of land, which separates the river from the sea, and whose greatest breadth is not a hundred and fifty fathoms: this is called Barbary Point. The eastern bank is higher; but they are both equally dry and barren, and produce only a few low plants. We did not perceive any trees, till we advanced two leagues higher, towards the English island; and then we spied some mangroves, which are almost the only tree we saw till we arrived at the island of Senegal.

This place is situated within three leagues of the mouth of the river, and two-thirds of a league from the English island. It is the chief settlement of Senegal; and the residence of the director general. We arrived by night-fall at the harbour east of the fort, where we landed. As soon as I set foot on shore, I waited upon M. de la Brue, the director general, who gave me a most kind reception. I delivered to him the letters of recommendation which I had from his uncle M. David, director of the East India company, who was pleased to interest himself in my favour: and they operated even beyond what I could possibly expect in a country subject to such difficulties. In short, he promised to assist me on all occasions, and he did it accordingly with such readiness and good nature, as deserves a grateful acknowledgment from the lovers of natural history, if I have done any thing towards promoting this branch of learning.

He soon was as good as his word. I had the liberty of travelling up the country, and of examining into its various productions. To facilitate my design, M. de la Brue procured me a boat, with negroes, and an interpreter, in short all conveniencies, as specified by the East-India company to the superior council, in a letter wherein they inform him of my intentions.

Being arrived in a country so different in every respect from my own, and finding myself as it were in a new world, whatever I beheld drew my attention, because it afforded me matter of instruction. The air, the climate, the inhabitants, the animals, the lands, and vegetables, all were new to me: not one object that offered itself to my view, was I accustomed to. Which way soever I turned my eye, I saw nothing but sandy plains*, burnt by the most scorching heat of the sun. Even the very island I stood upon, is only a bank of sand, about 1150 fathoms in length, and 150 or 200 at the most in breadth, and almost level with the surface of the water. It divides the river into two branches, one of which to the eastward is about 300 fathoms broad, and the other westward near 200, with a considerable depth.

This island, notwithstanding its sterility, was inhabited by upwards of three thousand negroes, invited thither by the generosity of the whites, into whose service most of them had entered. Here they have erected houses or huts, which occupy above one half of the ground. These are a kind of dove or ice houses, the walls of which are reeds fastened close together, and supported by stakes driven into the ground. These stakes are from five to six feet high, and have a round covering of straw, of the same height, and terminating in a point. Thus each hut has only a ground floor, and is from ten to fifteen feet diameter. They have but one square door, very low, and many of them with a threshold raised a foot above the ground; so that in going in they must incline their bodies, and lift a leg up very high, an attitude not only ridiculous but disagreeable.

* The author is mistaken, or has forgot, for the Guinea-side is all covered with woods: the island and the Barbary shore, or tongue of land, are exactly as he describes.

One or two beds are frequently sufficient for a whole family, including domestics, who lie pell-mell along with their masters and the children. Their bed is a hurdle laid on cross pieces of wood, and supported by forkillas, or small forks, a foot above the ground; over this they throw a mat, which serves them for a *paillasse* or straw bed, for a mattress, and generally for sheets and bed-clothes; as to pillows they have none. Their furniture is not very cumbersome; for it consists only of a few earthen pots, called *canaris*, a few calabashes, or gourd-bottles, with wooden bowls, and the like utensils.

All the huts belonging to the same person are inclosed with a wall or palisade of reeds about six feet high; to which they give the name of *tapade*. Though the negroes observe very little symmetry in the situation of their houses, yet the French of the island of Senegal have taught them to follow a certain uniformity in the largeness of the *tapades*, which they have regulated in such a manner, as to form a small town with several streets drawn in a direct line. These streets indeed are not paved; and luckily there is no occasion for it; since they would be very much at a loss to find the smallest pebble upwards of thirty leagues all round. The inhabitants find a greater convenience in their sandy soil: for as it is very deep, and soft, it serves them to sit upon; it is also their sofa, their couch, their bed. Besides, it has some other good uses, namely, that there is no danger in falling; and it is always very clean, even after the heaviest rains, because it imbibes the water with great ease, and there needs only an hour of fine weather to dry it. However, this town or village, which ever you please to call it, is the handsomest, the largest, and the most regular in the country: they reckon, as I have already mentioned, upwards of three thousand inhabitants: it is about a quarter of a league long, and the breadth equal to that of the island, whose centre it occupies, being equally ranged on both sides of the fort by which it is commanded.

We may safely affirm, that the negroes of Senegal are the likeliest men in all Nigritia or Negroland. They are generally above middle sized, well shaped, and well-limbed. There is no such thing ever known among them as cripples, or hump-backs, or bandy legs, unless it be by accident. They are strong, robust, and of a proper temperament for bearing fatigue. Their hair is black, curled, downy, and extremely fine. Their eyes are large and well cut, with very little beard; their features agreeable enough, and their skin the deepest black.

Their usual dress consists in a small piece of linen which passes between their thighs; and the two ends, being lifted up and folded, form a sort of drawers, which are tied with a fillet before; and thus they cover their nudity. They have likewise a *paan*, that is a piece of calico, made in the form of a large napkin, which they carelessly throw over their shoulders, letting one end of it dangle against their knees.

The women are much about the same size and make as the men. Their skin is surprisingly delicate and soft; their mouth and lips are small; and their features very regular. There are some of them perfect beauties*. They have a great share of vivacity, and a vast deal of freedom and ease, which renders them extremely agreeable. For their clothing they make use of two *paans*, one of which goes round their waist, hangs down to the knee, and supplies the place of an under-petticoat; the other covers both their shoulders, and sometimes the head. This is a modest dress enough for so hot a country: but they are generally satisfied with the *paan* which covers the reins; and they throw off the other whenever they find it troublesome. One may easily judge that they are not long a dressing or undressing, and that their toilette is soon made.

* The vast numbers of children, and children's children, the French begat by them, and left there, prove our author is not singular in his opinion.

As the island of Senegal is within the dependance of the kingdom of Oualo, the negroes who live there, especially those who are free, are of that nation. They are, generally speaking, very goodnatured, sociable, and obliging. Those whom the company entertained in my service, were Oualofes, as they call themselves, or by corruption, Jallofs.

Immediately after my arrival, I employed some months, not only in studying the manners and character of the inhabitants, but likewise in learning the Oualofe language which obtained most generally in that country: for I was sensible that it would be of great service to me, and even indispensably necessary in regard to the researches I purposed to make. With this view I frequented their company, and was among them as often as possible. At length when I looked upon myself as sufficiently acquainted with their usages and manners, and able to judge how to conduct myself in a country which had long been the object of my most ardent wishes, I determined to set out upon a ramble.

The quick sands of the island of Senegal, their dogs-grafs, mangroves, and bindweed, could not long afford sufficient employment for a naturalist. There was no way to get further instruction, but by crossing the river in order to visit the continent. With this view I went over as often as I could in my boat, and several days successively. The island of Sor is the first land that offers itself on the eastern bank of the river, and is opposite to the isle of Senegal. It is above a league in length, and intersected by small rivers, which are called *marigots*. The soil is sandy like that of the island of Senegal, but of surprizing fertility. In the middle of the island there are several hills of a very gentle ascent, covered with white and red gum trees*, and others of the spinous kind, and of very difficult access.

I landed the first time on that island the 10th of May, attended by my interpreter, and the two negroes, who had rowed my boat. It is bordered by a very thick wood, where with a good deal of difficulty I found a path, which is the only passage to the inner part of the island. This would be no great harm, if a person was not stopped every moment by thorns, which are apt to catch his clothes, and tear his legs: for my part I came off with losing a few scraps of my waistcoat or shirt, the only apparel one can bear in so sultry a country, and where a shirt alone is very cumbersome. But my negroes, with all their agility, oftentimes left some bits of skin behind them, not to mention the thorns which stuck in their feet, most of them going without sandals. Is it not amazing that the inhabitants of this island should have traded with those of Senegal more than thirty years, and all this while not have given themselves the trouble to open a convenient road! Can there be a stronger proof of the laziness and indolence of the negroes? Their high road, the great thoroughfare of this island, is a path, which does not even merit that name; since a person is often obliged to creep on all four in order to get through it. Notwithstanding these difficulties I forced my way.

My negroes informed me, that there was some game in this place. I had my gun, and each of them had theirs. I coursed for some time without being discouraged by the curvatures I was obliged to make every moment under the thorns. I killed a few partridges and hares, which made me amends for my pains. The hares of this country are not altogether like those of France: they are not so large; and their colour is something between a hare and a rabbit. Their flesh is white, which gives them a greater resemblance to a rabbit; but they do not burrow: they are tender, and extremely well tasted. The same cannot be said of their partridges: they are so tough, as to be good for

* A sort of *acacia* or Egyptian thorn, on which they gather two sorts of gum, the white and the red, heretofore known by the name of gum Arabic, and at present by that of gum Senega.

nothing. I doubt much whether we ought not rather to call them wood-hens, for they are the same size, and much about the same colour. They are sufficiently distinguished from other birds of this kind, by two strong spurs to their feet.

Pleased with my sport, I proceeded as far as the village of Sor, which gives name to the island. Before I could get thither, I was obliged to cross two *marigots*: these are rivulets with which the whole country is intersected in such a manner, that one cannot advance above two or three paces, without being obstructed. I had contrived an expedient, when they were not too deep; which was, to make my negroes carry me over. On this occasion I made use of it: one of them took me upon his shoulders, and as his clothes did not incommode him greatly, he was quickly up to his breast in water; so that he wafted me in an instant, as if he was running a race, over the first *marigot*, which was broader than the Seine at Pont Royal. Thus was I mounted, if I may be permitted the term: and it is the safest method of crossing, because the negroes are used to walk through these watry plains, as upon land, and they know all the roads; and indeed, as I had no other conveyance in crossing a river or a lake of a middling depth; I shall repeat it no more.

Notwithstanding the care I had taken, my shoes got wet, but were not long a drying. I had to walk on sands, which it would be incorrect to call by any other epithet than *burning*, since even in the most moderate weather, they experience there a heat of 60 degrees and upwards as I afterwards found by the observations which I scrupulously followed with M. de Reaumur's thermometer. A person may make an essay by getting such a heat in his feet, at a time when that of the ambient air is 22 degrees in the shade, as it was then in the island of Senegal the 10th of May, one of the coldest winter days in that country: it is easy then to judge of the extreme sensibility of an European, transplanted from a temperate climate, to the hottest part of the globe. My shoes grew tough like a horn, then cracked, and fell away to powder: even the feet of my negroes were chopped. The very reflection of the heat of the sun peeled the skin off my face, and gave me a smarting, which sometimes lasted five or six days. Such were the ordinary effects of the great heat I had to suffer, when I undertook this ramble over the district of Senegal: effects which increase in such a manner, that the heat of the place instead of 22 degrees, mounted to 34 in the shade, that is, in the coldest air. To these inconveniencies I must add that of the quick sands, which are excessively fatiguing, because you sink up to your ankle; and your shoes being filled therewith, become intolerably heavy and troublesome. Then, for the first time, I perceived the use of that thick skin, thicker than the breadth of a finger, with which nature has strengthened the soles of the negroes feet, whereby they are secured against the hardness of external bodies, so as to have no occasion for shoes. Yet I accustomed myself by degrees to this kind of fatigue; for there is nothing but what one may compass with a good will; and this was not wanting.

After these vicissitudes of a passage through thorns, rivers, and burning sands, where I coursed and herborized all the way, I arrived at length at the village of Sor. There I found the governor, whom the negroes distinguished by the name of *Borom-dek*, that is, master of the village. He was a venerable old man, about fifty, with a grey beard and hoary locks. When I call him an old man, of fifty, this is because the negroes of Senegal are really old at the age of forty-five, and oftentimes sooner: and I remember to have heard the French inhabitants of Senegal say several times, that according to the best of their observation, the negroes of that country seldom lived to be older than sixty, which agrees exactly with the remarks I endeavoured to ascertain during my stay at Senegal. But to return to the master of the village of Sor; he was a lusty, well looking man,

man, whose physiognomy bespoke him a person of gentle manners and great good nature. His name was *Baba-Sec*: he was sitting on the sand, under the shade of a jujube*, planted before his hut, where he was smoking and conversing with a few friends. As soon as he saw me, he rose up, presented his hand to me thrice, then laid it upon his forehead, and afterwards upon his breast, asking me each time, in his language, how I did. I performed the same ceremony myself at the same time, because I understood that such was the manner of saluting in this country. He did not take off his cap, for he wore none: as to my part I followed the French custom, which is never to take off our hats to people of his complexion. He ordered a mat to be set before me, and I sat down: then he placed himself in one of the corners; and notwithstanding all I could do, there was no prevailing on him to draw towards the middle. This is a mark of respect they shew the French, whom they look upon as great people; that is, as great lords, and far their superiors. Indeed they are not much in the wrong; and this kind of submission ought to be encouraged as much as possible; so I did not press him hard. Two of his wives (for polygamy is established in that country) came immediately after with their children, to pay their compliments to me, and they brought me a few bowls full of milk, with eggs and fowls. I drank some of the milk, and thanked them for the rest.

It was near their dinner time, and *Baba-Sec* depended upon my staying. In the mean time, my curiosity led me to see the village. The huts were neither so large nor so neat as those I had seen in the isle of Senegal. In some, the covering came down almost to the ground, and was kept up before the door by a few stakes, to form a kind of pent-house, which sheltered them from the rays of the sun. In others, the walls were done over with thick mud, mixed with cow-dung, which stunk abominably. The latter had two opposite entrances, each of which was only an oval made in the wall, of a foot and half diameter, and two feet from the ground. I had found the square doors of the island of Senegal very uneasy; but these were still more so, since there was no such thing as entering them without doubling my chin to my knees. The inside was in every respect like what I had seen in Senegal. The streets were as irregular as the huts, and very narrow. Notwithstanding the little proportion observed by those architects, the villages still are very agreeable, because they are planted with trees, which besides the coolness of their shade, refresh the eye with a perpetual verdure.

The children of both sexes, even such as were nine or ten years old, an age at which the marks of puberty begin to shew themselves, were stark naked. The girls had for ornament round their waist a girdle of glass toys, or, where those could not be had, of a *requien's*† knuckle-bones, or of cockle-shells strung like a pair of beads. Some perhaps will imagine that those children, in this state of nakedness, must be dashed at the sight of a stranger: but far from it; you may go up to them, and even play with them, they will give themselves no fawcy airs; and though they are neither shame-faced nor bashful, yet there is nothing in their countenance but what is natural and easy. No doubt but it will be also surprising to many, that children, who were scarce six months old, should begin to walk by themselves. It was pleasant to see those little creatures tumbling on the sand before the sun, and creeping on all four like little monkeys, and to hear them utter inarticulately a few words between their teeth, with an air of contentment and pleasure. The women had all a *half-paan* round their waist, which served them for a petticoat; but from their waist upwards they were naked.

* *Jujuba aculeata*, nervosis foliis infra sericeis flavis. *Burm. Thes. Zeyl.* p. 131. *Tab. 61.*

† A voracious fish, of the nature of a sea dog. The young *requiens* are a dish very much liked by the negroes.

Being generally well made, they have a very good air in this *dishabille*, especially when a person is used to their colour: those who are not accustomed to them, must be content with admiring their shape, which is extremely fine.

Which way soever I turned my eyes on this pleasant spot, I beheld a perfect image of pure nature: an agreeable solitude, bounded on every side by a charming landscape; the rural situation of cottages in the midst of trees; the ease and indolence of the negroes, reclined under the shade of their spreading foliage; the simplicity of their dress and manners; the whole revived in my mind, the idea of our first parents, and I seemed to contemplate the world in its primeval state.

My mind was agreeably amused with these reveries, when word was brought me, from the governor of the village, that dinner waited for me. Upon which I turned back with my negroes, who conducted me through that labyrinth of cottages, where otherwise I should have been easily lost. I found the governor just on the very spot where I left him, with his children, and a few friends. They sat cross-legged on the sand, round a large wooden bowl full of *couscous*; which is a thick-grained pap, made of two sorts of millet. He made me sit down by him; then he began to fall to, and thrusting his hand into the dish, he took a handful of *couscous*, which he rolled about with his fingers, for want of a fork and spoon, a conveniency they have not yet learnt. He invited me afterwards to do the same. I did not let him press me hard, but followed his example: for I never departed from this principle, that nothing contributes more to gain the confidence and friendship of strangers among whom you reside, than to conform to their customs and manner of living; and I always found my account in it. The *couscous* was judged excellent; and one of the most convincing proofs thereof, was, that the dish was soon emptied. For my part I did not judge so favourably of it; nothing that I can think of is more insipid than this dish; and the manner of eating it is every whit as disagreeable. However, I used myself to it; and found it afterwards very good. This single course constituted our whole feast.

When dinner was over, a young she-slave, in her natural habit, presented us all round a bowl full of water, out of which each person drank; and then they made use of it to wash the hand that had performed the office of a spoon, which is always the right; the left being designed for uses inconsistent with cleanliness. These practices, like polygamy, are a consequence of the precepts of the Mahometan religion, which they have so far embraced, as its principles are agreeable to their own customs and easy manner of living. I was very much surprized, not to see any of my landlord's wives eating in company with him, but I was told, that such was the custom of the country, and that no woman ever had that honour done her; because they are persuaded, like good Mahometans, that there is no paradise for the female sex. Therefore they dined after us, and in the same manner; that is, without table, plates, tablecloth, spoons, knives, forks, or napkins.

In order to make my host amends for his good entertainment, I presented him with a few *pattes** of iron, and I distributed some glass toys among his wives and children. He wanted to keep me for a ball which was just going to begin; but I begged him to postpone it till another time, because it was near sun-set. We parted extremely well satisfied with each other. The *guiriot*†, in return for the generosity with which I had behaved towards them, attended me upwards of two hundred paces, beating on the drum, to the sound of which all the young people danced in cadence,

* The *patte* of iron is the twelfth part of a bar nine feet long; and serves for money in this country.

† This is the name the negroes give to the musicians and drummers of the country.

expressing their joy. At length I lost sight of them, and made all the haste I could back to the island of Senegal.

I was not a little pleased with this my first reception at the lord of Sor's. It convinced me, that there ought to be considerable abatements made, in the accounts I had read and heard every where, of the savage character of the Africans; and I was of opinion, that this should not extend to the natives of Senegal. This gave me great encouragement to go oftener amongst them; and I was highly delighted to hear a little while after, that a vessel was to set out the month following, to buy some oxen at the Musketoë trading-place. An agent belonging to the company who was entrusted with this commission, engaged me to perform the voyage with him. Accordingly we embarked the 16th of June, early in the morning, upon the river Niger. We ascended the stream, and when we came to the point of the isle of Bifeche, we began to lose sight of the island of Senegal, which is about a league distant from thence. To the right we had the isle of Bifeche, and the wood island to the left: they were both bordered with mangroves; so that our navigation was as pleasant as if we had been sailing through a large avenue of beautiful trees. The mangroves* have something so extraordinary in their nature, that I cannot pass them over in silence. The largest of these trees are generally no more than fifty feet high; they grow only in the water, and on the banks of rivers where the tide goes up twice a-day. They preserve the verdure of their leaves throughout the year, which may be said also of most of the trees of this country: but what renders them more remarkable, is the long roots, which issuing out of their lowest branches, hang down to the water, and penetrate into the earth. Then they resemble so many arcades from five to ten feet high, which serve to support the body of the tree, and even to advance it daily into the bed of the river. These arcades are so close, and intertwisted, one with another, that they form a kind of natural and transparent terrace, raised with such solidity over the water, that one might walk upon them, were it not that the branches are too much encumbered with leaves.

Thus we advanced three leagues through mangroves, after which from the *marigot* of Kiala to that of Torkhod, within four leagues and a half of the island of Senegal, we saw nothing on both banks of the river, but rushes or weeds from ten to fifteen feet high†. Torkhod is a village situate on the left side of the river Niger, upon a hill of red sand, at the foot of which passeth the *marigot* that bears its name. This is the only village we could see the whole way from the island of Senegal. The mangroves had intercepted the prospect of the others, which are scattered about the low lands overflowed by the Niger. The advantageous situation of Torkhod, the red colour of the hill, the beauty of the trees, with which it is adorned, and the meadows which it commands, all together afford a very agreeable prospect. The fishermen belonging to the place brought us some shell-fish by the French called *machoirans*‡, with eels and other fish which they had caught in their little river. We bought about five dozen, which did not stand us in three *deniers* a piece. From whence we continued our voyage, meeting with a few more mangroves, on the right bank of the river, till we came within a league of a village called Maka, where these trees terminate.

The same day we arrived before sun-set at the Musketoë trading-place; where was to be the sale of cattle. This being the first port we meet with, in going up the Niger,

* *Mangles aquatica*, foliis subrotundis & punctatis. *Plum. gen.* pag. 13.

† *Græna daëtylon bicornis tomentosum maximum*, spicis numerosissimis. *Sloan. Jum.* vol. 1. tab. 15.

‡ *Nhamdia Brasiliensis*, bagre do Rio Lusitanis. *Marogr.* p. 149.

• *Mytilus cirhis* sex longissimis, pinnâ dorfi secundâ triangulari. *Gronov. Mus. Ichth.* p. 35. n. 84.

the same is practised here, as at sea by those who pass the tropic: the French, the first time they come this way, are bound to make a present to the *laptots**; and therefore I gave them the usual gratuity. The Musketoë trading-place is only thirteen leagues to the north $\frac{1}{2}$ north-east of the island of Senegal. This is a fruitful plain extending on both sides the river as far as the village of Maka, which we left behind us: the whole tract of ground, upwards of seven leagues in length, is laid out in spacious meadows, where the inhabitants breed a vast number of cattle. The name of *marigot*, of the Musketoës, is given to a small river, which falls into the Niger, a little below the trading-place; because it is full of very high and thick weeds, which serve to harbour a kind of Musketoës called *maringoins*. Sometimes those little insects issue forth from these inaccessible places, in such swarms, that they darken the air. It is very difficult to guard against them, because their sting will penetrate through the compactest woollen stuffs; and the multitudes of them that attack a person all at the same time, cause a prodigious pain, and throw the whole body, as it were, into a ferment. This is one of the greatest inconveniences that all aquatic places are subject to.

The Moors waited for us, within two hundred paces of the north bank of the river, where they were encamped. All over the country, nothing was to be seen but numerous flocks of oxen, wethers, kid, and camels, which ranged about in full liberty. The day following I went on shore to view the oxen, which seemed to me very different from those of Europe; for most of them were larger and higher legged; but they were particularly remarkable for a lump of flesh, which rose above a foot on the withers, between the two shoulders. The rams (which they are not used to castrate) are also of a very peculiar sort. They bear no resemblance to our French rams, except in their head and tail; but as to their size, and hair, they are more like a goat: the latter animal has nothing remarkable. The flesh of both is extremely delicate, but often too perfumed. It seems that a fleece of wool would have been inconvenient to sheep in so hot a country; and therefore, nature has changed it for thin hair of moderate length.

As I rambled among those numerous flocks, I found myself approaching towards the *adouar*; a name they give to a cluster of tents, where the Moors are lodged. These tents are all round in the form of a cone, and made of goats and camels hair, impenetrable to the rain. They were ranged near to one another, in a circular form, each supported by a pole in the middle, and fixed all round with thongs of ox skin, fastened to stakes about a foot from the ground. The inside of them was hung with several rows of mats, secured on one side by the tents, and on the other by their moveables: the latter consist of a few borrachoes containing their cloaths, their milk, and butter; in short, all their provisions, and a few pieces of calabashes, which serve for utensils.

While the men looked after their cattle, the women were confined to their tents, where they employed their time in churning butter, in spinning, and taking care of their children and other domestic concerns. They are of an olive complexion, with very regular features, and large sparkling eyes; their hair is long and plaited; some have it hanging down, and others tied up. They seemed to be well made, though small; and a great deal more reserved than the negroe women. The men are not much taller than the negroes; but they differ in their colour, which is red or a red brown; in their hair, which is of a middling length, curled, and much thicker; and

* This is the name given to the negroes in the service of the East India company.

especially in their muscles, which appear more under their skin : they have also a more meager face, with less flesh; and their skin is not so smooth. The dress both of men and women, consists in a long shirt of black linen, and a *paan*, with which the women cover their head and shoulders; the men sometimes roll it about their bodies like a waist-band, and sometimes round their heads, in imitation of a turban. This *paan* is not always black and made of cotton; there are a great many men who wear it of white wool, and oftentimes edged with red. I spoke once already of the repast I made with the Negroes; but the Moors are no way inferior to them in frugality. Their ordinary food is milk, either of camels, cows, goats, or sheep, with millet; and very often milk and gum alone is their whole repast, and serves them for meat and drink.

Though two months were not yet elapsed since my coming to Senegal, I nevertheless had an opportunity of seeing, and forming some judgement, at least as much as was necessary, for the time present, of two nations, the most distant in their customs and manner of living, of all those that inhabit this part of Africa, namely, the Moors and the Negroes. In both, I had observed great humanity and sociableness, which gave me strong hopes, that I should be very safe among them, and meet with the success I desired in my inquiry after the curiosities of their country.

The next day I went a herborizing and courting over the beautiful fields on the opposite bank of the river.* At that time they were covered with a large kind of millet, called *guiar-natt**, or *guinea corn* : it was now almost ripe, and the Negroes had covered the ears with its own leaves, to shelter it from the sparrows, which do a great deal of mischief in this country. It was no small labour to walk across those spacious fields of millet, the stalks being very large and compact, and full eight feet high. The heat was quite stifling, for not the least breath of air could be perceived amidst those high plants; and the sun, at a very little distance from the zenith, darted his rays almost perpendicularly. My Negroes, in order to amuse themselves in this long walk, and to quench their thirst, plucked several intire stalks of millet, and sucked the juice, after stripping it of its husk. They gave me some to taste, and I found it so sweet and pleasant, that I quickly followed their example. I do not at all doubt but the stalks of millet, prepared in the same manner as sugar canes, would afford a very proper juice for making sugar.

At length, after walking half an hour without seeing any thing but plants all round me, I arrived at the foot of a little hill, whereon was built a village, which the Negroes call Depleur. I had viewed it from the bank of the river, where it afforded a most delightful prospect. The foot of this hill was all of pure red sand, and entirely planted with gardens. At that time there were *giromons*, a sort of mushrooms peculiar to hot countries, and not at all inferior in size to those of cold climates, but greatly superior in sweetness and delicacy of taste. The two species of Indian *ketmia* †, the green and the red, grow there extremely well; they are shrubs four or five feet high, and resemble ours only in the taste. The rest of the ground is covered with tobacco and French beans.

From these gardens, I proceeded to the village, without intending to make any stay there, because it did not appear to me, to differ from those I had seen already. As it is not much frequented by the French, by reason of its distance from the river, the little children, who had never beheld any white people, were frightened greatly at seeing me; and ran away as fast as they could, to seek for shelter between their mothers legs:

* *Milium arundinaceum*, subrotundo semine sorgo nominatum. C. B. Pin. 26.

† *Ketmia Indica*, gossypii folio, acetosæ sapore. Plum. Cat. p. 2.

at the same time they gave very loud cries, which did not frighten me much, because I soon discovered the cause. Yet I got a little out of the way, to avoid the frightful noise occasioned by my presence; when a woman who saw me gathering fruit in the garden, thought to oblige me, by bringing me some of a sort greatly esteemed in that country. At the same time she conducted me into the middle of the village, where stood the tree from which she had plucked them. It was very large, but not high: by its supple pendant boughs, and long thorns, I knew it to be the *agibali* of Prosper Alpinus*: The Negroes call it *fourpe*. As I stopped to view this tree, I was quickly surrounded by a number of boys and girls, whom curiosity had drawn together. Some out of respect, and some out of fear, keep themselves at a distance: others were familiar enough to come near me, and to ask for glass trinkets; for these, as I observed before, are the merchandize and ornament which the Negroes chiefly delight in. Most of them had never seen a white man so near; some touched my cloaths and my linen; others took hold of my hat, and of my hair which I wore in a bag, thinking it impossible it should grow to such a length as they saw it about my ears; others in short, felt the bag itself, and asked me for tobacco, with which they thought it to be filled, because of its being so very like a little square leather bag, wherein they are accustomed to carry tobacco upon their breasts; but how great was their surprise, upon seeing me take off my bag, when my hair fell down to my waist. The liberty I gave them to examine both, soon undeceived them, as well in regard to the pretended use of the bag, as to my hair, the length of which they no longer doubted of, when they saw it really fastened to my head.

This extraordinary and unexpected scene, occasioned my making several reflections as I went from thence. It came into my head, that my colour so opposite to the blackness of the Africans, was the first thing that struck the children: these poor little creatures were then in the same case as our infants, the first time they see a Negro. I recalled to mind also, that the second thing which surprised the rest, was the length and thickness of my hair, compared to theirs, which looks like very fine curled wool: and in the last place, the weight and constraint of my apparel, which after all, consisted only of a very light callico waistcoat. The reader will no longer be surprised that some of them should ask me for merchandize, and others for tobacco, when he is informed, that Negroes of every age, sex, and condition, are used to ask even the smallest trifles of the whites, when they cannot pilfer them; it is with good reason said, that they are the most artful beggars, and the most dextrous thieves in the universe.

Instead of following the road I had taken across the tiresome fields of millet, to go to Depleur, I returned by the meadow above them. I saw there only a few gum trees, a prodigious quantity of tamarisks like those of Narbonne, the shrub *sesban*†, and a large species of sensitive plant, which the Negroes call *guerackiao*, that is, *good morrow*, because, they say, when you touch it, or draw near to speak to it, the plant immediately inclines its leaves to wish you, as it were, a good morrow, and to shew, that it is sensible of the politeness done it. Among the herbs with which the meadow is strewed, I took notice of the *jussiea*‡, of arsmart¶, chickweed§, and several species of *mallugo*; of a great many sorts of grasses, of the *coldenia*||, and a small sensitive plant, rampant, and not spinous, infinitely more delicate and sensible than all the species that I know.

* *Agibali*. P. Alp. *Ægypt.* vol. 2. p. 20.

† *Sesban*. P. Alp. *Ægypt.* v. 2. p. 12.

‡ *Jussiea erecta*, floribus tetrapetalis octandris sessilibus. Linn. H. Zeyl. 170.

¶ *Perficaria maderaspatana*, longiore folio surculo. Pluk. *Phytogr. tab.* 210. fig. 7.

§ *Alysia lotoides ficula*. Bocc. rar. pl. 20.

|| *Coldenia*. Linn. H. Zeyl. 69.

I did not neglect, the following days, to visit the neighbouring villages and fields, where I found great plenty of a kind of shrub hitherto unknown to botanists which the Moors call *guerzim*. I likewise discovered a considerable number of other new plants; but it would be of no use to mention them here.

There are a great many wild boars in those parts, but I never could come up with any of them. I killed several of those birds, which the French call *large eyes*: and, indeed, they are of a largeness that has no sort of proportion to the head. In the form of their body, and of their feet, which are split into three toes, they are very like a bustard: they are as large as a hen, and their feathers are of an ash-grey, mixed with white. Their flesh is tender, and may be eaten. I could not avoid having very good sport in the meadow, for there is plenty of game: but it was interrupted every moment by the loud and importunate cries of a kind of bird, which the Negroes call *uett-uett*, the French *squallers* or *bawlers*, because as soon as they see a man, they set up a loud screaming, and keep flying round him, as if their intent was to warn the other birds which upon hearing the cry immediately take wing. These birds are the bane of sportsmen, who are sure to find the place clear of all game soon after their arrival. In short, they put me into a passion, which cost them very dear; for, as they always fly in pairs, I killed several brace. There were two sorts; and neither of them hardly exceeded the bigness of a pigeon; but they were high-legged, and had a very long neck. The colour of one was ash-grey on the back and wings, the rest of their body was altogether white. The other had their wings and part of the tail black, and their shoulders were armed with a small horn of the same colour, very long, of the shape and hardness of a spur, which served them as an offensive and defensive weapon against the other birds.

We were now in the eighth day of our voyage, when we finished our business, and thought of returning to the island of Senegal. The Moors, who had repaired to this place only to sell their cattle, having foraged the country all round, were preparing to encamp on another spot, and even to retire towards the mountains, at a great distance northward of the river, to avoid the inundations with which the first rains of the month of June had lately threatened them. Their tents were already struck, and, they had put them, together with their furniture and utensils, into sacks of leather neatly dressed. The whole was loaded on the backs of camels and oxen, which carried their houses, moveables, wives and children. Such is the life the Moors lead; they are never fixed to a spot: their flocks, in which consists their whole wealth, oblige them to change quarters, according as the seasons and the nature of their pasturage require.

Soon after my return to the island of Senegal, an opportunity offered of going to Podor, a factory belonging to the company, distant from this island sixty leagues or thereabouts, on the river Niger. The vessel was to go and return without stopping; yet I went on board. My Negroes did not want solicitation to follow me; so they joined with the ship's company. We set sail the 30th of June, ascending the river nearly from west to east. The winds were so favourable, that we arrived in three days at Podor. As so expeditious a navigation did not allow me time to go on shore, I embraced this opportunity of taking a plan of the course of the river. I observed the different widths of its bed, and of the mouths of rivers that empty themselves into it, the angle which the latter form in their disemboguing, the islands we found by the way, and their length: I likewise sounded their depth; in short, I neglected nothing that was capable of rendering my observations most accurate. For this purpose I made use of the compass to mark the changes of direction in its course, measuring from time to time its velocity or that of the vessel: sometimes I added to these two methods an estimate of the great-

ness of the distances, in which I had every conveniency, and met with all the success I could wish. If we except a few shoals here and there in the bed of the Niger, which may be easily avoided when the winds are not quite contrary, one is sure of finding it navigable throughout. Though it was then at its greatest ebb, yet it was from twenty to thirty feet and more deep. The sea-water, which flows every common year as high up as the *marigot* of the Musketoes, that is, about fifteen leagues from the mouth of the river, had reached this year as far as the desert, that is, upwards of thirty leagues. This is about the distance where the salt water stops: but the tide is perceived a great deal higher up; it reaches as far as Podor, where it is visible by the rising of the fresh water, which is subject to the same vicissitudes of tide, but at less equal periods. The highest flood which I measured on the banks of the sea, near the island of Senegal, is but two feet and a half in the great equinoctial tides. It seems therefore that the Niger from Podor to the sea, that is, in the course of sixty leagues, has not an inclination of above two feet and a half; so that there is reason to believe that this entire tract of land, excepting the sand-hills scattered here and there, forms a plain excessively low and flat, and of such a level, that if the sea was to rise every where alike from twenty to thirty feet, the whole country would be overflowed.

The fort of Podor is built on the south bank of the river Niger, on a spot heretofore covered with wood; but the great quantity which the French have cut down for upwards of ten years, that they have been settled there, has removed the forest farther back to the distance of a small half league. Here are most beautiful tamarisks, red gum-trees, and several other sorts of thorny *acacias*, the wood of which is extremely hard, and in the colour and beauty of its veins not unlike those which we use in inlaid work. The button-tree, of a very different species from that of America, grows here very common. The ease with which this tree receives the tool, and its fine yellow, render it preferable to all other sorts of wood in joiners' work. It is known among the Negroes by the name of *khofo*. The rich soil of this country is a great encouragement to gardening. And indeed the French have planted several which thrive amazingly, such as orange, citron, lemon, fig, and pomegranate-trees, besides guavas, ananas, papaws, and four-sops*, and a species of cashew-nut, which passeth for one of the best fruit-trees that grow in hot countries. The different legumes of Europe thrive here in great perfection. They have plenty of potatoes which multiply greatly in wet marshy lands, where they have been once planted. This root serves them instead of chestnuts, which it greatly excels in goodness and delicacy of taste. The acidity of the other fruits furnishes them with a juice, more suited to the inhabitants of a warm climate.

During the few days that I staid at Podor, the thermometer gave me one degree of heat more than I had felt on the island of Senegal before my departure: it marked from thirty to thirty-one degrees. The fifth of July, it was still at thirty degrees at seven o'clock in the evening after sun-set, in the coldest exposition of the open air to the north, declining to the east.

The same day two ostriches, which had been bred near two years in the factory, afforded me a sight of so extraordinary a nature, as to deserve a place in this narrative. These gigantic birds I had seen only by the way, as I travelled over the burning sands on the left of the Niger, but now I had a full view of them at my ease. Though they were but young, still they were very near of an equal size with the largest. They were so tame, that two little blacks mounted both together on the back of the largest: no sooner did he feel their weight, than he began to run as fast as ever he could, till he carried them several times round the village; and it was impossible to stop him, other-

* *Anona maxima*, foliis latis splendentibus, fructu maximo, viridi conoide, tuberculis seu spinulis innocentiis aspero. *Sloan. Jam. vol. 2. tab. 225.* . : 2

wife than by obstructing the passage. This sight pleased me so well, that I would have it repeated : and to try their strength, I made a full-grown Negro mount the smallest, and two others the largest. This burden did not seem to me at all disproportioned to their strength. At first they went a moderate gall up ; when they were heated a little, they expanded their wings as if it were to catch the wind, and they moved with such fleetness, that they seemed to be off the ground. Every body must some time or other have seen a partridge run, consequently must know there is no man whatever able to keep up with it ; and it is easy to imagine, that if this bird had a longer step, its speed would be considerably augmented. The ostrich moves like the partridge, with both these advantages ; and I am satisfied that those I am speaking of, would have distanced the fleetest race-horses that were ever bred in England. It is true they would not hold out so long as a horse ; but without all doubt they would be able to perform the race in less time. I have frequently beheld this sight, which is capable of giving one an idea of the prodigious strength of an ostrich ; and of shewing what use it might be of, had we but the method of breaking and managing it as we do a horse.

I was not so long in falling down the river to the island of Senegal, as I had been in going up to Podor. The north-east winds, and the current of the streams, which had been considerably swelled by the late rains, proved so favourable to us, that we seized the opportunity to make the best of our way back, without stopping or going ashore. Yet I did not repent this first voyage ; for I learnt thereby the many advantages I might derive from a second, and even from a third. In taking a plan of the river Niger, I had reckoned nine or ten villages on the north bank, and forty-seven on the south. A river from two to three hundred fathoms broad, the banks planted with trees of various kinds, and the leaves in perpetual verdure ; the numerous droves of elephants walking on its borders ; the sea horses, the crocodiles, with an infinite multitude of other very extraordinary animals, and a far greater number of birds remarkable for the brightness and variety of their colours ; all this together seemed to open an ample field for new and important observations.

At my return to the island of Senegal the 15th of July, I perceived the effect of the rains, which had fallen in vast abundance for some days. The swell of the river was so sudden, that the 19th there was a return of fresh water at its mouth ; where, two days before, the water was perfectly salt. This term serves to divide the year into two seasons, which differ very little from one another. The first is, when it does not rain at all, and when the waters of the Niger are spoiled by those of the sea : this begins in December, and ends in June or July. The second is, when it is subject to rains, and the river water is fresh. The rains seldom last more than three months ; they begin at the end of June, and end in the month of September.

If the word Summer belongs to the hottest, and that of Winter, to the coldest weather, I cannot see the reason why all our ancient voyagers give the name of summer to the dry season under the torrid season, and that of winter to the rainy season : for it is certain, and I know it by observations performed with the thermometer, during the space of five years, that the greatest heats are generally in the rainy season, to which they have given the name of winter. The French at Senegal, who perceived the error into which voyagers were fallen, attempted modestly to correct it, by changing the word *summer* into that of *low season*, that is, when the waters of the Niger are low ; and they have given the name of *high season*, to the winter of the ancients, because the waters of the Niger are then very high. Without examining into this error, which has been blindly embraced by most of the writers on natural history in our time, and being diffused through their principal works, has long had a considerable effect on the study of natural philosophy, and particularly on meteorological knowledge, a branch at this time so greatly embroiled :

embroiled: I shall be satisfied here with observing, that this mistake requires a severe animadversion. I shall therefore, with the French inhabiting Senegal, give the name of *low season* to that of drought, and *high season* to that of the rains: or still, in order to conform to the terms received in Europe, and to be understood by all the world, I shall distinguish the former by the name of Summer, and the latter by that of Winter; so that these two seasons will be at Senegal, pretty much about the same time as in France. These two are therefore the only seasons they are subject to; they know neither spring nor autumn. When I make use of the word Winter, the reader is not to imagine that they have any hail, snow, or ice: these are things they are strangers to at Senegal; nor is it possible, whatever comparison you make, to give the natives of the country the least idea of them. The winter in Senegal is only a season not so warm as the rest of the year, though it is always warmer than our summers in France, in which we rarely see any snow or hail.

To return to the waters of the Niger, which gave occasion to this short digression: they are salt one half of the year towards the island of Senegal. As the country is very low, and has neither rocks, or stones, but only quicksands, for this very reason it has no springs: they are therefore obliged to dig wells, which indeed do not give them much trouble, for they find water within three or four, and oftentimes within two feet depth; but then it is brackish, that is, it has a saltish taste, communicated to the sands by the proximity of the sea.

The 8th of August the sun passed perpendicularly over our heads; and our shadows were exactly under our feet. This was the second time I beheld this phenomenon since my arrival at Senegal: the first time I saw it was on the fourth of May; and it was to return every year much about the same time. The heat it occasioned at its return from the tropic of cancer towards the equator, was much greater than that which we felt at its first passage: for the thermometer marked the nights of the month of May at 22 degrees, and the days from 26 to 28; whereas the nights of August were at 26 degrees, and the days at 32.

The ninth of August, and the following days, I walked about in the neighbourhood of the island of Senegal, and returned to the island of Sor, of which mention has been made already. Our European boats appearing to me too heavy and cumbersome, to make use of them every day in passing that river; I therefore thought proper to exchange them for a kind of Negro canoe, which the French call *pirogue*. These little boats are made all of one piece of wood, that is, of the trunk of a tree cut into a hollow vessel, and very light. They are from ten to thirty feet long, from one to two feet in breadth and depth, and both ends terminate in a point. Mine was one of the largest. As soon as I got into it, my two Negroes placed themselves at both extremities, one at the prow and the other at the stern. For my part I put myself in the middle, where I had no other fear but a piece of wood laid across, which was fastened at both ends into the sides of the *pirogue*. My Negroes had each a paddle in their hands: these are small flat boards, laid across one another, and fixed to the end of a stick, which they make use of for rowing. The Negro at the prow was standing, and beat the water behind him with his paddle: the other was seated, and steered with his. As soon as we reached the opposite shore, they drew the *pirogue* aground: this is the only way the people of the country have to secure these little vessels against the waves, which would soon fill them with water; whereas they cannot so much as wet them, when they are far enough from the shore.

I was not long in crossing over, and immediately I directed my steps to the village of Sor. There I met with a very good reception, according to custom; and I desired they would shew me the properest places for courting. That very day I had dismissed my interpreter; because I had acquired a sufficient smattering in the language of the country, to

be able to understand all that the Negroes said to me, and to explain my mind to them. They carried me to a particular spot, where I saw a herd of antelopes; but I laid aside all thoughts of sport, as soon as I perceived a tree of a prodigious thickness, which drew my whole attention. This was a calabash-tree *, which the Jaloſſes call *goui* in their language. There was nothing extraordinary in its height; for it was only about sixty feet: but its trunk was of a prodigious thickness. I extended my arms, as wide as possibly I could, thirteen times, before I embraced its circumference; and for greater exactness, I measured it afterwards round with packthread, and found it to be sixty-five feet: consequently the diameter was near twenty-two. I do not believe that the like was ever seen in any other part of the world; and I am persuaded, that if our ancient voyagers had been acquainted with this tree, they would have added some surprising circumstances to its description. It is very extraordinary, that this tree should have been entirely forgot by those who have given us the history of Senegal; especially as there is hardly any other so common in the country. Out of the trunk I have been describing, of twenty-two feet in diameter, and from eight to twelve feet high, there issued forth several branches, some of which extended themselves horizontally, so that the ends of them reached the ground: these being the largest, were from forty-five to fifty-five feet in length. Each of those branches would have made one of the largest trees in Europe; in short, the whole of this calabash-tree seemed to form a forest of itself. This was not all: the Negro, my guide, led me to a second, which was sixty-three feet in circumference, that is, one and twenty in diameter: and one of its roots, which had been for the most part laid bare by a neighbouring river, was a hundred and ten feet in length, without reckoning the part that lay hid under the water, and which I could not uncover. The same Negro shewed me a third, not very far from thence; and moreover added, that without going out of the island, I might see a great many more, not at all inferior to those in magnitude. My surprize was then at an end; and satisfied with seeing three, I got ready for the chase.

I was prevented from going farther by an easterly wind, which rose all of a sudden with such fury, that it seemed as if it would tear up the trees by the root. These gusts of wind are generally forerunners of rain; and this brought a thick cloud along with it, which burst immediately. The village was at some distance, so that there were no hopes of reaching it time enough. My Negroes seeing there was no place of shelter for them, threw off their *paans*, and plunged into a little river which passed close by the spot. This is their custom, whenever they are caught in a storm, to jump into the water, rather than run the risk of being wet by the rain, dreading its bad effects. For my part, having neither time nor inclination to follow them, I retired under one of the largest calabash-trees then in sight, reckoning I should be as safe there as under the roof of a house. The rain poured down with such violence, that it seemed as if heaven and earth were coming together; every drop that fell, expanded itself a whole hand's breadth on the ground. I felt nothing of the first efforts of this storm: but a few minutes after, when the tree came to be well soaked, I was overwhelmed by the water that gushed out of its branches; and their different sinuations formed so many beds, from whence rushed forth whole torrents, which uniting on the vast surface of the trunk, discharged themselves from thence like a river. The reader may easily imagine, I could have no fine time of it, to stay under this tree; I therefore got away from thence as quick as possible, and stood in the open field, where I did not fare much better: for I was exposed to the whole violence of the storm, which lasted a full hour, and at my return to the island of Senegal, I was informed, that there fell two inches three lines of water.

The river Niger being arrived at its highest increase, overflowed all the country round the island of Senegal, so as to render it impassable. Being therefore obliged to relinquish my walks, I saw but one way to employ the long interval of time that the inundation was to last; and this was, to go over to a country not subject to be overflowed. A vessel was ready to sail for Goree, a small island, distant about thirty-five sea leagues, south-south-east from the island of Senegal, and very near Cape Verd. I thought I could do nothing better than to embrace so favourable an opportunity; and therefore I embarked. We put to sea the 27th of August, with the wind to the westward, and not all favourable; but a sudden storm * bursting upon us one night, with a terrible east wind, drove us with such violence, that only putting right before the wind, without any sail at all, we made more way than we had done for seven days before. During this tempest we saw a light, which the mariners call the fire of St. Elme: it winded near a minute about the top of the mast, and the extremity of the weather-flag, and then it dispersed. The sailors looked upon it as a lucky omen, which encouraged them to hope that the tempest was near at an end, and they were not deceived in their expectations. The wind subsided soon after, and the sea was restored to its former tranquillity.

The fourth of September, by break of day, we found ourselves off Cape Verd: this to me was a new sight, who during four months that I had been at Senegal, had seen no such thing as hills, and especially of stone. Soon after this, we espied the Magdalen islands, and that morning we cast anchor in the bay of Goree. This island consists of a low narrow piece of land, and a small but very steep mountain, the whole the sixth part of a league in length. Notwithstanding its confined extent, the situation renders it a very agreeable place: towards the south you enjoy a prospect, terminated only by the sea; northward, you discover at a distance Cape Verd, and all the other capes and neighbouring promontories. Though it is in the torrid zone, yet they breathe a cool and temperate air almost the whole year round: which is owing to the equality of days and nights, and its being continually refreshed by alternate breezes from the land and sea. M. de S. Jean, the director of this island, has embellished it with several fine buildings: he has likewise fortified it, and is adding every day to the works; so that it is now become impregnable†. By his diligence, several fresh springs have been discovered; the gardens have been planted with excellent fruit-trees; legumes have been made to grow in great plenty; in short, by these different advantages, of a small barren island, he has made it a safe and delightful residence. I had been recommended to him by M. de la Brue, his brother, director-general of the Settlement, and I could not but in consequence meet with every kind of encouragement.

The rocks with which the island of Goree is surrounded, produce an infinite number of shell and other fish, which amused me for some days; after which I embarked, the 13th of the same month, on board a small vessel bound to Portudal, in order to trade for oxen and millet. This port, which the Negroes called *Sali*, is only nine leagues south of the isle of Goree. The bar obliged us to anchor within half a league of the shore, that we might not be dashed to pieces. A pirogue landed me without any accident. I found the soil sandy, but of amazing fertility, and all covered with wood. The *grewia* ‡, a species of *polygala*, the *rebreup* §, and the *demboutton* ¶, formed a kind of copse, over which the *monbins* ||, or hog-plum-trees, known by the name of *job* in the language of that country, raise their heads, loaded with fruit. By its leaves, this

* We give this name to all tempestuous gusts of wind, accompanied with rain, thunder, and lightning; and we make use of the word *dry storm*, to distinguish those gusts that are without rain.

† Commodore Kepple has lately demonstrated our author's mistake. ‡ Trees unknown to Europe.

|| Monbin arbor foliis fraxini, fructu luteo racemoso. *Plum. gen. p. 44.*

has something of the appearance of an ash-tree ; but it is soon known by its fruit, which in size, shape and colour, resemble the plums of St. Catherine: they were ripe at that time ; and I ate some of them, which had a sharp, aromatic and very agreeable taste. I saw also in those parts several spinous silk cotton-trees *, known to the inhabitants by the name of *benten*, and many other large trees. The Negroes had cut down a good deal of this wood to sow fields of small-millet ; and it was then almost at its full maturity.

All this fine country abounded with birds of the greatest beauty. The jay, which I mentioned already, was there in flocks: the brightness of its azure feathers, joined to the lively yellowness of the birds called cardinal sparrows, with which all the fields were covered, had an admirable effect. Here was the only kind of snail † that ever I observed in the whole country. I found it very frequently in an open meadow, full of rushes and sea ambrosia: I saw even many of them alive, at the foot of the neighbouring trees, where they were enjoying the shade. It is a thing worthy of observation, and which doubtless will appear surprising, that in such a vast extent of wooded country, there should be but one sort of snail, while we meet with so great a variety in temperate climates.

The French have never a factory at Portudal ; but when they go to trade there, they land at the *Alker's*, or the governor of the village, who owns a great number of cottages. He appointed one for me, where I took up my quarters. One night when I was fast asleep, I was wakened by a horrid shrieking, which threw the whole village into an uproar. Immediately I inquired what was the matter ; and was told, that they were bewailing the death of a young woman, who had been bit about four leagues off by a serpent, and died of the poison in less than two hours ; and that her body had been just now removed to her cottage. The first shriek was made, according to custom, by one of the female relations of the deceased, before her door, which was very near to mine. At this signal, all the women in the village came out, and setting up a most terrible howl, they flocked about the place from whence the first noise had issued. One would have imagined that they were all related to the deceased, so greatly did they seem to grieve and mourn ; and, undoubtedly, this would have been a strong proof of their concern, if those lamentations had come from the bottom of their hearts : but they were no more than outward show, and merely the effect of national custom. This shocking noise lasted some hours, that is, till break of day : then the relations of the deceased, coming into the cottage, took hold of her hand, and asked her several questions, which were followed by offers of service : but finding that she made them no answer, they withdrew, saying : Alas ! she is dead. Her friends did the same ; afterwards they conveyed her body into the ground ; and on each side they put an earthen pot, one full of water, and the other of *couscous* : this without doubt was intended for her nourishment, in case she should once more take it into her head to eat or to drink. When the burial was over, the cries and lamentations ceased. Thus ended the lugubrious ceremony : their thoughts were now turned towards making an entertainment in honour of the deceased ; and that same evening they had a *folgar*, or a dance, which they continued for three nights successively ; it was conducted in this manner :

All the young people of the village gathered together in a large area, in the middle of which they had lighted a great fire. The spectators formed a long square, at both ends of which the dancers were ranged in two opposite lines, the men on one side, the women on the other. There were two tabors to regulate the dance ; and as soon as

* *Ceyba viticis folio, candice aculeato. Plum gen. p. 42.*

† See the natural history of *univalve shells*, kind 5th ; the snail, plate 1, fig. 1. *Kambel*.

they had beat a march, the performers began a song, the burden of which was repeated by all the spectators. At the same time a dancer stepping forth from each line, advanced towards the opposite person that pleased him most, to the distance of two or three feet, and presently drew back in cadence, till the sound of the tabor served as a signal for them to come close, and to strike their thighs against each other, that is, man to woman, and woman to man: this done, they drew back once more, and soon after renewed the same monkey tricks, diversifying their movements as often as the tabor directed them, till at length they returned to their place. The other performers did the same, each in their turn, but without a repetition; then the two lines drew near to one another, and acted their part in the same manner. That these gestures are very immodest, is obvious; but the other movements, which are hardly perceived, unless one is used to them, must be much more so. The Negroes do not dance a step, but every member of their body, every joint, and even the head itself, expresseth a different motion, always keeping time, let it be never so quick. And it is in the exact proportioning of this infinite number of motions, that the Negroes dexterity in dancing chiefly consists: none but those that are as supple as they, can possibly imitate their agility. Notwithstanding the violence of this exercise, it lasted a good part of the night, during which they drank off several pots of a very strong sort of beer made of millet. They began the same scene the two nights following, and the third their entertainments ceased. An European, on such an occasion, would have gone into mourning for some months; while the African seizes this opportunity to rejoice: such are the whimsical customs of different nations; what produceth joy and pleasure to one, is a subject of grief to another.

I had landed very easily upon my arrival at Portudal, because the sea was gentle and calm: but at my return I was much embarrassed how to reach our vessel; as there was then a great swell, and the agitation of the waves upon the bar rendered it very dangerous and difficult to get over. We ventured nevertheless in a large *pirogue*, the agent for the company, a few passengers, and myself; who were prepared to empty the water as fast as it came in, with half calabashes. The boat was thus laden, when a wave drove on shore, and lifted it off, with the assistance of four Negroes, all good swimmers; they pushed it forwards with their whole might, and leaped in as fast as the part where they were to row entered the water. We soon found ourselves in a very high sea, when the waves swelling like a ridge of hills, drove against the *pirogue*, and washed it all over. We worked hard, and with great resolution, to empty it again; and indeed we had enough upon our hands, while the Negroes rowed with all their might, to avoid the waves, which came rolling upon them. Now the *pirogue* raised its prow upon the back of a billow, while its stern sunk deep into the water: now it was supported as it were at both ends on the edge of two different waves: now only the middle of it was suspended upon a rolling surge, so that the extremities seemed to be poised in the air. In this manner, apprehending every moment to be overfet and inevitably lost, we got over the bar with great good fortune, and went on board the vessel, which carried us to the Isle of Goree, where we arrived the 24th of September, about night-fall.

Two days after, M. de Saint Jean, intending to favour me with an excursion to the Magdalen islands, distant a league from Goree, fitted out a vessel on which I embarked along with him and some officers of his department. Of these two islands only one is accessible; the other is a naked steep rock, very high above the surface of the water, and all white with the ordure, which plungeons, gulls, and other sea-fowls, leave behind them. The chief Magdalen island, though small, might be inhabited, if it had but a harbour; but it is accessible only by a small creek, full of rocks, and generally tempestuous. This creek forms a kind of long canal, which terminates in a natural basin

of an oval figure, hollowed in the rock, twelve feet deep, and twelve fathoms long, with transparent water, where one may bathe in safety. The island is only one continued mountain, almost round, and like that of Goree: it has also two small springs, which are dried up in the winter. The prospect from thence is very beautiful and extensive, and the air extremely fresh: but it would not be worth while to stay there for this alone. Its rocks serve for a receptacle to an infinite number of ring-doves, natural to that country, and which differ from those of Europe only in the superior delicacy and taste of their flesh.

Having already observed that the Negroes are negligent and idle to excess, I shall give here another proof of it. M. de Saint Jean had caused some potatoes to be planted in this island, in order to engage the neighbouring Negroes, who come hither very often, to continue and improve the culture of them, by which means they might sell them afterwards to the company. Accordingly, they came a few days before us, and carried away all the potatoes, without minding to plant the off-sets again, which we found lying upon the ground, dried up with the heat of the sun.

The most remarkable plants on this island, were the same as those which I had observed at Goree. Below I saw several new species of *spermacoe* and *belianthemoides*, which the French call *salade de matelots*, that is, sailor's salad, because they eat the leaves of it like purslane, which it resembles in taste. Higher up, there were *corchorus*'s, or Jew's mallows*, and a great deal of bindweed with cut leaves. The summit of the mountain was covered with variety of shrubs, such as *palma Christi*'s, *tapia*'s†, and stinking cassia, among which there was great plenty of *dracunculus*‡, as also of *ornithogalum* with green leaves, and a very pretty species of *amaranthus*||. There were also some calabash trees from five to six feet diameter: they had all of them European names, with the letters cut very deep into the bark. We did not chuse to deviate from the custom, therefore each man cut his name. For my part, I was satisfied with repairing two of them, which were old enough to deserve the trouble: one was dated the fifteenth, and the other the sixteenth century. The letters were about six inches long; but in breadth they occupied only a very small part of the circumference of the trunk; from whence I concluded they had not been cut when those trees were young. However, these inscriptions are sufficient, I think, to determine pretty nearly the age which these calabash trees may live to; for, if we suppose, that those in question were cut in their early years, and that they grew six feet in the space of two centuries, one may reckon how many centuries are requisite, for their shooting up to five and twenty feet, which is the last term of their growth.

After spending three days agreeably in herborizing on the island of Magdalen, and in observing the beautiful shells which it produces, we returned to Goree, from whence I set sail the 2d of October for the island of Senegal. Ten days was I detained at sea, by contrary winds at N. E. which would have made me extremely uneasy, had they not afforded me an opportunity of making a very important observation. The 6th of the same month, at half an hour past six in the evening, we were about fifty leagues from the coast, when four swallows came to take their night's lodging in our vessel, and pitched upon the shrouds. I caught them all four with great ease, and found them to be European swallows. This lucky incident confirmed me in the suspicion I had formerly entertained, that those birds crossed the sea to get into the torrid zone, as soon

* *Corchorus five melochia*. *J. B.* 2. 982.

† *Tapia arborea triphylla*. *Plum. gen. pag.* 22. In English, The garlic pear-tree.

‡ *Arum polyphyllum ceylanicum*, caule scabro, viridi diluto, maculis albicantibus notato. *Comm. Hort. Amst.* vol. i. tab. 52.

|| *Amaranthus verticillatus minor*, Bengalenis serpylli foliis incalis. *Plut. phytog. tab.* 10. fig. 3.

as the winter approached : and indeed I have observed since, that they are never seen but at this time of the year at Senegal, along with quails, wagtails, kites and some other birds of passage, which go thither every year, when the cold drives them away from the temperate countries of Europe. Another fact not less worthy of remark is, that the swallows do not build their nests in Senegal as in Europe ; they lie every night, two and two, or single, on the sea-shore, which they seem to like better than inland places.

I was likewise amused in this long passage with looking at the flying fishes. It was then their season, and the sea was, in some measure, filled with them. In size they are equal to a gudgeon or a whiting : they have two fins almost as long as their whole body, which serve them for wings to fly upon the water. The gold fish and bonitoe are extremely greedy of the flying fish, and at that time were in full pursuit of them ; so that every minute you might see little clouds of the latter rising above the water, and endeavouring to avoid their cruel enemies. As they balance themselves in the air, merely by the humidity of their wings, their flight was very short : a great many of those that had flown above the ship, fell down again ; and we caught a considerable number of them, without any further trouble. I ate some, which I found very tender and well tasted.

I arrived at Senegal the 12th of October, when the trees, the fields and the meadows, felt equally the effects of the freshness of the season, occasioned by the rain ; and the eye was delighted with an agreeable verdure, which had succeeded a frightful drought. The rains were over : and as the bed of the Niger began to fall, the voyage to Podor seemed of course more practicable. I could not seize on a better opportunity for my researches on the banks of that river ; and therefore I thought of taking a second trip to that place. I knew that as the winds are seldom favourable at this season of the year, our voyage would not be very expeditious. Flattering myself therefore, with the hopes of great success in the observations I was about to make, I embarked the twenty-third of the same month. It is common for the vessels that undertake this voyage, to provide themselves with wood over against the point of the isle Biféche, in a place that has since retained the name of the Wood-island, within a short league of Senegal. Here we stopt at a very agreeable spot, where the vessel entered with all ease among the mangroves, and was shaded with their verdant foliage. While we were taking in our wood, I went ashore on the island, which by the inundation had been rendered one continued slough or morass. On each side I smelt a delicious fragrancy, the cause of which I could not divine, till advancing into the wood, I arrived half-knee deep in water, at a spot which I saw all covered with a kind of mushroom, different from the Egyptian. It was then in blossom, and diffused, as I observed before, a most pleasing odour.

From this place to the village of Maka, both banks of the Niger are so covered with mangroves, that it is impossible to walk on foot. As we had no wind, the *laptots* were obliged to hawl the vessel with a rope up to their waist in water, and sometimes deeper. At first we advanced five or six leagues a day, before we reached the Musketoe trading-place, because the river runs almost north and south, till it comes to that place, and the winds were not quite contrary : but from thence to Podor, it changes its direction from west to east, and with a good deal of difficulty could we proceed three leagues a day. One time we were retarded by a shoal ; another time the trees along the banks hindered the hawling of the vessel, and a good part of the day was spent in towing it*.

* To tow a vessel, is to draw it by a rope fastened to a tree, or to an anchor, which is let drop into the water.

As these obstructions afforded me time and opportunity to reconnoitre the country, I went on shore morning and evening, where I pierced my way through the woods, and traversed the morasses and the fields, harbozizing and coursing all the way; so that I never returned empty handed. In one place, a plant or an insect, stopped me: in another, some extraordinary quadruped, or some bird decked with the most beautiful feathers; every object that offered itself to my sight, was new to me.

A little above the Muskeroe trading-place, I began to see crocodiles: when I say I began to see them, I mean by hundreds; for there are some towards the island of Senegal. But this spot seems to be their general rendezvous, even of the very largest: for I have beheld some that were from fifteen to eighteen feet long; and I do not know that there are any above this size. There were upwards of two hundred, which appeared all at the same time above water. As the vessel passed that way, they were frightened, and immediately plunged their heads into the river, but rose again very soon to take breath, because they cannot keep more than a few minutes under water. When they swim on the surface, you see only the upper part of their head, and a small part of the back; at which time they bear not the least resemblance to live creatures; but one would take them for the trunks of trees floating on the river. In this attitude, which leaves them the use of their eyes, they see what passes on both banks; and as soon as they perceive any animal coming to drink, they plunge under water, and swim up to it with the greatest expedition; then seizing it by the leg, they drag it into the stream, where it is soon drowned, and then they devour it.

We had not yet advanced five and twenty leagues the 30th October. That morning I espied a very beautiful plain to the left of the river Niger, opposite the village of Gandor; pleased with the prospect, I went ashore, but soon had reason to repent it. After having walked about an hour, I found the passage stopped up by the *marigot* of Ouafoul, which was then very considerable. The river makes an elbow a little above this spot. The ship's company finding the wind favourable, had gained above a league upon me, and had no thoughts of waiting, not knowing the perplexity I was under; and yet I was obliged to come up with them. I had taken with me only a Negroe of Banbara, who had offered his service on the occasion: for it is not to be imagined what difficulty I had to prevail on any of those, who had once made an excursion with me to attend me again: they were but too sensible of the risks I ran; and they did not receive pleasure enough to like a share of my toils.

With my Banbara I advanced about half a league through a morass, formed by an inundation of the waters of the *marigot* on those low lands, from whence I extricated myself with difficulty, wading up to my knees in water, and meeting every minute with prodigious large serpents, especially of that species whose bodies are surprizingly thick in comparison to their length. I avoided those animals as soon as I espied them; but my Negroe heartened me, by affirming they were not noxious. I shot one very near me, that was almost a foot in diameter, and eight and a half in length. The Negroe threw it over his shoulder, reckoning to feast upon it with his comrades.

When I had advanced a few steps towards the bed of the *marigot*, I entered, though I had my clothes on, into the water up to my waist; but I did not care to go further, as I might have met with some hole, which would have embarrassed me greatly. I therefore sent my Negroe to sound the bottom; and in the meanwhile I got upon a tree, in order to avoid the serpents and the water, which began to fatigue me. After sounding three different places, he was of opinion he could carry me over a particular spot, where the water came up only to his nostrils, when he stood on tip-toe. The fellow was tall, being six feet some inches. I mounted upon his shoulders, with my gun in

my hand, a few birds, and a bundle of plants. He was soon in the water up to his neck; and I was not without some apprehension, when I saw myself descend gradually up to my waist: however, I resigned myself to his skilful guidance, or rather to my own good fortune, and I let him do as he pleased. He waded through the middle of the *marigot* with amazing resolution, without being in the least daunted, though he was obliged to swallow three large gulps of water, which for some time took away his breath. As soon as I escaped this danger, I espied a plant of very extraordinary beauty, floating on the water: this was a *cadelari**, with soft silver leaves. That moment I forgot every other object, and though my Banbara was still up to his chin in water, I ventured to pluck the charming plant. Thus I escaped very luckily out of the *marigot* of Ouafoul, which at that time was very near a hundred and twenty fathoms broad, that is, about twice the breadth of the Seine at Pont Royal; and I overtook the vessel before noon.

That very evening, doubting whether I should be able to find my way on the side of the river, where I had run such a risk in the morning, I landed on the opposite bank, but was not more fortunate. Every now and then I met with forests of reeds from ten to twelve feet high, which tried my patience to the full, when I was obliged to go through them. There was no sort of path; and in many places the reeds stood so thick, as to deprive me, in a manner, from seeing either sky or land.

The following days I spent more agreeably; we arrived in those parts, where the hippopotami or sea horses, are very common. This is the largest of all amphibious animals, and is to be found no where but in the African rivers, in fresh water: and one thing worthy of observation is, that it has been never seen any where else but in this part of the world, to which it seems particularly to belong. It is commonly drawn in the figure of an ox, which indeed is the animal it resembles most; but its legs are much shorter, and its head is monstrous large. In regard to its size, the sea horse may take precedency after the elephant and the rhinoceros. Its jaws are armed with four large tusks, wherewith it loosens the roots of trees, on which it feeds. It cannot abide long under water, for want of respiration; which obliges it to carry its head now and then above the surface, in the same manner as the crocodile. It neighs much in the same manner as a horse, but with such vehemence, that it may be heard very distinctly a quarter of a league off.

In this very neighbourhood, besides the sea horse there is a second species of crocodile, not at all inferior to the other in dimensions. It is distinguished by its colour, which is black; and by its jaws, which are a great deal longer than the others: it is also more carnivorous, and is even said to be greedy after human flesh.

The vessel sometimes plied on one, and sometimes on the other bank of the river, which were all along bordered with shrubs, commonly of willows, or seshans, covered with bind-weeds, or dog's bane, of several kinds, which after creeping round their branches, hung their sprigs, loaded with flowers of various colours. At the foot of these shrubs waved the pericaria, also in flower. Thus I sailed along a charming meadow, on which were feeding a multitude of grass-hoppers, whose beautiful green, variegated with the liveliest red, had an admirable effect. Further on, the palmetos reared their lofty heads above the *semeliers*† and *acacia*'s, which overspread the rest of the ground. In short, nothing could be more beautiful than the prospect with which my eye was refreshed, the space of fifteen leagues and upwards, from the desert to the village of Bokol. And indeed this would be the most agreeable river in the world,

* *Cadelari*. *Hort. Mal. part. 10. pag. 155. tab. 78.*

† A species of *baubinia* not described.

were it not from the continual apprehension from the crocodiles, and sometimes from the sea horses with which it abounds.

The above-mentioned palmetto is what the Negroes call *ronn**, a name which the French have been pleased to change into that of *rondier*. Its trunk is very large and straight, like a column from fifty to sixty feet high, from the upper end whereof issues forth a bundle of leaves, which, in turning off, form a round head: each leaf represents a fan of five or six feet in expansion, supported by a tail of the same length. Of these trees some produce male flowers, which are barren: others, called female, are loaded with fruit, which succeed each other uninterruptedly, almost the whole year round. They brought me several of the bigness of an ordinary melon, but somewhat rounder. They were enveloped in two skins as tough as leather, and thick as strong parchment; within-side the fruit was yellowish, and full of filaments, fastened to three large kernels in the middle. The Negroes are very fond of this fruit: when it is baked under the ashes, it tastes very much like a quince; it has a pretty strong scent, but extremely agreeable.

The Niger willow is different from the European. It has the trunk and the weakness of the osier; but its leaves are very short, and made round at the ends. The Negroes give it the name of *kelele*: of all the trees in the country, it is one of the most respected; its younger branches pass into the hands of the ladies, who make pick-tooths of them; and for want of these, which leave a little bitterness in the mouth, they use the branches of some other fine scented trees. These different sorts of pick-tooths are called *fokiou*.

I saw every day so great a number of elephants all along the banks of the river, that the sight was no longer a surprize to me. The fifth of November, as I was walking in the woods over against the village of Dagana, I perceived a number of their footsteps very fresh. I traced them close almost two leagues, and at length I discovered five of those animals, three of which were weltering in their filth like swine, and the fourth was standing up with its little one, eating the ends of the branches of an *acacia*, which it had but just broke. By comparing the height of the tree against which this elephant stood, I judged that it was at least eleven or twelve feet, from the sole of its foot to the buttocks; its tusks projected the length of near three feet. Though those animals did not appear to be affected at seeing me, yet I thought it advisable to retire. Continuing my journey, I found very strong impressions of their footsteps, which I measured, and they were near a foot and a half diameter. Their dung was a good deal like that of a horse, and formed balls seven or eight inches thick.

The next day I had an infinite pleasure in visiting the beautiful fields on the side of Bokol. First of all I walked under trees full of green monkeys, whose gambols were very diverting. Next I came to a place abounding with game, where I had excellent sport. From thence I entered into a little thicker near a morass, which drew whole flocks of Guinea-hens. While I was lying in ambush on this spot, I espied one of those enormous wild boars, peculiar to Africa, and of which I do not remember, that any natural historian has made mention. He was coming full drive at me, and would have certainly overtaken me if I had not warned him, as it were, to direct his steps another way, by the noise I made in taking aim at him. He was black like our European wild boars, but a vast deal larger. He had four great tusks, the two uppermost of which were bent into a semicircle towards the forehead, where they resembled the horns worn by other animals.

The nearer I drew to Podor, the more I was exposed to danger, because the banks of the Niger are more lonesome, especially that towards the north. Yet neither the dangers I was exposed to from wild beasts, nor the toil of coursing in the woods,

* Carin-pana. *Hort. Malab.* vol. i. p. 11. tab. 9.

which are rendered inaccessible by thorns; nor the sultry heats of the east wind, that obliged me every instant to have recourse to the river waters, in order to quench my violent thirst; none of all these inconveniences deterred me; nothing was capable of cooling my courage. I had an amazing good state of health; and this bore me up in the midst of so many perils and toils, under which a great many would have sunk.

The seventh of November there happened to me an adventure, far more critical and more terrifying than any I had hitherto met with. I used alternately to walk on either bank of the river, but that day I happened to be on the north side. I walked and coursed in a desert country, that had never been cultivated, over-run with wood, as ancient as the country itself, and the thickness of which, independently of the wild beasts that lurk there, ought naturally to have filled me with horror. In spite of the dangers and inconveniences inseparable from this kind of sport, my curiosity led me into the thickest parts of the wood, invited by the animals, plants, and birds, of which there was prodigious plenty. The negroe, whom I had taken with me as a companion, followed me at a great distance. It was now noon-day, and I had scarcely loaded my piece, after killing two *toucans*; when I beheld a tiger at a little distance. He had not as yet espied me, for there was a tree between us; but he walked with a very slow pace, his head inclining towards the ground. Instantly I clapped a ball into my piece, in order to take aim of him behind a tree, and in my left hand I held a hanger. Hearing these motions, the tiger turned quickly towards where I was, and darted his angry eyes at me. Though I was not twelve feet distant from him, still I thought it imprudent to fire, because I was alone, and should have run a very great risk, if I did not lay him dead upon the spot. I therefore took the resolution, which seemed to me the most prudent on the like occasion: this was still to keep full aim at him, with one knee bent for greater security, and to beat the ground with the other foot without appearing dismayed, in order to determine him to pursue his way. This he did in an instant; and taking such a leap, as I never beheld in my life, he freed me from the uneasiness into which his disagreeable presence had thrown me.

That very instant I quitted the wood, to draw near the river-side, where my negroe did not come to me till an hour after. We waited a long time for the vessel without hearing any tidings of it: we likewise went on a little further; but all to no purpose. We had left it above two leagues behind us, and there was no probability of its arrival before sun-set. It was four o'clock in the afternoon; and from six in the morning that I had been toiling, I had tasted nothing but water, of which I had drank a great quantity, to temper the heats I felt from the scorching rays of the sun. Being now oppressed with hunger, as well as my negroe, I determined to dine after the savage fashion. All the requisites were at hand. I had killed in my walks more game than four hungry men could devour at one meal. My negroe was not embarrassed to roast it: he rubbed two sticks together, which took fire in an instant; then he made a wooden spit, and garnished it with a *toucan*, two partridges, and two Guinea-hens. As soon as I had dined, which I may be said to have done with more frugality and less ceremony than the negroes themselves; I thought I could do no greater service to myself, and to every Frenchman that should happen hereafter to walk in this dangerous neighbourhood, than to set fire to the wood, in the manner practised by the negroes. During the space of two hours that I staid there, I threw in fuel sufficient to spread the conflagration for several leagues through this vast desert, which extends from the village called *Ndounnmangas* as far as Podor, for a space of above twenty leagues; it is frequented but very rarely by the Moors, who encamp in some places, which they previously set on fire. At seven in the even, the long wished-for vessel arrived; when I went on board with great satisfaction, by the blaze of the bonfire:

eight days afterwards I heard, that it was still burning, and had laid the country open for several leagues.

The eighth we arrived at Lamnai, a small island, which very justly might be called the island of birds: it lies very low, and is not two hundred fathoms in length. The trees were covered with such a prodigious number of cormorants and herons of every kind, that the *laptots*, in going up a rivulet, filled a boat, in less than half an hour, as well with the young ones, which they took either with their hands, or knocked down with sticks; as with the old ones, of which every shot brought down several dozens.

In this island I found a plant, which I had not yet seen; it is well known by the name of the *stratiote* of Egypt, that surprizing plant, which is said to move on the waters of the Nile, seeking for nutrition in the same manner as animals. Surely this is a made story, or perhaps the loose descriptions which travellers have given of it, have been interpreted in a wrong sense. The *stratiote* of the Niger is the same as that of the Nile, of which we have a figure in *Prosper Alpinus**, and in the garden of Malabar†: and its roots are so deeply fixed in the earth, that it is with difficulty they can be plucked up. What has given rise to this error is, that the above-mentioned plant produces small tufts of leaves, at a very great distance from each other, and supported by a stem, which, after floating on the water, loses itself insensibly in the earth; much in the same manner as the *potamogetons*, the *nymphoides*, and even the leaves of the *nenusar*, or water-lilly.

Being so near to Podor, which we descried from afar, over the low lands, I began the more ardently to wish for the happy hour of landing, as the vessel hardly advanced above three or four leagues a day. At length this hour came the tenth of November; and the nineteenth day put a period to this tedious and laborious voyage, which I had performed in the hottest month of the year. The thermometer could not be exposed with any safety, except in the ships cabin; where it marked by twelve at noon from 40 to 45 degrees. This cabin was so greatly warmed by the sun, that even in the night-time it still preserved from 30° to 32 degrees of heat: it was like a stove, or rather a fiery furnace; the pitch and tar were melted to such a degree, as to pass through all the joints of the vessel. In short, the heat I endured in this voyage, was such, that I do not think it can possibly be more violent in any other part of the world: hence I am not at all surprized, that most of the French, who are near two months in performing the voyage of Galam‡ in July and August, should seldom get there without being seized with burning fevers. And therefore it is that those, whom experience or a thorough knowledge of the country has rendered more prudent, do not fail to embark in the month of June, as soon as the waters are high enough. Then they have a great deal less to suffer from the intemperateness of the rainy season, and of the heats, which increase daily from the month of June to November; so that they would never be able to bear them, were they to set out in September or October.

Another inconveniency of the voyage to Podor or Galam, in the month of October, is owing to the musketoes and bees. I have elsewhere mentioned how troublesome the former are: but the latter are still more so. Every day towards twelve o'clock, I was sure of being visited by one, two, and sometimes more swarms, which made their entrance into the cabin, attracted, in all probability, by the penetrating and resinous smell of the pitch and tar. Such tormenting visitors obliged me to quit the vessel, and to seek for peace on shore.

* Hay alem el maovi, id est, stratiotes. *Prosper Alp. Egypt. v. 2. p. 51.*

† Kadda-pail. *Hort. Mal. vol. 11. p. 32. tab. 63.*

‡ Galam is upwards of 700 miles above the mouth of the River, and the principal place of trade for gold, slaves, &c.

The same thing happened to me at Podor in November and December. It is very likely, that during those three months the swarms quit their old hives to build new ones: for at that time, you frequently meet with very considerable heaps of them. One day I saw the roof of a house, the surface of which was sixteen square feet, covered with a lay or bed, four fingers thick, of bees heaped up in this manner. This is an evident proof of the prodigious number of those insects. They lodge every where, but more particularly in the trunks of trees made hollow by time. This year they had three hives at our settlement at Podor; one between the shutters and the window of the room on the first floor: the other on the ground floor, in a small press full of old iron, a leaf of which was opened every day; and it stood at the bottom of a very dark warehouse: the third was in the ceiling of another warehouse, just behind the door. With difficulty could we drive away those insects, even in the night and with the help of fire: they know how to distinguish in the dark those who molest them, and they shew their revenge by most pungent stings.

These bees differ from those of Europe only in size. There is this singularity in their honey, that it never acquires a consistency like ours; but is always liquid and like a brown syrup. We may affirm, it is infinitely superior, both in delicacy and taste, to the best honey collected in the southern parts of France.

The country about Podor had now a very different face from what it wore at the time of my first voyage. Instead of a dry barren plain, I beheld an agreeable champaign, intersected with morasses, where rice grew naturally without being sown. The higher grounds were covered with millet: and there also the indigo and cotton plants displayed a most lovely verdure. Almost all the aquatic plants of warm climates, passed in review before me: I observed the *water-lilly**, two sorts of *pontederia* †, the *jussiaea*'s ‡, the *lemmas* and the *pongati* §, of the garden of Malabar. I likewise met with several species of *alisma*, *bindweed*, *neruphar*, *utriculaire*, *hottonia* ||, *adhatoda*, besides a great multitude of cyperuses, or galingales, and other, mostly unknown, plants.

My curiosity was not confined to the adjacent fields; it extended also to the woods and *marigots* two leagues all round. There I found many new species of trees and birds of exquisite beauty. But of all the extraordinary things I observed, nothing struck me more than certain eminencies, which, by their height and regularity, made me take them at a distance, for an assemblage of Negroes huts, or a considerable village: and yet they were only the nests of certain insects. They are round pyramids, from eight to ten feet high, upon nearly the same base, with a smooth surface of rich clay, excessively hard and well built. The inside is a labyrinth of little galleries, interwoven one with the other, and answering to a small opening, which gives ingress and regress to the insects that inhabit it. They are called *vag-vagues*; and perhaps are the same as those which go by the name of wood-lice and white ants in America and the East Indies. They are shaped like the common ants; but their members are not so distinct. Their body, besides being of a dirty white, is also much softer, fuller, and as it were, of an unctuous nature. These creatures multiply prodigiously; and when they want to make a lodgment, they attack some dead trunk of a tree, into which they quickly eat their way.

In my two voyages I had carefully drawn a plan of the river Niger, from its mouth to Podor: so that there remained only for me, to know the latitude of this place. The difference I found between my plan, and that of the ancient and modern charts,

* *Nymphæa Indica minor lævis*. Rumph. *Herb. Amb.* v. 6. p. 167. tab. 72. fig. 3.

† *Pontederia floribus umbellatis*. Lin. *fl. Zeyl.* 129.

‡ New species.

§ *P. ngati*. Hort. *Malab.* v. 11. p. 47. tab. 24.

|| *Hottonia flore solitario, ex foliorum alis proveniente*. Burm. *Th. Zeyl.* pag. 121. tab. 55. fig. 1.

made me suspect that the latitude had not been rightly determined; if it be true that they worked upon it at all. In order to be certain, I fixed, with the requisite precautions, a gnomon eight feet one inch and a line in height, upon a platform, reduced to a very exact level. During the month of November and part of December, I observed thereon different points of the sun's shadow, which by calculation gave me its height. Thence I concluded Podor to be 16 degrees 44½ minutes north latitude, according to the account I transmitted at that time to M. Le Monnier, who was pleased to communicate it to the academy of sciences*. This observation is of some importance, since it corrects an error of above 15 minutes, by which all other maps place Podor too far north; and it greatly diminishes the length of this river, whose direction has been also wrong laid down by most geographers. Thus, besides the advantage I reaped from my second voyage to Podor, in informing myself of the natural history of the country; it likewise enabled me to verify and correct an essential point of geography, with regard to the course of the Niger, of which we know but a very small part as yet.

In sailing down this river, the winds were as favourable to us as they had been adverse in ascending. I left Podor the 17th of December, and arrived the 21st at the island of Senegal; so that I was only five days in my return, whereas I had been nineteen in going to Podor. As the waters decreased, they left on the banks of the river a slime, which the Negroes know how to make the most of; for they had sown every part of it with large millet, tobacco, and several sorts of French beans.

I did not stay long upon the island of Senegal; for I left it the 11th of January the ensuing year, to return a second time to the island of Goree, where I arrived the 15th. From thence I was to make the voyage of Gambia, with Mess. de la Brue and de Saint Jean; one the director of the settlement of Senegal, the other of the isle of Goree. They were going to restore the French factory of Albreda, situate upon this river, within six or seven leagues of its mouth, and about fifty from the isle of Goree. Three vessels set sail together the 10th of February, and entered the river Gambia the 20th. Its mouth does not begin, properly speaking, till you are at the point of the bar; though its bed advances a good way into the sea, by means of the sand banks or flats betwixt the Island of Birds and Cape St. Mary. The cape is a high land, which you leave upon your right. From the point of the bar to the factory of Albreda, the river has a very unequal breadth; in some places it is a league over, and a little more in others. Its banks are very high, and bordered on both sides with tall trees, which plainly shew the goodness of the soil.

We cast anchor over against the factory, and staid a few days in the road, without going ashore. There we lived very well: the negroes brought us plenty of excellent fish, as thornbacks, soles, monstrous large rock fish and a great many *tree-oysters*†, which abound in that river. Here they have every thing requisite for their sustenance. The banks of the river being lined with mangroves, they fasten to the roots thereof: and the sea water never loseth its saltness in this spot. What is very extraordinary, every where else, oysters are loosened from rocks; here they are gathered upon trees! At low water, they are left bare, and seen hanging at their roots. This is what made some voyagers, who had seen the like in America, affirm, that they perched upon trees. The Negroes have not so much difficulty as one would imagine, in gathering them; they need only to cut off the branch, to which the oysters are fastened. A single root

* This observation was printed in the second volume of the memoirs presented to the Academy by divers learned men, pag. 605.

† See the natural history of bivalvous shells. *Species 1. oysters, plate 14. fig. 1.*

bears sometimes upwards of two hundred ; and if it has several branches, it forms a cluster which one man would find difficult to carry. The shells of these oysters differ from those of Europe, being longer, narrower and thinner ; but as to the delicacy and relish of the meat, connoisseurs know no difference.

In this voyage I was witness myself, for the first time, to the mischief done by locusts, that scourge, so dreadful to hot climates. The third day after our arrival we were still in the road ; when there suddenly arose over our heads, towards eight o'clock in the morning, a thick cloud, which darkened the air and deprived us of the rays of the sun. Every body was surprized at so sudden a change in the sky, which is seldom overcast in this season : but we soon found that it was owing to a cloud of locusts, raised about twenty or thirty fathoms from the ground, and covering an extent of several leagues, upon which it poured a shower of those insects, which fell to devouring while they rested themselves, and then resumed their flight. This cloud was brought by a very strong east wind ; it was all the morning in passing over the adjacent country ; and we imagined that the same wind drove the locusts into the sea. They spread desolation wherever they came : after devouring the herbage, with the fruits and leaves of trees, they attacked even the buds and the very bark : they did not so much as spare the reeds, with which the huts were thatched, notwithstanding that these were so dry : in short, they did all the mischief that can be dreaded from so voracious an insect. I took a great number of them, which are still to be seen in my cabinet : they were intirely brown, of the breadth and length of one's finger, and armed with two strong jaw bones, dented like a saw. Their wings were much longer than those of any locusts I had ever seen before : and no doubt, but it was owing to the largeness of those wings, that they could fly with such ease, and poise themselves in the air.

One would not imagine that so shocking an insect, as the locust, should ever be food for man. And yet it is an undoubted fact, that in several parts of this country, the people eat of it : nay they have different ways of dressing this extraordinary dish. Some pound them, and boil them with milk ; others only broil them on the coals, and think them excellent food. There is no disputing of tastes : for my part I should willingly resign whole clouds of locusts to the Negroes of Gambia, for the meanest of their fishes.

One thing which always surprized me, is the prodigious rapidity, with which the sap of trees repairs any loss they may happen to sustain in that country : and I was never more astonished, than when, upon landing four days after that terrible invasion of locusts, I saw the trees covered with new leaves ; and they did not seem to me to have suffered much. The herbs bore marks of the devastation somewhat longer ; but a few days were sufficient to repair all the mischief.

The people inhabiting the country along the Gambia, are Mandingoes or Soses, to express myself in their way. Their manner of life, and dress, is not preferable to that of the other blacks ; but their huts are better built : and perhaps they are obliged for their taste of architecture to the Portuguese, who were formerly settled in those parts. The walls are made of a fat binding clay, which soon hardens. They are all thatched with straw, which hangs down to another little wall breast high ; and this makes a small gallery round the hut, where they are sheltered from the rays of the sun. The village having taken fire a little after my arrival, the walls of those huts that withstood it, were partly of a beautiful red, and partly vitrified by the violence of the fire : at a distance they seemed to be done over with a very bright enamel.

The hut where I lodged was large and commodious, but as dark as a subterraneous cavern, even at noon-day, because it had no other opening but a door pierced at each

end. Here I must observe, lest I should forget it, that a great number of our European swallows resorted hither every evening, and passed the night upon the rafters; for, as I have elsewhere mentioned, they do not build nests in this country, but only come to spend the winter.

As my view in going up the Gambia was to make experiments in natural history, I wanted a lightsome place to perform my operations: and the huts throughout the village were all too dark; I contrived therefore to make use of a tamarind-tree in the middle of the garden, which belonged to my hut, and was planted with fine orange, citron, papaws, and other fruit-trees. I made an inclosure of straw under its verdant foliage, which, besides affording me a cool retreat, invited the feathered choristers to warble out their notes. In short, it was a real cabinet of natural philosophy, and I question whether so rural a one was ever seen before. For my part the memory thereof is still dear to me, because of the knowledge I thereby acquired of an infinite multitude of new and curious plants, the growth of this country, which is doubtless one of the finest spots of all Africa.

The soil is rich and deep, and amazingly fertile: it produces spontaneously and almost without cultivation, all the necessaries of life, as grain, fruits, legumes, and roots. On the high and somewhat drier grounds you see guavas, acajous, two sorts of papaws with orange and citron trees of exquisite beauty: I measured some myself that were above five and twenty feet high, and a foot and a half the diameter of the trunk. The roots of manioc, igname, and batatee multiply greatly in open places. The black and moist clays are taken up with forests of bananas, at the feet of which both pepper and ginger grow. Every thing matures to perfection, and is excellent in its kind. They likewise make a great deal of date-wine, which is very delicious.

The pepper of this place is not the same as that of India. It is a round berry about the bigness of a hemp-seed, which ripens to a red colour, and has a sweetish taste. It contains a seed of the shape and bigness of a grain of cabbage, but very hard, and in taste like aromatic pepper, which has an agreeable poignancy. This fruit grows in small bunches on a shrub three or four feet high, whose thin supple branches are furnished with oval leaves, pointed at the ends, very greasy, and pretty much like those of the privet or prime print.

Rice is almost the only grain sown at Gambia in the lands overflowed by the rains of the high season. The negroes cut all these lands with small causeys which withhold the waters in such a manner, that their rice is always moistened. They had got in their crop long before my arrival; so that the rice fields in the month of February were a sort of drained morasses, on which grew a few wild herbs. Every night we saw shining flies which flew on all sides; and, wherever they passed, they diffused a light similar to that of twinkling stars. I walked there several times at night fall, and perceived that they came out of crevices or gaps formed in that marshy soil when dried by the sun, and in which they had made their nests. I observed also, that those which had wings, emitted light as well as those which had none; contrary to what we see in France, where the former have not this advantage. In short, they flew about only for three or four hours at the most, after which they returned to their holes. I gathered a great number of them, which I kept for some days in small phials, where they gave a light so long as they lived; but it grew dim in proportion as the insect drew towards its end. This little creature is improperly called a glow-worm or fire-fly; since it is neither a worm nor fly; but a small beetle, of a brown colour, and its body flat and scaly, like that of other beetles. Its wings are covered with two cases, also scaly, though very soft. The light with which it is furnished, is lodged only in the three last rings of its body; and some motion must be impressed on them, for the light to shew itself outwardly.

Leaving the river, we found a rich soil, of red sand, extremely fine, and unconceivably fruitful: this appears by the trees with which it is covered. Here you see thickets impenetrable, not because of the thorns, for there are very few; but by reason the trees stand so close; among the rest I met with some wild vines, not unlike the European. There you behold a forest of lofty trees, bending under the weight of the *cissus*'s * which would be called ivy in America, from the manner in which they fasten themselves, ascending and descending, intertwined with each other, and seeming to bend downwards and to submit their branches, just like the tackling of a ship in regard to its yards and masts. It was in these fine fields I beheld those trees of such prodigious dimensions, viz. father Plumier's *ceyba*'s † which, as I have elsewhere observed, the negroes of Senegal call *benten*.

The *benten* surpasses all the trees of Senegal in height, as the calabash-tree surpasses them in thickness. There are some a hundred and ten, and even a hundred and twenty feet high, the trunk of which is from eight to ten feet at the most in diameter, and extremely erect; between the root and branches, it is fifty or sixty feet, and oftentimes more, in length. The chamferings or kind of small wings, which sometimes grow the whole length of the trunk, do not in the least diminish the beauty of its white bark, nor the boldness with which it carries its round spreading top. It is of this tree the negroes make their *pirogues*, by hollowing its trunk; the wood being very soft, dense, and extremely light. Those who inhabit the banks of the Gambia being possessed of the largest *bentens*, make likewise the largest *pirogues*: they have some from forty to fifty feet long, and from four to five feet in breadth, and somewhat less in depth.

The *farobier* is another large tree also as common as the *benten*, but of quite a different use, because of the hardness and weight of the wood. The negroes are very fond of its fruit, which is a kind of cod or hulk like that of a French bean, but above a foot in length, containing a black flat seed, like large lentils, enveloped in a yellow farinaceous substance. This fruit frequently serves them instead of every other sustenance, especially when they travel: it is extremely good, and nourishing; and tastes much like the best ginger bread cake.

At the east end of the village of Albreda, I saw a wild fig-tree of an extraordinary shape and size. It was not very high; but its trunk was about ten feet diameter, and cut with so many chamferings, that it seemed to be composed of several trees, whose trunks joined to each other, most of them spreading chiefly more towards the roots, where they formed a kind of buttress. This trunk was not above fifteen feet high, but it was divided into several large branches, well covered with leaves, which made it very agreeable, as it afforded a most refreshing shade. The inhabitants had pitched upon this spot to build a *caldé*, that is, a public hall. This consisted of a floor raised two or three feet above the earth, and composed of several forked shoots planted near to one another, over which cross shoots were laid. The whole was covered with hurdles put close together, and some mats over them. This was the place where their assemblies were held: here the lazy and the indolent met to smoke and converse; here the newsmongers sat loitering; in a word, here they transacted all the affairs and concerns of the village.

It is not at all surprising that in a moist country there should be plenty of frogs: but surely I had great reason to be surprised, not having met as yet with any in all my excursions. From Podor to Gambia, which, including the isle of Senegal, and that of

* *Cero affinis scandens planta aphylla; caule rotundo, articulado, glabro, succulento, saturatè, viridi.* Sloan Jam. vol 2, tab. 224. fig. 3 & 4.

† *Ceyba viticis folio caudice glabro.* Plum. Gen. pag. 42.

Goree, with Portudal, and several other places where I had been, contains a space of a hundred and fifty leagues, and a country that I was well acquainted with, I had as yet seen none but toads. It was in a well, which had been dug at the west end of the village of Albreda, that I discovered the first frogs : and these could not get away from thence, the borders being raised six feet, and cut vertically. I saw none except in this well, which contained such a prodigious multitude of them, that, when they rose above the water, they absolutely hid the whole surface of it, covering one another over again, nearly in the same manner as tiles are laid on the tops of houses. Their bodies were smaller, but more compact than those of our European frogs ; their colour was green, agreeably variegated with black spots ; so that I looked upon them as a very particular species.

Botany, and every other branch of natural history, had greatly improved under my care in this fruitful country ; and I should have considerably added to my store of observations, if I had been permitted to continue there for any time : but the circumstances, and difficulties attending a new settlement, prevented my tarrying any longer. I therefore set out on the 12th of March upon my return to Goree, along with the directors of that island, and of Senegal, who had taken care that I should want for nothing while I was at Gambia.

Our passage was tedious, so that we had full leisure to take a very near view of two whales, which we had seen already in our first voyage. They followed us a great deal longer in this, and we had the pleasure of seeing the sports and majestic movements of those monstrous animals, which amused us with their company, only when they did not come too near our vessel. I reckoned their length to have been about a hundred and fifty-five or sixty feet : the part of their back which they held always above water, was twelve feet long, and from four to five broad, without reckoning the head, which it raised sometimes for respiration, but made no more noise than a horse, that puffs and blows when he is drinking. They did not throw water out of their nostrils, after the manner of all blowing whales, which are also very common in the tropic seas : in short I saw no appearance of fins on their back. No doubt but a vertebre of fourteen inches diameter and eight high, which I had occasion to see afterwards on the sea shore, with some ribs upwards of ten feet in length, must have formerly belonged to this species of whale. Some perhaps will be surprized that I should take notice of these animals, when I have nothing more particular to say about them : yet as they are to be found in latitudes where the negroes are neither desirous nor accustomed to fish for them ; and as there is no probability that there ever will be any seen nearer, or more conveniently than these were beheld by me ; I thought it my duty to communicate the present remarks, in order to shew how large the whales of the torrid zone are, supposing them to be a distinct sort from those of the northern climates.

By day we were diverted with the whales, and by night with the lustre of the sea. As soon as the sun dipped beneath the horizon, and night overspread the earth with darkness, the sea lent us its friendly light. While the prow of our vessel ploughed the foaming surges, it seemed to set them all on fire : thus we sailed in a luminous inclosure, which surrounded us like a large circle of rays, from whence darted in the wake of the ship a long stream of light, which followed us to the isle of Goree, where we landed the twenty-third of the same month.

Instead of returning directly to the island of Senegal, I resolved to stay at Goree, in order to complete the observations on plants, and particularly on shells and other sea bodies, which had escaped me in my two former voyages. It was then the fish season, at least, for fish of a moderate size. The sea seemed to be full of the latter : when they happened

happened to be pursued by the large ones, you might see them in shoals approaching towards land; and oftentimes they ran ashore. Some of those shoals were fifty fathoms square, and the fishes crowded together in such a manner, as to roll upon one another without being able to swim. As soon as the negroes perceive them coming towards land, they jump into the water, with a basket in one hand to catch the fish, and swim with the other. It is curious to behold them in this uneasy attitude, penetrating through the finny swarm; they need only to plunge and to lift up their baskets, and they are sure to return loaded with fish.

I was present at a very extraordinary capture of fish made the same month, on the coast of Ben, within a league of the island of Goree, by the company belonging to one of the French East-India ships, which had anchored in the road. They had only a net of about sixty fathoms, which they threw at a venture into the sea; for they were not so lucky as to espy any of those shoals of fishes: yet they had such surprising success, that the shore was covered, the whole length of the net, with the fish they caught, though the net was in a bad condition. I reckoned part of them, and judged, that they might in all be upwards of six thousand, the least of them as large as a fine carp. There you might see pilchards, rock-fish, mullets or gull-fish of different sorts; molebats, with other fishes very little known. The negroes of the neighbouring village took each their load, and the ship's crew filled their boat till it was ready to sink, leaving the rest on the sea shore. In any other country, such a capture of fish would, without all doubt, pass for a miracle.

I have already observed that, in the island of Goree, there is a low land called Savana. There I lodged in a hut of straw, built in a negroe manner: it was new when I went into it; but in less than a month you might see through it. I inquired into the cause of this, which I found to be as follows. The earth hereabouts was all filled with a species of white ant, called *vag-vague*, different from that which I have elsewhere described. This, here, instead of raising pyramids, continues buried under ground, and never makes itself known but by small cylindrical galleries, of the thickness of a goose quill, which it erects against the several bodies it designs to attack. These galleries are formed of earth with infinite delicacy of workmanship. The *vag-vagues* make use of them, as of covert-ways, to work without being seen: and whatever they fasten themselves to, whether it be leather, cloth, linen, books or wood, it is surely gnawed and consumed. I should have thought myself pretty well off, had they only attacked the reeds of my hut; but they pierced through a trunk which stood on trestles a foot above the ground, and gnawed most of my books. Even my bed was not spared, and though I took care every evening to beat down the galleries, yet they were frequently erected again, in the middle of the night, up to my bolster; and the *vag-vagues* got into the bed, where, after cutting the linen and mattresses, they came to my flesh and bit me most cruelly. I shall be excused from mentioning the swellings and acute pains which followed. Their size is hardly bigger than that of our large European ants; yet they are of such a constitution, that neither fresh nor salt water, nor vinegar, nor any other strong liquors, with which I often covered the floor of my chamber, were able to destroy them; so that every method I took to extirpate the breed proved ineffectual. The infinite havock which these insects make, has set people upon thinking of different contrivances to exterminate them. Among others, Arsenic has been proposed as an infallible remedy; but it would not be prudent to advise and much less to practise it. If fire was not apt to cause greater mischief than that arising from the *vag-vagues*, it would be a cheaper and more effectual remedy; for we seldom see those insects in places that have undergone this operation.

Though

Though I suffered greatly from the hostilities of the *vag-vagues*, yet I must confess, they contributed to a considerable number of observations; and were the cause of a frequent repetition of experiments, which perhaps I should otherwise have performed but very seldom. My room was full of pails of sea water, where I constantly kept live fish, which in the night time emitted a light, not unlike that of phosphorus. The mugs full of shells, and even the fish that lay dead on the table, gave the same light. All these illuminations put together, and reflected upon different parts of the room, made it appear as if it was on fire; and I must own, that I was of that opinion the first time I saw this strange phenomenon: for it made the impression on me, which it is natural for every man to feel in the like case. The *vag-vagues*, by awaking me suddenly out of my sleep, renewed my fright, much oftener than I could have wished in the beginning, but my apprehension gradually ceased, by seeing the thing often repeated; till I at length received a pleasure from this extraordinary sight. What was most engaging, each fish shewed itself plainly to the eye, by the light emitted from its body; and the same effect was produced by the shells and other sea bodies which I had with me; even the pails themselves looked like a burning surface. This was not all: every day the sight was new, because I had new fishes and new shells to observe: now it was a pilchard, now a molebat: one time a purple fish, another time a periwinkle: one time a polypus, a crab, or a star-fish, that shewed its luminous rays in the dark: in short, I perfectly distinguished the shape of all those different fishes, by rays of light, which darted from every part of their bodies; and, as I could place them in a thousand different positions, I had it in my power to give an infinite variety to this beautiful illumination.

When the *vag-vagues* obliged me to quit this glittering mansion, and to look for relief abroad, the angry ocean presented me with the same phenomenon in great. The foaming billows seemed to metamorphose themselves into mountains of fire, and exhibited to my view a most amazing spectacle, more capable of exciting admiration than fear, even in the minds of persons exposed to their fury.

Notwithstanding the sea about the island of Goree was most violently agitated at this time, in consequence of the vernal equinox, yet I crossed it very often in a small boat, in going over to the continent. One day I was bound for Cape Bernard, I had like to have lost my life. This cape is not above the third part of a league from Goree; and this was the first time I thought of landing there. At a distance it seemed to me, as if it formed a creek, somewhat like a small haven; and I made no doubt, but I should be able to get on shore with all ease: but the nearer I drew, the more difficult I found it; for the surf ran so high, that I could see no safe place to land. During this uncertainty, the waves were driving us towards shore; when all of a sudden I saw myself environed by a huge surge, which threw the boat upon a rock where it upset! Luckily I did not lose my presence of mind, notwithstanding this disaster; and, as the boat upset, it stuck to the rock, where it was supported like an arch, under which my two negroes made their escape. I did not wait for another wave to come and set it right again, and perhaps to overwhelm me, which would have inevitably happened: but I made use of my legs, to get to the further end of the beach, where I walked in the sun to dry myself, and that was all the harm I suffered.

Hitherto no difficulty had been able to stop me in my career; yet this accident, together with the sea-sickness with which I was always afflicted, occasioned me to make very serious reflections, on the risks I underwent, in crossing every day from Goree to the continent, on board so small a vessel. M. de Saint Jean, director of the island, having the greatest regard for me, and even more than I had for myself, was desirous

desirous to prevent the trouble and danger to which I exposed myself daily : for which reason he proposed to the master of Ben, a small village on the continent, within a league north of Goree, to entertain me at his house, and to procure me all necessary safe-guards in walking over his lands, or in any other excursion I should chuse to make. This negroe lord, having a very high affection for the French nation, was overjoyed at the opportunity of entertaining a native of that country for some months. The 24th of April, upon arriving at the village, I found a very convenient hut, which he had lately built for his own use. It was furrounded by several courts and gardens, where he had likewise got a small but light closet for me, in such a situation as I had desired on account of my observations. Nothing could be more conducive to my purpose, than the advantageous situation of the village. On the one side, the sea furnished me with every thing I could wish in regard to fishes and shells; and on the other I had plains, a considerable forest, and, two leagues further, the mountains of Cape Verd. Here I had an ample field for my curiosity, as well concerning plants, as every species of animals.

This is quite a sandy country like the neighbourhood of Senegal; but it forms a more rising ground. Besides the same plants, it produces a great number of others particular to itself; and a vast many acaciæ and calabash trees. Going from Ben to Cape Verd, I met upon the road, about half way, with two of the latter still larger than those I had admired in the neighbourhood of the island of Senegal. I measured their trunks with a packthread, and found the one to be seventy-four feet, and the other seventy-seven in circumference, that is, upwards of five and twenty feet diameter. These were the thickest I ever saw of the kind: and as Africa may boast of producing the largest of animals, viz. the ostrich and the elephant; so it may be said, not to degenerate with regard to vegetables, since it gives birth to calabash trees, which are immensely larger than any other tree now existing, at least that we know of; and probably the largest on the terrestrial globe.

I saw on the branches of those trees some birds nests, so vastly capacious as to surprize me as much as the trees themselves! They were at least three feet long, and resembled oval baskets, open below, and confusedly interwoven with very large twigs. I had not the pleasure of seeing the birds that built them; but the people of the village assured me, they had pretty much the figure of that kind of eagle which they call *ntann*. To judge of the size of those birds by their nests, they cannot be much inferior to an ostrich.

The double mountain of Cape Verd was the only land-mark I had, to steer my course through this vast plain; for the sands were tossed so impetuously from one place to another by the winds, that it was impossible to distinguish any path or trace whatever: and even the eminences, which I met now and then, served only to bewilder me and my negroes, by being so uniform. The only verdure they had upon them, was some shrubs known in India by the name of *bois de renette**. Sometimes I walked through spacious fields, naturally sown with a kind of herb basil, peculiar to the country. But what seemed worthy of observation to me, was, wherever it grew, it was very thick; and that very rarely any other plants whatever could be seen there, not even on those spots that were thinnest sown; as if the proximity thereof was hurtful to them. This herb basil is ligneous and lively: it forms a shrub two feet high, whose stem and leaves are of a reddish green, and diffuse a citron fragrancy, extremely pleasing. The sands, though tost to and fro every instant, produced a great

* *Dodonæa. Linn. hort. Cliff. 148. Staphylodendrum foliis lauri angustis. Plum. cat. pag. 18.*

many other plants, and especially dog-grafs, with which nearly their whole surface was covered.

My most usual walk was in the forest of Kramplane, which I likewise called the forest of palmetto trees, because indeed there is hardly any other to be seen in that neighbourhood. It begins within half a league of the village of Ben, and extends two leagues north-east, making a semicircle, and passing within a quarter of a league of a ruinous village, called *Mabas*, situate on the sea-shore within a league and a half of Ben. Its breadth is, throughout, nearly a quarter of a league. The soil is low, and in some places hollow like a canal, and seems to have been heretofore either a basin overflowed by the ocean, or at least a salt-pan, which in drying up retained a black slimy sand, from whence the rain waters imbibe a saline taste, that prevents their being drinkable. I would even venture to affirm that this canal was formerly a branch of the marigot of Kana, whose communication has, without all manner of doubt, been interrupted by a sand-bank, which the winds have thrown up near its mouth.

From the side towards Ben, as far as two-thirds of its extent in length, this forest consists entirely of date-trees, at the entrance of which there are small groves of oily palms: in the other part you see only the latter sort. The date-tree of this country is wild, and grows without any culture. The Serera negroes of the kingdom of Kaïor, which includes Cape Verd, call it *Kienkonn*; and the natives of the country of Oualo, towards the island of Senegal, give it the name of *Scr-ser*. It seldom rises higher than from twenty to thirty feet: its trunk is round and upright, of a dun colour, and six inches at the most in diameter. From the top of it there issues forth a cluster of leaves from eight to nine feet in length, which extend all round like a parasol, and bend a little towards the earth. The bottom part produces an infinite number of stalks like that of the middle; but they seldom shoot so high as four or five feet. These stalks spread the tree very considerably, so that, wherever it naturally grows in forests, you find it difficult to open a passage through its prickly-leaves. The fruit thereof is shorter than that of the other sort of date-tree; but the pulp is much thicker. It has a sugary and agreeable taste, infinitely superior to the very best dates of the Levant; perhaps because it ripens better on the tree.

The oily palm* is of all others that which shoots to the greatest height. Here are some from sixty to eighty feet in the stalk, without any branches. The trunk is outwardly black, equally large through the whole length of it, and from one to two feet in diameter. Its head is loaded with leaves pretty much like the date-tree. It bears a round fruit the size of a small nut, and covered with a yellow pulp of which they make the palm oil. The negroes call it *tir*.

It is from these two trees they extract the palm wine, which is exactly the colour of whey. There are several methods of extracting it: the first practised by the negroes, and which I have often followed, after their example, in regard to the date-tree of the forest of Kramplane, is this: They cut a stalk a few inches under the crown, and leave only some leaves standing: then they lay the leaves above the incision, and fasten them with a peg to the tree. The extremity of those leaves is folded afterwards into a calabash, or into a small earthen pot, narrow-mouthed, and suspended so as not to quit the leaves, or to fall. By this method the sap which issues from the stalk, distils along the leaves, and is collected together in the earthen pot.

The second method of extracting the palm wine consists in making a round hole under the head of the tree, instead of cutting it; and in introducing into this

* Palma altissima, non spinosa, fructu pruniformi minore, racemoso, sparso. *Sloan Jam.* vol. ii. tab. 215.
VOL. XVI. 4 N hole

hole a few folded leaves, which serve as a gutter or passage to convey the liquor into the pot or vessel fastened to it.

These two methods are easy to practise in regard to the date-tree, as they only make an incision in the stalk, which is not above five feet high. But when they are obliged to extract the wine from a very tall tree, as from the oily palm, there is a great deal more difficulty in the operation. The negroes have an admirable way of doing it. They take a girth of the bark of *baubinia*, or of the leaves of a palmetto tree, dried in the sun, beaten and twisted, the breadth of thrice the thickness of one's finger. At one end they make an oilet-hole, into which they put a little stick fastened across the other end, to serve as a button. This girth must be neither too pliant nor too stiff, but should have a sufficient elasticity to hinder it from giving way too much: It makes a sort of circle of two feet and a half diameter; and, when stretched by the man's body and the tree, it becomes an oval, leaving the distance of a foot and half between both. With this girth, they tie themselves as it were to the oily palm, and climb up at first with their feet, then working with their hands and knees, till the part of the girth fastened to the tree becomes lower than that which supports their reins and thighs, and serves them as a seat to rest upon: then they draw near the tree, in order to raise the opposite end, which is soon after brought down below the part that sustains their reins, which have been raised by working with the feet and knees. The girth cannot slip, because it is always very tight between the man and the trunk, and the latter is moreover very rough. In this manner they soon get to the top: there they sit on their girth, and, enjoying the liberty of their arms, they first cut the bottom of those fruits which they think are ripe; then fastening them to calabashes, they fill these with wine, and let them down by a cord: for they never forget, in going up, to carry with them a bandolier, containing every thing requisite for this kind of work; such as a cord, a knife, and empty calabashes, to supply the place of those which they have filled with liquor. When they want to come down, they go a contrary way to work, to what they did in climbing up; that is, they lower the girth from time to time instead of raising it. Their quickness and resolution in this toilsome task, shew plainly how supple and dextrous they must be: for it is never mentioned that any accident has happened them; and they have nothing to fear but the breaking of the girth.

This kind of vintage must cost the negroes very little trouble, since their wine is so cheap, that you have above forty pints upon the spot for ten sous, and very often for half that price. It is not all made at the same time, according to the custom of making wine of the juice of the grape in temperate countries. The trees furnish daily but a small quantity of this liquor; and they are obliged to consume it directly, because it soon grows sour. The negroes do not drink it till twenty-four hours after it is drawn, that is, till it has fermented enough to stimulate the palate agreeably. It is drinkable till the third day, but then it grows heady, and there is danger in being intoxicated with it. After that time it turns into bad vinegar, which soon contracts an abominable smell. For my part, and it will be ever the same with such as desire rather delicacy than strength in wine, I always observed that it is delicious when new; and the newer the better: I have drunk of it a hundred times out of the calabashes fastened to the trees, and I never found it better than immediately after it is first extracted: then it has every good quality; which cannot be expected twelve hours after. It has as sweet a taste as is requisite, heightened oftentimes with a light tartness, extremely grateful to the palate. In short, the only fault we can reproach this liquor with, is that it will not keep for exportation to our part of the world, where it would be much more esteemed than in its native soil. I must own notwithstanding that, as
pleasing

pleasing as this wine may be, yet it has not the good qualities of the juice of the grape. In what condition soever it may be when you drink it, sweet or sour, there is always a corrosive quality in it; at least I have reason to pass this judgment upon it, after having made it my only drink during the fifteen days that I staid at Ben. For, so long as it continues sweet, it is not dangerous, whatever quantity you drink of it: and perhaps I was more affected with its corrosive quality, because I had not been used to any sort of wine.

Among the prodigious multitude of palmettos with which the forest of Krampane abounded, I saw a great many scarce trees and plants. There were two species of *tabernaemontana*, which I distinguished by the beauty of their foliage, of a lively bright green: there was likewise a new species of *bignonia*, remarkable for the bulk of its flowers and the singularity of its fruit, which hung like large cucumbers at the end of its branches. Near the village of *Mbao*, I found the pepper plant of *Æthiopia*, that aromatic tree, which the French who are settled at Senegal distinguish by the name of *maniguette*. Towards the extremity of the forest, I saw several species of anonas or *corofoliers*, the largest of which were in the woods, the middling ones on the hills, and the smallest in the plains exposed to the sun, most of them loaded with excellent fruit. Following the sea-coast from *Mbao* as far as *Rufisk*, which is a considerable village two leagues and a half from thence, I walked on sands all covered with *sophora* *, and with the Guinea aloe †, of which the negroes in that neighbourhood make very good ropes, not so apt to rot in the water.

From the isle of *Goree* to *Rufisk* they reckon three leagues in a direct line. This voyage I had made by sea: but it is very difficult to land at the village, especially when the sea runs high, because the coast is low, and full of sharp rocks. When you come to anchor opposite the place, you have a most agreeable prospect: the situation upon a hill planted with trees; the little rivulet whose brackish waters wind to the right, and form a peninsula; the forest with perpetual verdure, rising behind you in the form of an amphitheatre, constitute altogether a most delightful landscape, hardly to be matched in any other part of the world.

The negroes hereabouts seem to me to be very industrious: some of them were busy in beating the leaves of the Guinea aloe, to get out the hemp; others were twisting it, and making fishing lines and nets; others in fine were employed in framing bows and arrows for the chase. After visiting all the houses in *Rufisk*, I was very much surprized upon entering as it were into a second village: this was a cluster of huts not quite so large as the others, covered with sand, and like so many mausoleums or tombs erected over the dead bodies, that had been interred there, according to the custom established among the several clans of the *Serera* nation.

I had never as yet met with any attack from the negroes till the 4th of May, when walking along the sea-side from *Rufisk* to *Ben*, which is above three leagues from thence, I was pursued by a *Serera* negro, who, rushing out of the neighbouring woods, shot his poisoned arrows against me and my negro servant. I was above two hundred paces before him; besides, I was a very good walker, and used to those fatiguing sands, into which a person often sinks up to the calf of his leg. I therefore went on, but doubled my pace, without putting myself out of breath, or seeming to mind the menacing signs, by which he hoped to intimidate me and oblige me to stop; for I had another

* *Sophora tomentosa*, foliis subrotundis, *Linn. Fl. Zeyl.* 163.

† *Aloe Guineensis*, radice geniculatâ, foliis eviridis & atro undulatis variegatis. *Comm. hort. Amst.* vol. ii. pag. 39. tab. 20.

resource in my gun, suppose he had come within reach. Doubtless this was one of those Serera savages, who are united under the form of a petty republic within ten leagues from thence; and he was come out of his own country in quest of plunder. Nothing could have tempted him but my gun; and, had he been more alert and crafty, he would not certainly have spared my life to come at it. This manner of attacking is very common with a race of Moors called *Azounas*, who follow no other profession than that of lying in ambush behind a tree, either with a gun or a bow, in order to shoot a person whom they want to rob of his arms. The like accident had happened to me in my second voyage to Podor; but the Moor whom I espied, looked several times before he would attack me; and seemed greatly disconcerted, when he perceived that I was upon my guard, and aimed my piece at him.

As soon as I was out of danger from the Serera savage, I had all the pleasure in the world in walking along a very white shore, where the sea continually throws up an infinite number of shells. There I beheld two species of what we call the *concha Persica* *, which is the largest upon the coast: the fish it contains weighs sometimes five or six pounds. The negroes broil and preserve it for times of famine, when they have recourse to this meat, which is tough and insipid, yet a great relief in case of urgent want. There was also plenty of cockles †, and *tonnes* ‡, and a vast number of *bivalvous* shells, particularly what we call the *concha mucronata* §.

As often as I went to the forest of Krampfane, I took different and round-about ways. Sometimes I directed my steps along the sea-side, and found the *spartium* || and the *ketmia* with leaves like those of a linden tree, on the banks of the *marigot* of Kann: I likewise met with the *ximenia* ¶, the *rimbot*, the *fagara*, and some *acacias* or thorny plants upon hills. At other times I traversed the fertile fields, which were filled with a small species of anonas, and several of those *citron* trees, called *toll* by the negroes. Their fruit resembles very much that of the *manguier* of India, and has both the figure and taste of a citron. There was no want of game in those parts: there was likewise a great number of antelopes, and of a small species of hinds**, hardly as big as a hare. The latter started as it were, wherever I trod: one of my negroes happened twice to dart his hassagaye at them, and twice he hit his aim: he assured me that he never coursed this animal any other way. The hassagaye is a kind of spear seven or eight feet long, with a piece of iron at the end of it like a pike. This is the weapon which the negroes most commonly use; and they dart it with their hand. My negro threw his with great force and dexterity; and I learnt a few lessons of him, which gave me great pleasure.

My time was divided among plants, animals, and shells; but the latter occupied me as much as all the rest. I availed myself of the opportunity of being in a country, where they are in great plenty. The rocks of Cape Bernard and Cape Manuel, opposite the island of Goree, furnished me with a vast number of very beautiful shells, such as the purple fish, the largest species of star-fish; and several soft fishes, as sea hares, cuttle fish, and polypus. Among the sands of the creek of Ben, I met with some cockles

* See the natural history of *univalve shells*, species 8. plate 3. fig. 1 and 2.

† Ibid. species. 9. plat. 4. fig. 5. *Favel*.

‡ Ibid. of *concha operculata*, species 2. plat. 7. fig. 5. *Tesan*.

§ Ibid. of *bivalvous shells*, species 6, plat. 18. fig. 2. *Koman*.

|| *Spartium* scandens, citri foliis, floribus albis, ad nodos confertim nascentibus. *Plum. cat.* p. 19.

¶ *Ximenia aculeata*, flore villosa, fructu luteo. *Plum. spec.* pag. 6.

** *Cervus juvenicus*, perpusillus Guineensis. *Seba.* vol. 1. p. 70, tab. 43. fig. 1, 2, and 3.

and *holothuria*. Sometimes I entered the water up to my knees, to extract the shells hidden under the sand, while the negroes went further out to fish. They are accustomed to catch them in this spot with the hassagave, wading through the water up to the waist, and oftentimes deeper. When they perceive the tunny, the *castine*, the fore mullet, or some such large fish, they dart their hassagave with a marvellous dexterity, and seldom miss their aim. This bay supplies them likewise with a multitude of middling fish, which they catch with nets. They split them in two, and lay them before the sun to dry, and then they sell them to the Moors; these in exchange supply them with millet, which is wanting in their country.

These fishes procured me an observation, which would not perhaps have offered itself elsewhere. As the negroes leave them to dry on the top of their huts, the lions, tigers and wolves, which incessantly roam in the neighbourhood, are frequently enticed, by the sight and smell thereof, into the village: and then woe be to the children, or even to the men that are found abroad. One night a lion and a wolf happened to enter, both together, into the yard belonging to the hut where I lay: they raised alternately their fore feet up to the roof, which I could easily hear them do, and they carried off their provision. The next day we were certain, by the impression of their feet, which was strongly marked in the sand, that they came together; and we discovered the place from whence they had taken the two fishes; and no doubt but each of them seized his prey. This was very moderate for two such voracious animals; but indeed they had not pitched upon the smallest. I know not whether this remark was ever made before, that the lion and the wolf prowl together: yet it is not an uncommon thing; there are daily instances of it in those parts; almost every night the wolf is heard to howl close by the lion. The same thing I have observed, myself, a hundred times, in my excursions up the Niger; and I am perfectly sure, that the wolf frequently associates with the lion, without having any apprehension of danger. Not that the size of the African wolf, which is much superior to that of the European, makes any impression on the lion; but the reason is, he is no way tempted by the wolf's flesh. And what confirms me in this opinion, is, that I never observed, ~~that~~ the two lions which were brought up in the village of Senegal, ever attacked the dogs that were exposed to them, or that fell in their way, when they were unchained; whereas they darted instantly upon the first horse, or the first child they happened to meet.

A few days after this visit from the lion and the wolf, we received another from a tigress, which came to the same hut along with her young one, and likewise carried off two fishes. There need only these two instances to shew how lazy and indifferent are the negroes, in regard to the damage these animals do them, and the danger to which their own persons are continually exposed. When one asks them for what reason they do not either chase away those animals, or withdraw their fish at least in the night; they are satisfied with answering, that all the world must live, and that it would be a greater slavery for them to lock up their fish every night than to catch them. And indeed we must own that the fishery on this coast is carried on with amazing facility.

Their lands lie entirely uncultivated; either, because the sands are too ungrateful, or because, being accustomed to the fishing trade, which costs them less trouble, they neglect all agriculture, and rely on the Moors for every sort of necessaries. These people were here at that time, and had brought their baggage and provisions with them, not loaded upon oxen and camels; as I had seen before to the north of the Niger, but only on asses, of which they had great plenty. With difficulty did I know this animal,

he had so fine a coat and looked so handsome in comparison to those of Europe; which I believe nevertheless would make as good a figure, if the drudgery they are put to, did not greatly contribute to deform them. The hair of the Moorish asses was of a fine bright mouse colour, over which the black leather thong which is laid along their backs, and afterwards crosses over their shoulders, has a very good effect. These animals are somewhat larger than ours, but they have likewise something in the make of their heads, that distinguishes them from a horse, and especially from a Barbary horse, which is the natural growth of the country, like themselves, but of a larger size.

I had some time before spent a few days among the negroes; but I never made such a long stay with them as at present by myself, and remote from any communication with my own countrymen. Then it was, that I had an opportunity of being perfectly acquainted with their character, customs, and manner of living: I was even present once at their ceremony of marriage; but this would make me digress too far from my subject; I shall only observe that in general they are very humane and hospitable.

The ninth of May, I returned from Ben to Goree, from whence I set out the 10th of the ensuing month for the island of Senegal. I arrived the 15th at the bar, where I was obliged to wait for wind four whole days. The reader may judge, what uneasiness I must have suffered in a small vessel, tossed to and fro by the rolling billows. There I had leisure to consider the surprising effect of the waves off the bar, and to direct my eye all round me, without perceiving any thing else but dazzling sands on one side, and the liquid main on the other. True it is, that this sameness of prospect was varied a little, by seeing the *pirogues* of the negro fishermen, who bravely ventured over the bar, to bring us provisions on board. Though the sea runs very high upon the coast, yet there is a great deal of fish in the road. Our sailors caught abundance with their line, especially a sort of sea trout, which is very common in that sea. This fish is very ready to bite; and, as soon as it has laid hold of the hook, it is pleasant to see what jerks and leaps it makes to get free; to such a degree, that it inverts its stomach, which you see issuing out of its mouth in the shape of a carp's bladder: these strugglings are also attended with a hollow rumbling noise, which has given it the name of *grondin*, or *grumbler*, whereby it is known on this coast.

A westerly wind rescued me from this wretched situation, and carried me over the bar to the island of Senegal the 20th of June. I stood in great need of repose, after the fatigues I had undergone in my voyage, from which I suffered much more than I should have done from a long fit of illness. Every body knows, that the sea sickness is a kind of weakness or faintness, which causeth a nausea and vomiting, more or less, according to the difference of constitutions exposed to that element. Some people are never seized with it: others feel the effects of it but the first day or two, and then it leaves behind it a certain dizziness: others are never seized with this disorder, except when the sea is very much agitated, and the motion of the ship becomes extremely violent: others, in short, and of this number was I, are troubled with it the whole time they are at sea, in short voyages even of two hours, as well as in long ones; in calms as well as in stormy weather. Robust and feeble constitutions are attacked with it all the same: there are only some particular habits of body, those of children for example, and persons weakened by sickness, and a few others in health, that are exempt from it. But of the latter, why some should be subject to, and others free from this illness, is not yet known. The general utility that would result from this knowledge, which, in so learned an age, might pass for a real discovery, deserves the

attention of the gentlemen of the faculty *, who have occasion to perform a voyage by sea, or an opportunity of making these experiments. If once the cause of this malady were known, some safe preservative might be found out, which would render this element accessible to persons, who, with abilities and the best disposition in the world for sea voyages, are often discouraged merely by this obstruction.

To such a degree had this complaint (which does not however meet with its due degree of pity) ruined and disordered my stomach, that, upon my arrival at the island of Senegal, I saw no other way to re-establish my health, than by fixing my abode there, and renouncing all sea voyages, with a firm resolution not to go to sea again, till my return to France. Besides, I had reason to be satisfied with the voyages I had already made, as they had turned out so greatly to the advancement of natural history, so far as it regards the southern parts of our settlement: and the neighbourhood of the island of Senegal, and the Niger, was likely to furnish me with many observations in physics and natural history, which had escaped me before. I staid therefore on this spot some years longer, during which time, besides these remarks, I had leisure to draw a few topographical charts, by which I designed to steer my course in my little voyages. In the sequel of this narrative, I shall only take notice of the most remarkable occurrences in those excursions in the neighbourhood of the island of Senegal.

I had been long desirous of making a visit to the village of Kionk, which is in the Wood Island, within a league north of the island of Senegal. Thither at length I went the fourth of September in a shallop; but I was not fortunate in my return, for, when we were in the middle of the river, a violent east-wind arose, which warned us to make the best of our way to land, in order to avoid the impending storm. And indeed, I had hardly crossed the point of the *Wood Island*, when the tempest burst. As it was impossible for me to reach the shore, make what haste I would, and the danger was imminent, I immediately made for the sand-bank, which joins this point to the island of Senegal. The negroes belonging to a *pirogue*, which had been also caught in the storm, leaped into the water up to their waist on this very sand-bank, and upheld it against the violence of the waves, which had overwhelmed it in the beginning; their example was followed by the six negroes belonging to my shallop, and by ten other men and women passengers, who jumped immediately into the water, and dividing themselves all round the boat, supported it against the raging elements. This was the surest way to hinder it from being overfet, or thrown upon the bank, where it would have been infallibly broke to pieces; and we had reason to be afraid of one or other of those accidents, the bed of the Niger being considerably widened in this spot by the junction of its two branches, which form a kind of lake, of so spacious an extent, as to be open on every side to raging tempests. The present weather might really deserve that name, the wind and rain being attended with flashes of lightning and loud claps of thunder. Notwithstanding that the negroes were so careful as to uphold my

* To serve the gentlemen of the faculty, who may chance to set about an inquiry into the cause of this disorder, I shall insert here a few more remarks which I have made on this subject. 1. Those who were sick during the whole voyage, the first time they embarked on board a middling ship of 500 tons, did not feel a dizziness or head-ache, till after four hours were expired; the vomiting did not come on till the seventh hour, and continued the whole time of the voyage, which was two months. 2. When I did not stay long enough at sea to be troubled with a vomiting, it seized me an hour or two after I went on shore, whether I had eaten or not at my landing. 3. It very rarely happens that a sea sickness produceth a fever; it only disorders the stomach, without taking away the appetite. 4. I observed that more women by far than men, escaped this illness; and more of those who are short-sighted than otherwise. 5. Finally, I took notice, that those who have been most afflicted with this complaint at sea, have always much better health on shore, than such as seemed to be the most vigorous and hearty at sea.

boat, yet this did not hinder it from making a foot and a half of water, partly with what fell from the heavens, and partly with the waves, which sometimes inwrapped it in the form of a sheet, in which I was also enveloped. Besides, I was washed, and, as it were, scowered by the rain, which the wind impelled against me with the utmost violence; and it came so very quick upon me, as almost to take away my breath, though I had sheltered myself under one of the sailor's cloaks. Thus the boisterous elements drove my negroes and the boat with such force, that I began to be afraid both for them and for myself. Yet they did not let go their hold; their courage supported them upwards of two hours, and preserved us from ruin.

This whirlwind began at three o'clock in the afternoon, but did not afford matter of observation, till towards the end. The wind ceasing about five, gave us an opportunity to steer to the north point of the island of Senegal. This was the nearest land, and I was in a hurry to reach it, in order to dry myself as soon as possible; for the boat was still half full of water, notwithstanding the pains the ten passengers had taken to empty it, as fast as the waves broke over it, which was almost every instant. While we were advancing with our oars, there appeared a phenomenon, which I had never seen before so near; and I do not remember, that any writer has ever mentioned it. This was a kind of ball, like unto a column of smoke, that turned round upon itself; it was from ten to twelve feet broad, and about two hundred and fifty in height; its base was upon the water, and an easterly wind was wafting it towards us. As soon as the negroes saw it, they rowed as hard as they could to avoid it. They were better acquainted than I with the danger to which we must have been exposed, had this whirlwind burst over us; its usual effect being to stifle those it envelopes, with heat, and sometimes to set some of their houses on fire; and they knew several instances of people who had lost their lives by the like accident. They were so fortunate as to leave this dangerous phenomenon upwards of eighteen fathoms behind the shallow; and they congratulated each other upon having so luckily escaped a torrent of fire, which by day-light appeared only as a thick smoke. The heat thereof, though at the distance of above a hundred feet, was very strong, so as to make my clothes smoke, though it had not time to dry them. The atmosphere had then 25 degrees of heat; and I believe that the column of smoke must at least have had fifty, to render the humidity sensible to us. It left behind it a very strong smell, more nitrous than sulphureous, which annoyed us a long time, and the first impression was made by a light stimulation in the nostrils. This occasioned some to sneeze, but in me it produced a heaviness and difficulty of respiration.

In the month of March, in the year 1751, I began to take the plan of the neighbourhood of the island of Senegal. The eighth, I set out in my *pirogue*, with my two *cubalots*, (the name usually given to the negro fishermen) intending to make a tour round the island of Sor by water, as I was well acquainted with the inland parts. I therefore went up the Niger, keeping close along the island up to its northern point, in order to enter the *marigot* of Kantai, which washes its eastern shore, and to trace its course. As soon as I entered it, I thought myself rather in a fish-pond, than in a river from fifteen to twenty fathoms broad; so greatly did it abound with fish. It was a pleasure to sail along a stream as transparent and smooth as glass, while the banks were planted with very high mangroves, which afforded a verdant shade above the space of a league. The fish bounced and leaped on every side of us; but what was most extraordinary, wherever we passed, some of them were continually leaping into the boat. The largest, as the best jumpers, passed over us; but almost all the middling ones fell in. As their motions in whirling about did not seem natural or voluntary, I
examined

examined into them, in order to discover their cause; and I found, most of them had received the impression of teeth on some parts of their bodies; from whence I concluded, that they had been pursued by the larger fish that wanted to prey upon them. For two hours that I kept sailing along this *marigot*, I reckoned two hundred and thirty fishes called *carpets**, which were caught in this manner without any other artifice. This was a moderate fishing to my Negroes: as they were *cubalists*, that is, fishermen by trade, they did not seem to be much surprized at it: nay, they told me, that when they fished for the large fish with the line or rod, they let their *pirogue* go down the current of these little rivers, and frequently depended more on the small fish that were taken in this manner, than on the chance of the large ones.

Never had cormorants, duckers, and falcon-fishers, finer sport; and indeed all the mangroves were covered with them. The falcon-fisher, which the Jaloofs call by the name of *ngularkol*, and the French by that of *narette*, is a bird about the bigness of a goose, with brown feathers, except the head, neck, breast, and tail, which are a beautiful white. It has a strong hooked bill like an eagle, with sharp talons, incurvated in a semicircular form, which it uses most dexterously in fishing. It generally perches on trees near the water; where, as soon as it sees a fish draw near the surface, it darts upon and seizes it with its talons. I killed one of them, which made my negroes look upon me with a very bad eye, because they fear and reverence this bird; they even carry their superstition so far, as to place it among the number of their *marabouts*, that is, of their priests, whom they look upon as persons sacred and divine. Yet they were appeased, when they saw, I had got them a fish of above four pounds, which this pretended *marabou* had carried to the bank of the river, in order to feast upon it.

There happened to me another adventure, of much the same nature, on the 22d of April, at the village of Sor. I was sitting on a mat in the middle of a court yard, with the governor of the village, and his whole family; when a viper of the mischievous kind, after winding round the company, was drawing near to me. This familiarity I did not at all relish; and, to prevent any accident, I thought proper to kill it directly, with a stick I had in my hand. Instantly, the whole company starting up, made loud outcries, as if I had committed murder; and they all flew away, so that the place was soon deserted. As the affair grew serious, and the report thereof was spread over the village, I laid hold of this opportunity, now that I was by myself, to put the viper into my handkerchief, and to hide it in my waistcoat pocket. This was the best method to make sure of this animal, which is so difficult to be had in that country; and at the same time the way to calm their minds, by removing it out of sight. I was not very safe upon that spot; and, perhaps they would have done me some mischief; but the master of the village, a man of good sense, in whose house this whole affair had passed, soon reflected that both his honour and interest called upon him to quiet the tumult, and to silence the report. This he did effectually by means of his authority as governor; though his prudent conduct, and his character as *marabou*, were of no small assistance to him. This specimen shews how zealously the negroes are attached to their religion, and to their superstitious observances. They do not look upon serpents as deities, yet they respect them enough not to kill them: they let them grow and multiply in their huts, though these animals frequently eat their chickens, and dare to lie, as it were, with themselves. True it is, they seldom hurt any body; they must be either attacked, or wounded, or trod upon, before they will be provoked to bite.

* A sort of fish like a carp, but shorter.

The 7th of May, I fell down the Niger, in order to visit the *marigot* of Del, which is not very far from its mouth. The wind was favourable; and my negroes, to avoid the trouble of rowing, put up their sail. A *pirogue* only thirty feet in length could not want a very large sail; and indeed they were not much at a loss to find one. A negro erected a pole of about ten feet, in the fore part of the boat, and then set another small one across the top of it, whereon he hung his *paan*. These *paans* are very useful: their shape is such, that you may occasionally make them serve for a sail, a sheet, a bed covering, a cloak, a petticoat, or a sash. I cannot compare the figure of this sail to any thing better than that of a banner or standard, with the two lower ends fastened to each side of the *pirogue*. The negro who was upon the poop, steered with his paddle; while the other managed the sail, and turned it to the wind. With this feeble aid, I advanced near two leagues in less than an hour's time, and arrived at the entrance of the *marigot* of Del. Just where it discharges itself into the Niger, it is stopped up by a bar of sand, where the river is sometimes so rough, when a north wind blows, as to hinder the large *pirogues* from entering. My people concerted their matters so well, that they got over the difficulty, and, after conducting me through all the windings of the *marigot*, they landed me at the village of Del, which was built on the extremity of a bank of shells, that extended near a league to the northward. It appeared remarkable, that this bank was entirely bare to the surface, and that all the shells were of one species of oysters, which had heretofore lived on the mangroves of the neighbouring *marigots*, in the same manner as I had observed of these in the river *Gambia*.

The sea had brought into the Niger a prodigious quantity of sea *poumons* and *velettes*, which upon my return I had leisure to see floating on the water. The former of those fishes are known in this country by the name of Flemish caps, and the latter by that of *galeres**. Nothing can bear a nearer resemblance to a bladder filled with air, and painted a beautiful red, than the body of the *galere*. You can hardly distinguish any other part of it than a fringe upon the back, and eight fillets under the belly, that descend downwards, to serve, as it were, for a ballast to the bladder which floats above water, and is tossed to and fro by the winds. This animal, though unshapen and almost without any sensible motion, is caustic to such a degree, that, when you touch it, you immediately feel a pain as if you were burnt. I took one into my hand to make a trial, and held it till I began to feel its effect: this appeared externally by a little redness, followed by a pricking and an inflammation, which did not cease till four hours after. The pain was communicated to all the tender parts of the body, as to the face, and especially to the eye-brows, by a very slender contact of the hand inflamed.

The remarks I had made for some years, with great attention, and with particular views, in regard to the heats of the country, appeared to me important enough to be enlarged, in such a manner as to render them susceptible of comparison. I resolved therefore to observe, during the hottest days in the year, the degrees marked by M. de Reaumur's thermometer, when exposed to the open air; and those which a second instrument of the like nature would mark, during the same time, in the sands exposed to the sun. M. Andriot, who, besides being extremely well skilled in natural philosophy, is a very accurate observer, was of great assistance to me on this occasion; for he was so good as to be at equal trouble with me, whenever I wanted a person to make experiments in one place correspondent to those I was performing in another. Such was the tribute we mutually paid to the friendship, which had so closely united us ever since our youth.

* *Urtica marina soluta purpurea, oblonga, cirrhis longissimis.* Sloan. Jam. Vol. 1. pag. 7. Tab. 4. Fig. 5.

I pitched upon the 4th of July, to make one of those important observations on the island of Senegal. The sun was then distant from our zenith, no more than seven degrees north, so that it might be looked upon as vertical towards noon-day. The Savanna which extends west of the fort St. Lewis, like a great plain, level with the neighbouring sea, and exposed to the winds on all sides, especially to the west, which blew that day, afforded me the best place I could desire for my purpose, because it has no shelter. A little sand-hill about four feet high, that stood very conveniently in the middle of the plain, was the spot on which I set an exact thermometer before the sun, fixing the ball in the sand. I placed it towards ten o'clock in the morning, and there it staid till three in the afternoon. During this whole time, I observed the degrees of ascension in the liquor of the thermometer every five minutes. M. *Andrist* kept an account thereof, under a small shed of straw, whither I retired from time to time, to screen myself from the rays of the sun, which made my head very dizzy. He staid to watch this instrument, and to make his observations, while I went to the fort, in order to consult another thermometer, which I held continually suspended in the open air, in the shade eighteen feet from the ground, to avoid the reflection of heat. This marked 30 degrees for the heat of the open air, in the coldest exposition of the island, while the other marked the heat of the sand at 60 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$. I had put three eggs into the ground, and covered them with sand, where I left them about three hours, in order to know for certain what effect this heat would produce upon them: I perceived they were not hard, but the white stuck a little round the shell; and they were fit for eating: accordingly we dined upon them, and found them very good. There is reason to believe that, if the tube of the thermometer had been long enough to give more room for the liquor to play, it would have ascended a great deal higher than 60 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$, as I perceived afterwards, upon repeating these observations with other thermometers graduated up to boiling water. I shall not descant any further on these experiments; it will suffice at present to have only hinted at them, as I intend to enter into a more minute detail, in my treatise of observations on natural history.

The ninth of September, there arose in the night a violent east wind, which brought on a very heavy rain, attended with such quick flashes of lightning, that they seemed to be one continued coruscation. The thunder burst at the same time in two different places in the island of Senegal; one was the mast of a vessel; the other the hospital; within two hundred fathoms of one another on the same bank of the Niger. That which fell on the hospital, did no other harm than breaking two weather-cocks on the same pavillion, knocking a few tiles off the top of the house, splitting several of the rafters, and bursting three stones on the floor, where it spent itself on the lime, without hurting any of the sick that were very near. There was something more remarkable in what happened to the mast of the ship, which was about forty feet high, and done all over with pitch and tar. The thunder furrowed it two inches deep, but unequally, from one end to the other, without touching the iron work, the tackling, or any of the pitched cordage with which it was surrounded; and it spent itself on the quarter-deck, which was covered with a large tarpawling of thick canvass, also done over with pitch and tar. It seems as if the rosin broke the violence of the thunder, and diverted it another way. It is well known, that the outides of those vessels are well secured with pitch and tar, so that their external surface may be considered as one continued lay of rosin. A negro, who had been entrusted with the care of the ship that night, having laid himself down to sleep in the back cabin, felt a sudden shock, of which there remained very strong impressions the next day, in every part of his body. I leave it to philosophers, curious about this sort of phenomena, to judge

whether there can be a greater analogy between the ordinary effects of electricity, and those produced on this occasion by thunder.

The waters of the Niger were so swelled with this storm of rain, and rushed on with such precipitation, that they loosened, four or five leagues from thence, a little slip of land which floated along with the stream. The next morning it was seen like another Delos, following the current of the Niger, and steering its course towards the sea. Its agreeable verdure, and the beautiful disposition of the trees with which it was covered, gave it the air of an enchanted island, and raised a desire in the inhabitants of Senegal to get it into their possession. Immediately a boat was sent, and overtook it; the sailors fastened several ropes to the trees, and obliged it, in spite of all the resistance it could make, to join the sands of Senegal. The whole village flocked to see this curious spectacle; never had they beheld so delightful an island: they all seemed eager to go upon it, but were afraid of its roots, which they took for serpents. I measured it, and found it but four fathoms diameter: it was round, and bore only a spinous shrub ten feet high, to which the negroes give the name of *billeur**. Its roots were extremely close and inter-twisted one within the other: they held but very little clay together, which the water could not wash away. The wood of this plant is a vast deal lighter than cork: the inhabitants of the country make use of it in fishing, when they want to swim over the river, where it happens to be too broad.

The negroes are all excellent swimmers; and nothing can be a stronger proof of this, than the intrepidity, with which they expose themselves on the bar. The twenty-fifth of the same month, I was on the sea shore, busied in observing the height of the equinoctial tides, when a French vessel arrived opposite to the fort of Senegal. The ship's boat advanced towards the bar; and there waited till somebody from shore came to see what dispatches it brought. The negro, who was used to this business, jumped into the water to fetch the letters, though there was a greater swell than usual, because the tides rose to a higher pitch. To behold the violent agitation of the sea, the billows rising above ten feet, and then falling like so many sheets of water, with prodigious noise and weight, one would never imagine that he could possibly surmount them: yet he passed them all, riding upon the backs of some, and plunging under others, where he seemed to be buried, till at length he happily got on shore, with the dispatches committed to his care. Neither is the sea the object most to be dreaded during this passage; there are such terrible *requiens* on the bar, that they oftentimes devour the divers. No doubt but it was owing to some accident of this kind, that a negro disappeared this very month, and was never more heard of.

The next day we caught a fish in the river, that has very little relation to any of the known inhabitants of the liquid element. Its body is round, without scales, and smooth as an eel, but much thicker in proportion to its length. The negroes call it *suaniar*, and the French *trembleur*, or *quaker*, from the effect it produces, which is not a numbness like that arising from the cramp-fish, but a very painful trembling in the limbs of those who touch it. This effect did not appear to differ sensibly from the electrical motion of the Leyden experiment, which I had felt several times: and it is communicated in the same manner by simple contact, with a stick or iron rod five or six feet long; so as to make you instantly drop whatever you hold in your hand. I have tried this experiment several times, as well as that of eating of this fish, which, though very well tasted, is not equally proper for all constitutions.

The island of Senegal, as I have several times observed, is no more than a naked sand-bank, which produces but a few herbs, and whose insufficient and improper to

* A new species of sesban

feed the Company's flocks. This has obliged them to look out for a place, where the cattle might find pasture, and security against the depredations of the Moors and the negroes. These advantages are in some measure found on a pretty large island, called Griel, within two leagues north of Senegal. The conveniency of getting to this place by means of a small river of the same name, and the agreeable description I had heard of it, induced me to take a trip thither for a few days. I set out the 2d of October, by the same canal which is parallel to the principal branch of the Niger, and separated all along from the sea, only by a narrow neck of sand, about a hundred fathoms at most in breadth. It was covered with pelicans, or wide-throats, which moved with great state, like swans upon the water. Without doubt, these are the largest birds in the country, next to the ostrich. I killed one, whose wings, measuring from one end to the other, were above ten feet wide. Its bill was upwards of a foot and a half long; and the bag, fastened underneath, held near two and twenty pints of water. This bag is not only for fishing; but is like a kind of casting net, which nature hath given those birds, to facilitate the means of providing for their wants. It could not be given to any animal that knows how to make better use of it, for they may be said to fish in perfection. They generally swim in flocks in deep water, and form at first a large circle, but contract it afterwards, by drawing near to one another gradually, in order to bring the fish along with them, which the motion of their feet has confined within that space; and as soon as they see a sufficient number of them together, they plunge their bill wide open into the water, and shut it again as quick as a fisherman casts and draws his net. In order to empty their bag of the water with which it is filled, they only lean their bill on one side, and open it gently; then the water runs out, and leaves the fishes dry, which they eat very quietly on shore.

When we were within a quarter of a league of the island of Griel, we thought we saw a beautiful avenue of trees, which presents itself sideways: their symmetry would even make one imagine, that they were planted on purpose to form a delightful villa; yet they were only calabashes, sown by the hands of nature, and easily known by their make and size. Except these trees, of which there is a great number on this point, and a few mangroves, there are hardly any others on the island. The meadow is on this same side, on a red sand-hill, which is sown here and there with a few shrubs, and especially with tithymals, whose white flowers are agreeably intermixed with the lively colours of the superb lily* by which they are topped. The rest of the island is a smooth even plain, the greatest part of which is laid under water during the rainy season: it is uncovered in the winter by draining the waters into a small rivulet, which seems to form a little isle in the larger island of Griel. This part balances the good qualities of the other; for it produces only two sorts of plants†, of which the cattle do not seem to be very fond.

After passing the rivulet that separates the little isle from the larger island of Griel, I found towards the north the village of Dounn on a reddish sand, the ground somewhat higher and surprizingly fruitful. Proceeding still further north, I came to the village of Nguiago, from whence I perceived, at the distance of a league to the right, the village of Torkrod, which is separated from thence all the way by a morass. As this morass is full of water and reeds, it abounds with aquatic birds, such as curlews, woodcocks, teal, and wild ducks. The latter are of a small size, and a little different from our European wild duck: there is such plenty of them in this neighbourhood, as to cover a very large tract of ground: they shew themselves by thousands, and you kill them, as it were, by thousands. It is not uncommon to see thirty of them drop at one shot, and oftentimes twice the number. True it is, that these

* A new species of *methonica*. † The *marina crista* or *salicornia*, and Linnaeus's *creffa*. *Spec. Plant.* p. 223.
lucky

lucky shots are reserved for the negroes : for besides their being very good marksmen and their making use only of those large fowling-pieces called buccaneers, and aiming at those birds only upon level ground and in large plains, they have still another advantage over Europeans : they can draw near the game by means of the colour of their bodies, which, being black from head to foot, are confounded with the verdure of the field ; whereas the white face of the Europeans, or the smallest bit of a sleeve or neck-cloth, is perceived afar off by those birds, and the least noise in the world frightens them away, before you come within reach of them.

The negroes of this neighbourhood are obliged to lie on very high beds, in order to be sheltered from the musketoes, of which there are great swarms, especially in this month. These beds are from five to six feet square, and consist of a double texture of sticks laid very close together, and supported by four posts, which are raised eight or nine feet from the ground. They mount this kind of platform by step-ladders, fastened to two of the posts perpendicularly over one another. This situation is far from being convenient ; for it is very difficult to ascend those ladders, most of them being out of order by frequent mounting ; and one's foot is apt to slip towards that side which they incline to : yet the negroes climb them with great ease. At sun-set, the musketoes issue forth in swarms, and then the negroes betake themselves to their platform. There they sup and smoke, and chat for a great part of the night, after which they sleep till day in the open air. I had never used the precaution to take a tent with me ; so that I lay with them and in their manner, that is, almost naked, the great heat not permitting me to wear any sort of garment. The musketoes indeed were not so troublesome here as under cover ; still they sucked a good deal of blood, and every morning I had my face disfigured with pimples. This, however, did not hinder me from passing my nights very agreeably.

Besides the amusement I received from the fables, dialogues, and witty stories, with which the negroes entertained each other alternately, according to their custom ; I was ravished with beholding a sky ever blue and serene, and bespangled with stars that shone forth with the brightest lustre. Raised on this platform as on a small observatory, open on all sides, I could easily accompany those luminaries with my eye in their common revolution from east to west. Oftentimes, I did not lose sight of the upper edge of the disk of the sun and of the larger stars, till they plunged under the horizon of the ocean : and it was not uncommon for me, to pay the same attendance upon some stars, much below the second magnitude ; though they could not be discerned after their rise, till towards the third or fourth degree of their ascension above the horizon, by reason of the vapours, which are more frequent upon land.

The negroes likewise pointed to me a considerable number of the stars, that form the chief constellations, as Leo, Scorpio, Aquile, Pegafus, Orion, Sirius, Procyon, Spica, Canopus, besides most of the planets, wherewith they were well acquainted. Nay, they went so far, as to distinguish the scintillations of the stars, which at that time began to be visible to the eye. It is amazing, that such a rude and illiterate people should reason so pertinently in regard to those heavenly bodies ; for there is no manner of doubt but that, with proper instruments and a good will, they would become excellent astronomers ; by reason that they live in a climate that enjoys a clear sky, almost the year round ; and, as they spend their time out of doors, they have all manner of conveniencies for examining, every moment, into what passes in the starry regions.

A few days after my return to the island of Senegal, the north part of the village was burnt down to the ground. The reader may easily imagine what havock the flames, especially when fanned by a very strong north-east wind, must have made among a
I
parcel

parcel of straw huts, that stood extremely close to each other, and had been dried by the heat of the sun. In vain did the marabouts climb on the top of the cottages, and spit into the blaze; in vain did they mumble over their prayers, and act a thousand ridiculous mummeries; not one of the huts, over which they performed those charms, escaped: neither was the fury of the flames assuaged, till the inhabitants, finding the inutility of those superstitious incantations, bestirred themselves with all their might, in throwing water and sand to extinguish the fire. The day following, they endeavoured to repair their loss; new cottages were raised on the same spot; and in a few days there were no vestiges remaining of the damage done by this conflagration. So common are these accidents in this country, that I remember some years, wherein not a month, nay sometimes not above a week or a fortnight elapsed, without one hut or another taking fire: and sometimes it spreads with such fury, that in the space of five years, one half of the village of Senegal, extending very near four hundred fathoms, was twice burnt down to the ground, in less than four and twenty hours. The cause of these misfortunes is frequently unknown, for they commonly happen in the day-time, during the most scorching heats of the sun; and the negroes are so used to them, that they seldom lose either their lives or effects, so that they expect them continually, without living under any great apprehension.

The island of Sor is divided into two unequal parts by a small *marigot*, the mouth of which is opposite to the fort on the island of Senegal. I entered it the first time, in my *pirogue*, the 8th of December. This rivulet is so narrow, that the branches of the mangroves on each side join together, and form a kind of isle or covered alley, which extends almost a quarter of a league in length. I paid dearly for the service those trees did me, in sheltering me from the heat of the sun; for in an instant I was attacked by a prodigious swarm of musketoes, and large flies*, whose stings are as painful as those of bees. My negroes, being naked, suffered infinitely more than I; their bodies were covered with these insects in such a manner, that they made several rows close upon one another. I really believe such a spectacle was never seen before; and that all these stings drained them of as much blood, as they would have lost by a copious bleeding. This canal must have been the great thoroughfare for the musketoes coming from the bottom of the wood, which seems to be the general magazine of the country, from whence they issue out in swarms, and spread themselves among the villages and other places inhabited by man or beast.

Were it not for the above inconveniency, this rivulet would be the finest place in the world for a trip on the water. The breadth of it is from two to four fathoms; with as many, and sometimes more in depth. It is frequented by a great number^d of birds, all excelling each other in beauty; and especially by several species of the king-fisher, whose plumage is agreeably depicted with variety of the most lively colours. There you hear also a continual warbling of birds, with repeated echoes from the many trunks of trees, with which the banks are lined. The two extremities thereof are stopped up with a shoal, which admits of none but *pirogues* to enter: yet taking the opportunity of the tide, shallops might be sent up it by the *marigot* of Kantai, to cut down a considerable quantity of mangroves, most of which are from twelve to fifteen inches in diameter, and might be of excellent use for timber to build houses. The bank at the east end of the rivulet is a slimy sand, which is bare at low water. When I passed that way, half a dozen crocodiles lay stretched out before the sun, immoveable, like so many pieces of log-wood, on the ground. Whenever the negroes come near this place, they are sure to find these animals here; and thence it is that they call this rivulet the *marigot* of the *diassiks*, which, in their language, signifies the rivulet of the crocodiles.

* *Tabanus*; the gad-fly.

To the right of this shoal, I entered the *marigot* of Kantai, where the negroes were at that time very busy in fishing for the lamantin, or sea-cow. This fish, which has been mentioned by all voyagers, and which many have described without being well acquainted with it, and which probably gave rise to the fable of the mermaids, deserves so particular a description, that I shall be excused from saying any thing more about it in this compendious narrative. There does not pass a year in which the negro inhabitants of this neighbourhood, who have reserved the fishery to themselves, exclusive of all others, do not catch half a dozen, the greatest part of which they sell to the fort of Senegal. It is caught only in December and January, which are the most favourable months. The flesh of it is fine eating; being of the colour of veal or pork, and in taste partaking of both; but it seldom is so tender.

Ascending the Niger, as we came out of the *marigots* of Kantai and Guaira, I saw along the coast of Barbary the several gutters, which the sea had made the day before by dashing with such violence against the sands. It was still high enough to pour its waters into the river; and what is very remarkable, in regard to this effect of a swelling sea, is, its having appeared several years successively during the winter solstice, and not in the equinoxes, as if the tides were stronger in that season of the year than in this.

Notwithstanding that I made all the haste I could, yet I did not get back to the point of the island of Senegal till six in the evening; and when I reached the fort, it was night. For in those countries, where the nights and days are almost equal the year round, they have but very little twilight, and there is not the difference of a quarter of an hour between sun-set and darkness: so that, as soon as it is ten or fifteen degrees below the horizon, an opaque gloom spreads itself over the surface of the earth, and it is then as dark as midnight.

Pleased with what I had learned by a constant navigation for several months successively in all the small rivers of the neighbourhood of the isle of Sor, I was not willing to lose the opportunity of seeing their method of tillage, which was to be in the beginning of the month of June the next year, in that island. Early in the morning, the 8th of June, all the inhabitants attended the lord of the village into the field, singing and dancing as on a great festival: some carried their tabor and pipe; others had no other tool or instrument than a small spade helved with a stick, which was bent in the middle, and long enough to prevent their being obliged to stoop to work. After they had all danced a few minutes on the very spot, the latter, without interrupting the cadence, began to throw up the ground with their spades, in order to root out the weeds. During this operation they accorded so well with the sound and measure of the instruments in their motions and singing, that you would have concluded all those husbandmen to be professed dancers and singers. It was pleasing to see how they tossed their arms and legs, and into what contortions they threw themselves with an air of content, according as the sound of the tabor was more or less quick, and as the *guirots* gave more life to their singing. They were not to leave off working till night; in two days they were to resume their work again: and then their task consists in digging with the same spade a few holes, into which they throw a few grains of millet, over which they immediately spread the earth with their feet. When this is done, they rely upon the rains for every thing else, and they are excused from all kind of labour till harvest time. Their *bougans*, for such is the name they have given to their ploughed lands, are generally inclosed with a hedge of thorns, or a kind of tithymallus, or herb spurge, which is never very large, nor tall. The bark of it is so white as to render it remarkable above all other trees. It grows very fast after the manner of all soft wood, and when cut, it sheds a large quantity of white thick liquor like milk, which flows in great abundance.

When

When these husbandmen were set about their work, I left them to go a shooting as far as the village of Sornguann, which is within a small half-league of Sor, or Sor-baba. I killed some woodpeckers, partridges, larks, and a few geese. The geese of this country, which the negroes call *bitt*, have nothing pleasing in the colour of their feathers; but they are remarkable for a large bunch on their head, crowned with several caruncles, which serve for an ornament. Their shoulders, just on the spot where the inflection of the wing is made, are also armed with a horn like a prickle, near an inch in length: and they use it very dexterously against birds of prey that want to attack them.

My courting was greatly improved by the discovery I made, keeping along the bank of the neighbouring *marigot* of Sor-baba. There were fresh traces impressed in the sand, which I easily found to have been made by a crocodile: this excited my curiosity: I wanted to follow the scent, in order to find out this animal; but after seeking for it in vain, I came to a place about fifty paces distant from the rivulet, where the sand seemed to have been disturbed. My negroes judged that this might be the place where the crocodile layed its eggs; and they were not mistaken: for, after digging about half a foot, they found thirty eggs, which they carried away, intending to make good cheer with them. They were hardly larger than goose eggs, but cast a small scent of musk, which would doubtless have been very agreeable to those who like that smell.

I had been now upwards of three years in the country without having had any opportunity of seeing the *lime-kiln*. This is a place so called from the lime made of shells, of which there is prodigious plenty in that neighbourhood. As it is on the bank of a small river which communicates with the Niger, the passage to it, from the island of Senegal, is easy by water. I arrived there the 20th of August, on board a vessel which was going to load with lime. This is one of the most delicious countries upon earth, being diversified with large plains, agreeable valleys, excellent pasturage at all times for black and for small cattle, and with little rivers, the banks of which are covered with mangroves and other trees in perpetual verdure. The chief of those rivers bears the name of the *lime-marigot*: it is large, and very full of fish, abounding especially with fine eels, carp, and *macheirans*. The latter is very good fish, and extremely fat; but it is dangerous while alive, being armed on the two fins of each side, and on that of the back, with a very sharp dart, wherewith it wounds those who attempt to catch it. These wounds are venomous, and difficult to cure.

Going ashore on the south side of this *marigot*, I found myself on a bank of shells, where a number of lime-kilns had been dug very near the sea-side. This bank, though bare of earth, was covered with a very thick wood; there were even some calabash-trees of above three feet diameter. I kept walking among the shells as far as the village called Montel, which is more than half a league from thence southward; and I came back another way, in order to discover the breadth of it. What diverted me most in this expedition was, to see the manner in which one of my negroes killed a crocodile seven feet long. Having spied this animal asleep among brambles, at the foot of a tree that grew near the bank of a river, he approached so softly as not to awake him, and then struck him very dexterously with his knife in that part of the neck where there are no bones nor scales, and pierced him nearly quite through. The animal, mortally wounded, and curling himself, though with some difficulty, hit the negro on the legs with the end of his tail; and such was the violence of the blow, that he laid him flat upon the ground. The latter, without letting go his hold, rose up again immediately; and, that he might have nothing to fear from the crocodile's devouring jaw, he ~~en-~~wrapped it with a *paan*, while his comrade held the tail, and I got upon his body in order to keep him down. Then the negro drew out his knife again, and cut off the

head

head quite clean from the body. This expedition was soon over. The negroes did all they could to drag the body of the crocodile as far as the vessel, for it was too heavy for them to carry; but finding their endeavours ineffectual, they got it into a boat in order to put it on board. By this exploit my negro acquired high applause from all the *laptots* of the vessel, and from the neighbouring inhabitants, who had been long acquainted with his dexterity in hunting the crocodile. They did honour to their prey; for that very evening they ate several slices of it. I tasted some, which to me did not appear to have so strong a scent of musk, as it is generally said to have, and I found it tolerable good eating.

The day following I made an excursion on the other side the *lime-marigot*, and was not a little surprised to find a great number of hills of red sand upwards of thirty feet high. The * *néous*, the * *detbars*, and several other fruit-trees, gave undoubted proofs of the fecundity of this soil: I saw cameleons on every shrub; and when they were touched, they changed from a green colour into black. They had fine sport at that time in hunting of grasshoppers, with which the earth was in some measure covered; for it is a mistake to imagine that this animal does not eat. Let not its meagre body impose on us: as many as I found, had their stomachs filled with butterflies, and especially with grasshoppers; which shews that they do not fast so rigidly as the vulgar formerly imagined: but this is not the only error from which they ought to be set free.

To return to the banks of oyster-shells which cover the lime-fields upwards of half a league; the negroes have also their prejudices. Some of them tell us, that this bank was the work of monkeys in former ages; and that these animals, being then more numerous than they are at present, ate up those oysters. Others will have them to be the shells of oysters which their forefathers smoak-dried, as they themselves used to do not a great many years ago, when the mangroves of this river furnished them with wood, as those of the river Gambia do to this very day. The French, who have examined these banks, and heard the reasonings of the negroes in regard to their formation, are of the latter opinion. But even were we to grant both these points, still they will be puzzled to account how these shells should be arranged thus in the regular manner we find them, without any intermixture. Besides, the quantity of oysters that could be shelled and dried in a day, is so very small in comparison to the immense heap of shells in question, and would suppose such a series of ages to form this bank, that the thing loses all probability in the supputation. Without having recourse to such precarious proofs, in order to explain in what manner this and such other heaps of shells have been formed, we have only to reflect on what passeth in the river Gambia, where the oysters considerably multiply on the roots of mangroves, and in several parts have formed many high banks of shells: and we shall have reason to believe, that these spots were formerly the beds of rivers, where the oysters also lived on mangroves; that these beds successively changed place, and that the sea retiring left these banks bare, and upon a level, eight or ten feet above its surface.

The 23d I returned to the island of Senegal in my *pirogue*: though it was very light and tottering, yet I chose rather to make use of it, than to wait for the convenience of the vessel that had brought me from thence. My negroes strove who should swim the fastest, and re-conducted me, in less than two hours, two leagues and a half, which is the distance from the lime-kiln to the island of Senegal. Notwithstanding the roughness of the water, and a strong gust of wind which blew from the east as we got out of the *marigot*; yet not a single wave broke in upon us, nor did we perceive the least sprinkling, because we were sheltered under the mangroves. The

* New species of trees never yet described.

wind was now quite down, and there were only a few large waves here and there when a *pirogue* put off to cross the river: the *pirogue* was small, and had three men in it; two of them rowed with a paddle, during which exercise they sung a kind of song, the burden of which I heard at a great distance, and it was not disagreeable. The negro, who steered with his paddle, was probably in the fault; or else he who was employed in the middle to empty the water which entered the *pirogue*, must have inclined too much on one side, and destroyed its equilibrium; or, whatever other cause it might be, the boat overfet, with the negroes in it. Though they were very active fellows, they had all the difficulty in the world to set it right again; yet, at length, by pushing it backwards and forwards, and still continuing to swim, they emptied the water out of it, and got into it once more. In any other circumstance it would have been a diversion to see their manner of acting, as well as the dexterity and strength with which they extricated themselves out of danger; and it may be said, that they succeeded extremely well. This accident is not uncommon; but as they are all excellent swimmers, there is no instance that any of them ever perished.

Towards the middle of the next month, I had a present made me of a young serpent of the gigantic species. This present gave me great pleasure, because it was the first of the kind that I had seen; and I have still preserved the skin of it entire in my cabinet. It had been lately caught in the *marigot* of the island of Senegal, and was yet quite alive. The length of it was three feet and somewhat more: its colour was a yellow livid ground, with a large blackish band all along its back, on which were scattered a few yellow irregular spots. There was a glossiness over its whole body, which gave it a smooth polish as if it was varnished. Its head was neither flat nor triangular like that of a viper, but round and somewhat long. This serpent, small as it was, gave me a sufficient idea to distinguish it from all the other species; yet it was only an imperfect representation of the large ones, of which I should never have formed an adequate notion, if a little while after they had not brought me, at different times, two of a middling size, the largest of which was twenty-two feet and a few inches long, and eight inches broad. The colour of its skin was a dark grey, with a few yellowish lines not very apparent: the skin, stretched out, was from five-and-twenty to six-and-twenty inches broad. They left it with me entire, with a slice of its flesh, the remainder of which was to serve as a regale for several days, to the person who caught it, together with the rest of the village. The head, which was still to it, was of the same size as that of a crocodile from five to six feet; its teeth were upwards of half an inch long, strong and sharp; and its throat was more than wide enough to swallow a hare, or even a pretty large dog, without having any occasion to chew it.

By seeing those two serpents, which, according to the testimony of my negroes and of all those who had beheld great numbers of them, were but of an indifferent size, I had no longer the least room to doubt of the truth of what I had heard a thousand times in that country, and which I had always looked upon as a fable. Even the negroes themselves, to whom I was indebted for these, assured me, that I had seen nothing extraordinary, and that it was not unusual to meet with some, within a few leagues east of the island of Senegal, as large and as long as the mast of a common ship. The people of Bissao told me, they had seen some in their country, that were a great deal longer than masts. It was not difficult for me to judge, by comparing their accounts to the serpents I had before me, that the largest of that species, upon a just computation, must be from forty to fifty feet long, and from one foot to one and a half broad.

The manner in which this animal seeks his prey, is not less extraordinary than his enormous size. He lurks in morasses and places not far from the water. His tail is

curled

curled two or three rounds of a circle, which include a circumference from five to six feet diameter, over which he rears his head with part of his body. In this attitude, and as it were immovable, he throws his eyes all round, and when he perceives an animal within reach, he darts upon it by means of the circumvolutions of his tail, which have the same effect as a strong spring. If the animal he has seized is too large to be swallowed up entire, (as for instance, an ox, an antelope, or a large African ram), after giving it a few bites with his destructive teeth, he crushes and breaks its bones, either by squeezing it with a few twists, or by pressing it with the weight of his whole body, which he slides over it; then he takes it up again into his mouth, and covers it with a frothy spittle, to render it more easy to swallow without chewing; for he has this in common with a great many more serpents and lizards, which never chew their food, but swallow it up entire.

This monster, terrible as he may seem by his size and strength, does not make the ravage that one would naturally imagine. He is easily discovered, by reason of his voluminous size, from whence ariseth the security of animals weaker than himself. His body, writhed in spiral curls, appears at a great distance like the brink of a well; and this is warning enough to travellers, and even to the cattle themselves, to turn another way. We never hear that he attacks the human species; at least, examples of this sort are very rare. Besides, the hunting of large animals, such as horses, oxen, stags, and other the like quadrupeds, whose safety depends upon their legs, is not very agreeable to him, either because he finds it too troublesome, or it is not so sure, or their flesh is not agreeable to his palate. He is much better pleased with devouring other lesser serpents, lizards, and especially toads and locusts, which seem to rise in clouds in this country, only to satisfy his all-devouring jaws. Upon the whole, it may be said of these serpents, that they do more good than harm, since they cleanse the earth of an innumerable number of noxious insects and reptiles, which would otherwise oblige the inhabitants to desert those fruitful countries, where they are now settled; so that it is the interest of the negroes, to suffer those monsters to live unmolested.

But to resume the thread of my narration: The necessity I was under of returning ten times to the same places, and in different seasons, gave me an opportunity, the 12th of the month of October, of discovering a thing which was very remote from my thoughts. Crossing, at least the twentieth time, the Wood Island, in order to reach the village of Kionk, I perceived several small fishes in morasses formed by rain-water. They were all of the same species; and, by their lively red, I knew them to be the lesser kind of roaches. The rains had subsided, and the water was beginning to dry up in those ponds; a sure sign that the fish were not long-lived. They must have died very soon, for I saw the ground two days after, when the waters were dried up. One would imagine, that the species was lost for ever in regard to that particular spot; but, far from it, the next year new ones appeared, entirely like those of the preceding years. Here is a fact the more worthy of notice, as it does not appear by what means the fish could be conveyed to that place; for, on the one hand, the ponds, though deep, have no communication with the waters of the Niger, which is about three hundred fathoms from thence; and besides, this species of fish is unknown to that river: so that it cannot be supposed, that any of the aquatic birds should bring away the eggs. Surely nobody will pretend to say, that the roaches lay their eggs every year in the bottom of those ponds, where they are preserved during the nine months of drought, till the return of the rain; because the same difficulty would still subsist in regard to the origin of the first. It would be at least equally absurd to imagine, that their seeds were

conveyed to other places by vapours, which, as they fell down, scattered them here and there into different basons.

I stopped on this morafs no longer than was necessary to cross it, because it was very late. Thence I proceeded to a fine country, where, in the midst of a prodigious quantity of uncommon plants, the *narcissus ceylanicus* * distinguished itself, as well by its agreeable flavour, as by the whiteness of its flowers. I arrived at Kionk just as the night came on, which the musketoes made me pass very disagreeably. Notwithstanding all the precautions which the governor of the village had taken to screen me from their pursuits, by making me lodge in one of his own huts, newly plaistered with mud and cow-dung, and filling it all night with smoke; still there entered a sufficient number of those noisome insects to drive me almost mad. This, together with the stink of the dung and the smoke, insupportable to any other of the human species but negroes, obliged me to decamp. I ran all over the village from hut to hut, to look for better quarters. Wherever I entered, I found the beds all full: without regard to sex, age, kindred, or condition, they all lay promiscuously side by side, sometimes five or six, and even eight in the same bed, naked as they came out of their mother's womb. But what surprized me the most was, the profound quiet with which they slept in the midst of so thick a smoke, that one would imagine it must have suffocated them. In short, after rambling about a good deal, I had no other resource left, than to lay myself down in the open air on two mats, extended between two fires; and even here, the musketoes made me pay very dear for a few moments of rest.

With impatience I waited for day; and as soon as it began to peep, the lord of the village, desirous of diverting me with a walk, conducted me into his gardens. The whole neighbourhood was very agreeable; the fallow grounds formed large meadows, checkered with mangroves and calabash-trees, which made a delightful landscape. At that time the small millet, which the negroes live upon, and which in their language they call *dougoup-niou**, shewed its golden ears. The grain was almost ripe, and drew an infinite number of birds, that made a vast havoc. In order to scare them away, the inhabitants had crossed their *lougans* with a great number of threads, to which they hung shells, bones, and other such bodies, that are apt to make a noise upon the least collision. The whole was to be put in motion by four cords, which were stretched to four corners of the field, where just as many women or children kept watch upon sheds or covered platforms, from seven to eight feet high, and each of them drew a cord, as soon as they saw the birds come near. Besides this noise, they made a loud hallooing, and kept clapping their hands. This watch was to continue till the millet was fit to cut; yet in spite of all their care and vigilance, they were often deceived by the feathered plunderers. Small *bengalis*, black and red sparrows, and other pretty birds, which change their colour once a year, and which the French call *senegalis*, flocked thither every morning in vast numbers. But the most terrible scourge of all was a large species of yellow and black sparrows, clouds of which fell like hail upon the grain; and when they had spread desolation in one quarter, they flew to another. Let their stay be never so short, and very often before the negroes had time to put their scare-crow in motion, these birds did irreparable mischief. I have read in some relation, that the Egyptians have no other remedy; but either they must sow more grain, or the destructive sparrows must be less numerous in their country, since we do not hear that they occasion famines so frequently as among our negroes.

* *Narcissus ceylanicus*, flore albo hexagono odorato. *Com. Hort. Amst.* vol. 1. page 75. tab. 35

† *Panicum Indicum*, spicâ longissimâ. *C. B. Pin.* pag. 27.

Near those fields of millet there were *lougans* of cotton, indigo, tobacco, water-melons, French-beans, and other legumes. Each of them was inclosed with a hedge of brambles, with which was entwined a species of wild cucumber, known in the country by the name of *moi-moi* *. This plant was loaded with a small fruit, which is of a fine coral red when it comes to full maturity; and some of it had been plundered by the serpents, lizards, and birds. My people perceiving the fruit, gathered a good deal of it, which they presented to me, after tasting of it themselves. I had known it a long time; and had seen the people of the country eat of it often; nay I had several times eat as many as a dozen, to quench my thirst in the violent heats, without ever feeling any bad consequence, or the least inconveniency: but that day I thought proper to eat a much larger quantity of it. I dined towards noon with a very good appetite; and I likewise supped without feeling any bad symptom. It was not till nine o'clock that this fruit began to operate, when I was suddenly seized with a suffocating, or stoppage of breath; afterwards it worked me as violently as any emetic I ever took in my life; and this operation lasted near eight hours. One of my negroes, who was twenty years of age, and who had eaten more plentifully of this fruit than I, was seized in like manner towards midnight; but did not get off so cheap. This emetic continued to work him above four and twenty hours, with such violence, that he did not know whereabouts he was all the time; and it had like to have cost him his life. Had such an experiment been made on purpose, I do not think a more favourable success could be expected from it: and what is most remarkable, each suffered in proportion to the quantity he had eaten of this fruit; but it had no effect at all on him who eat only a dozen; and even he who suffered most by it, was as well two days after, as if he had not been ill at all.

Tired with going through so many hardships at Kionk, I returned to the island of Senegal, where I arrived time enough to be present at the feast of the *tabaske*. The Mahometans, of the sect of Sina-Ali, founded this feast to commemorate the nativity of their prophet: it falls yearly towards the middle of the October moon; and this year it was celebrated the 18th. The whole day was spent in feasting and merriment, during which time the Saint, in whose honour the festival had been instituted, seemed to be very remote from their thoughts. It ended with a general dance in the *savana*, over-against the forts, whither people of all ages and sexes repaired. The ball was opened at four in the afternoon, with tabor and pipe and vocal music. The young people, in their gayest array, displayed their several abilities in this kind of diversion. When they had tired themselves for two hours, in dancing according to the manner of the country, that is, in postures and movements the most indecent, and most opposite to our ideas of modesty and shame, the scene varied: they made a large circle, to give place to lords and persons of distinction, who were mounted on horses magnificently caparisoned. Nothing could be more entertaining than to see those proud couriers, forgetting their mettle and fire, and conforming to the intent of the festival: they raised their feet and touched the ground lightly and in cadence; all the movements of their bodies exactly accorded with the sound of the instruments; in a word, their gestures bore a perfect resemblance to a most regular dance. The festival seemed to be intended for them only, so greatly were they affected with it, and so sensible of applause. I do not think there can be a nobler sight than that of horses trained to this exercise, and especially of such fine beautiful creatures as our Arabian horses of Senegal. The horsemen themselves greatly added to those sports; for they managed

* *Bryonia folio anguloso acuto glabro.* *Burm. Thes. Zeyl.* pag. 48. tab. 19. fig. 1.

their horses, and made them imitate whatever they pleased, feigning by their gesture and attitude, sometimes a combat, and other times a juggling, a chase, or dance. The spectators, wrapped in admiration, were displeased at the too rapid approach of night, which put an end to amusements, where nought was heard but joy, festivity, and mirth.

A journey over land from the island of Senegal to *la Chaux*, or the *lime-kiln*, was likely to give me a further knowledge of a country, that had pleased me so greatly at my first visit. I undertook it the 4th of November: my *pirogue* carried me a league and a quarter by water, as far as the port of Galel, where I went ashore, intending to walk to the village of the same name, about five hundred fathoms from the river side. The way was over barren sands, and that day was remarkable for one of the fultriest east winds that had been ever felt in this season: but the heat I endured in travelling over those sands was nothing, when compared to what I suffered in the road to the lime-kiln.

I had now a long league to reach that place. In setting out I went over a sandy disagreeable plain, where, among other spinous shrubs that are fond of a very dry soil, I met with what the Jallofs call the *niotoutt*: it has a good deal of that resinous gum, known by the name of *bdellium*; and its branches serve for a *sekiou*, that is, for a tooth-picker to the women of the country. Though the sun had not yet reached the meridian, the sands were all on fire; and my shoes were soon cracked and burnt with the scorching heat. At any other time I should have moistened those burning sands with drops of sweat; but the east wind is naturally so parching, that, notwithstanding the violent heat of the air and the sun, my skin was dried up, before the sweat had time to shew itself. I had violent prickings over all my body; and the blood oftentimes opened itself a passage through my pores, which the sweat could not pervade. My negroes were no longer of a black complexion, but as red as copper: they were tormented with thirst, the inseparable companion of parching heat, which obliged them to hang out their tongues, in order to breathe more freely. I was as thirsty as they; and I may venture to affirm, that this is one of the greatest miseries a person is exposed to in these scorching plains, where there is not a drop of water to be had. No doubt but it would have been very great relief to us, almost perishing with thirst, and broiled in the sun: but the inhabitants of that country are not like those of more temperate climates; they keep no reservoirs of water on the high roads for the accommodation of travellers.

After having walked an hour over those sands, exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, I came to a dry meadow, full of thick rushes, from three to four feet high, which greatly tried my patience. What little water there was, I found it saltish, stagnated, and spoilt by crabs. Never did I behold such a sight of those animals as on this very spot! some were red, others dark grey, with such prodigious claws, that they could easily span my leg, without squeezing it. In fine, this continued forest of rushes (for I met with nothing else for the space of half a league) brought me as far as the lime-bank.

I was so tired that I wanted to rest myself: for which reason I staid here some time, and dined under the trees, with a few provisions and a water-melon, which I had brought with me from Galel. This is a very wholesome fruit, especially after repast; and I have often eat for my own desert, from five to six pounds of it, without any inconveniency or surfeit, though I had made a hearty dinner. While I was seated under those trees, I heard the parakites and parrots over my head; and some of the kernels of acacias and gum-trees, which they were eating, dropped down at my feet.

In the mean time my negroes, who had suffered greatly by the excessive heat, were rubbing their foreheads with live toads, a few of which they found under the briars: this is their usual remedy, when they are afflicted with a megrim or dizziness; and it gave them relief. I suffered as much from the same complaint as they, and should readily have followed their example: but the want of being used to those animals, together with an almost invincible repugnance, which I look upon as natural to every body that has not been accustomed to handle them, hindered me from having recourse to this innocent and wholesome remedy.

I came back the same way I went to the lime-kiln, for there is no other. In the meadow I killed a *flamant* *, and a bustard of a different species from the European: it differs in the colour of its feathers, which are generally of a dark grey; its neck is also very long; and, like the lark, it has a kind of tuft on the back part of its head. The French in that country call it a flying-ostrich: whether this name suits it or not, this is not a fit place to examine; it may be said, however, that the above bird resembles an ostrich in many respects.

It was very late when I passed within sight of Galed; and the negroes had set fire to the herbs and brambles, as well to render the country passable, as to prepare it for being sown the next year. Thus the heat of nocturnal fire succeeded to that of the sun; and I walked by the light thereof as far as the port, where I embarked for the island of Senegal. There I arrived so fatigued and exhausted, which was also the case with my negroes, that I do not think I ever stood more in need of repose in my whole life.

In this and every expedition I made since the month of June, my principal view was to acquire some knowledge of the plantations of indigo. I was curious to know what quantity and quality the negroes sow in the neighbourhood of the island of Senegal, because I had a mind to repeat some experiments, which I had imparted in proper time to the East-India Company. Those people do not take much pains to draw the die out of this plant: they are satisfied with gathering the leaves at any time of the year, with pounding them in a mortar to reduce them to a paste, and with making them up into loaves, in order to preserve them dry. When they want to make use of them, they dissolve them in a kind of lye, made of the ashes of an unctuous plant which grows in their fields, and by them is called *rheme* †. This dissolution imbibes a tincture of the indigo, into which they dip their linen cold, as often as they think necessary, according to the deepness of the colour.

I know what sympathy there is between the *cacrelats* and indigo; but, as often as I happened to leave a bundle of this plant in my room in the night time, I was sure to find some hundreds of those insects lodged in it the next day; and it seemed as if they were all got together. They are as troublesome as they are common in the island of Senegal. Though they are scarce an inch thick, they do an incredible deal of mischief. They gnaw linen, sheets, wood, paper, books, and, in short, whatever comes in their way: they attack even the aloes, the bitterness of which keeps off all other insects. They are likewise very disagreeable by the stench that comes from their bodies; and they are most horrid enemies to the persons with whom they take up their quarters; for they never stir out till night, then they hover round the room, and make as great a noise as if there was a large cage full of birds. In short the *cacrelat* multiplies so fast, that it would be a most dangerous insect, had it not a great number of enemies.

Those it has the most reason to be afraid of, are the spider and the *sourd*: the latter is a species of lizard, said to be venomous, and as lickerish after the *cacrelat* as

* *Phœnicopterus Bahamensis*. *Gatesby*, vol. i. tab. 73 & 74.

† *Portulaca marina latifolia*, flore suave rubenti. *Plum. Caf.* pag. 6.

the spider. They both reside in bed-chambers as well as that insect, and are at continual war with it; which secures the tranquillity of those with whom they have once taken up their quarters. The hedge-hog likewise persecutes it: that of Senegal differs from the European in size only: it passes, like the latter, some part of the low season, that is, of the cold and dry season, in a species of lethargy, during which it abstains from nourishment, rarely going abroad in search of any; but it knows very well how to repair this loss in the summer nights. I kept one for above three years in my chamber, where it did me immense service, by freeing me from spiders, *cacrelats*, *fourdi*, ants, and other insects, with which the room had been infested. The hedge-hog is exceeding good eating, and very tender, especially if you take it about the time when it begins to enter into its lethargic sleep.

Another inconveniency, especially during the winter or low season, are the sand-fleas, which are so called because they lodge in the sand of inhabited huts. These are so full of them, that as soon as you set foot therein, they cover you all over; and they are so very small, that you can perceive them only by their numbers. They do not bite hard; yet, when there are great multitudes of them, they produce an itching or stinging almost intolerable. What is most extraordinary in this insect, it never leaps or jumps higher than three or four inches: so that, when a person takes care to keep himself half a foot above ground, he is sure there is nothing to fear from that quarter.

This, I believe, is the proper place, since I am upon the article of Senegal, to take notice also of some of its advantages. Though the heats of this climate are excessive, to such a degree, that their winter is much warmer than our summer in France, yet they are supportable. One is accustomed to them by degrees; because the air is every day refreshed with sea and land breezes, which blow alternately. The way therefore for a person to cool himself, is to catch the fanning breezes, or to take shelter within doors, when there is a thorough air, and the windows are made of fine linen.

It is to these heats that they are partly indebted for the fertility of their lands. The sands of this island are converted into gardens of considerable produce. Independently of the legumes and fruits of the country, such as the Guinea *oseille*, batates, ananas, guavas, and some others, they likewise plant, in the winter season, most of the European herbs and legumes. The fig tree, the pomegranate, and the vine, are loaded every year with excellent fruit. With a little labour and care, there is no fruit nor grain but would grow there in great plenty: they might raise whatever they want, and generally all the necessaries of life. In short, the soil of the island of Senegal, notwithstanding its being so sandy, is yet so very fruitful, that a great many plants yield several times a year. This I saw myself, in a garden which I kept on purpose for such experiments: and what without all manner of doubt will appear very surprising, is, my having sown particular legumes of which I had above twelve crops the same year. But this curious detail I refer to another work.

There is not perhaps a country in the world where poultry are more common. They breed turkeys, Guinea-hens, geese, ducks, and a prodigious number of fowls. Their pigeons are in admirable perfection; and their hogs multiply very fast. There is also plenty of fish, and especially in the Niger, where you may catch carps with your hand. This rivers, besides the lamantin or sea-cow, abounds in captains, * mullets, surmulletts, soles, rays, and other excellent fish: it has also plenty of crabs and lobsters. Most of these fish come from the sea: and it is said, that when they are caught in the river

* A fish so called, because it is very red, and its fins resemble a feather: it is very like a carp, but larger.
VOL. XVI. 4 Q it

it improves them ; because the mixture of the fresh with the salt water makes them more delicate and tender. To all these advantages we may add the pleasure of sporting; for this island is furnished with little moor-hens, with larks, thrushes, sea-partridges, and yellow wag-tails, or, to express myself better, the ortolans of the country : these are small lumps of fat, exceedingly well tasted.

The only thing wanting in the island of Senegal, are walks ; for they say it is too small, and too naked. They might, without doubt, have umbrageous avenues for the sake of a shady walk, were they to plant calabash-trees, and the like, which delight in moist sands : but of what use would it be, to make a harbour for the musketoos, that is, for a greater plague than the most excessive heats ? Of what service would those avenues be in a country, where the time of walking is not till sun-set ? Ought they to regret this loss, when they have gardens enamelled with perpetual verdure, which every day present the eye with new decorations, where such a multitude of flowers, as agreeable by their fragrant odours as by the variety of their colours, shoot up almost without care or culture ? There you see, sweet basil of all sizes and colours, tuberoses, daffodills, asphodel-lilies ; among which the night-shade, the African pink, the amaranth, and pomegranates in blossom, produce an excellent effect. The blue and gilt lizards, with butterflies and other insects, all equally beautiful, delight in coming hither to mix their different colours, and to diversify that sameness which one sees in most gardens.

I had taken a plan of the Wood Island, as well as of that of Griel, the lime-kiln, the islands of Sor, Bokos, and several others ; and nothing further remained for me than to add the point of Barbary and the salt-pans to it : then I should have a complete map of the neighbourhood of the island of Senegal, from the village of Mouitt to the mouth of the Niger, as far as the village of Torkhod, seven leagues to the north. The desire I had of finishing a work already far advanced, and which had cost me such a deal of trouble, and so many excursions over the burning sands, induced me to undertake an expedition to the salt-pans. I therefore embarked the 15th of June, 1753, on board a vessel that was going to trade there for salt. As it was well equipped, and the wind proved favourable, we soon got beyond the English island, which is only a slip of marshy land, a hundred fathoms in diameter, covered with reeds and almost impenetrable mangroves. We passed the isle of Bokos with the same quickness ; and as soon as we came across the south point of the *marigot* of Del, I went on shore in order to fathom the neighbouring parts, while the vessel continued its course to the place where it was to anchor.

Walking over the sands of this point, I met with such a multitude of serpents, that they seemed to grow wherever I trod : fortunately for me they were neither large nor venomous, being hardly so big as one's little finger ; so that their bite could not be dangerous. These sands brought me to the salt-pans, which were two-thirds of a league from the *marigot* ; they are a kind of morafs, from two to three hundred fathoms long, and one third broad, filled with a salt water extremely sharp. It is so impregnated with salt, as to yield one third of its quantity, and rather more ; and, when congealed, it covers the bottom with a thick solid crust. The negroes enter up to the knee, and oftentimes deeper, into this water, which may be said almost to boil with the heat of the sun. They are provided with stakes of hard wood, with which they break the salt ; and afterwards they carry it to the river side, where the French traffick with them. This salt is generally so white as to dazzle the eye : some of it is also of a carnation colour : but it has always a bitter sharpness, disagreeable to the taste ; and it is this corrosive quality, that renders it not so proper for salting of fresh meat and fish.

One would imagine, that these salt morasses have some communication with the sea. I had been of this opinion, before I visited the spot; but then I perceived the impossibility of it. They are separated from the Niger by a neck of land, of above five hundred fathoms, where a chain of sand-hills riseth, which neither the waters of the river, nor even those of the sea, when most tempestuous, do ever reach. The survey I took of this ground that day, convinced me further, that the bottom of this morass is higher than the surface of the river: whence I concluded, that we must trace the origin of this salt, which is every year produced in such abundance, up to some other cause than the actual communication of the sea-water.

When I had examined the salt-pans, and finished all my surveying, I went to the trading place called by the name of Piquet, where the exchange of goods was to be made, and opposite to which the vessel had anchored. The agent for this business had already caused a tent to be pitched upon the shore, and some huts to be built of leaves of trees, under which we were to lie. The negro lord, master of the salt-pans, otherwise called *korom-afou*, or *kram-afou*, having notice of his arrival, came to pay him a visit. He seemed to be about forty; was large, and well made: his complexion was not a deep black, but with a little tincture of red: he had a noble air, though not handsome; a quick conception, an easy carriage, and a soft agreeable tone of voice: he explained himself very well, and with gravity. After half an hour's conversation, when he had agreed with the agent, he conducted us a quarter of a league off to the village of Guebenn, of which he was governor. There he received us very civilly, and even with a politeness which one could hardly have expected from a man of his colour. He gave us a collation of new milk, palm wine, *icaque* plums, called *ourai*, and other fruits of the country. He had summoned all the young people of the village to give us a ball; and accordingly they attended us, dancing to vocal and instrumental music, as far as the trading place, where they continued these sports till midnight. Dancing is the favourite entertainment of the negroes; they sometimes bring young children with them that can hardly stand: one would be apt to say, that they are born dancing, to see the exactness of their movements. The same amusements were renewed every evening. In short, this good man did all he could to procure us diversion; and this was not a small comfort to us in so desert and forlorn a place.

The next day I went to reconnoitre the neighbourhood of Mouitt, which is within two thirds of a league to the southward of Piquet. It is a pretty large trading village, advantageously situate on a hill well planted with calabash-trees, and wild figs, of a very great height; the latter bear a strong resemblance to the ficamore of the ancients. By the way I passed near a great number of small salt-pans, full of a strong red salt, infinitely more sharp and more corrosive than that of the large salt-pans of Guebenn. I likewise met with foxes, antelopes, and the footsteps of wild boars and wolves lately imprinted on the sand: but the shooting of those animals, with which I was well acquainted, did not tempt me so much as that of certain black birds, which I descried eastward of the village. They were so like a turkey, both as to size and feathers, that one might very easily mistake them. I killed two with the same shot, one male, and the other female. They had both a kind of black hollow helmet on the head, of the same bulk and figure as that of the *casoar*: upon their neck they had a long plate like a very bright vellum, which was red in the male, and blue in the female. This bird might be the *gallinache* of the Portuguese, or what the French in the American islands call *marchan*; but the negroes give it the name of *guinar*. The inhabitants of this neighbourhood

bourhood look upon it as a *marabou*, that is, as a sacred animal; perhaps, because it generally lives longer than the small serpents, so common in the neighbourhood, and for which the negroes have a superstitious veneration. They could not bear that I should be so audacious as to sacrifice their marabous to my pleasure: nay, they looked upon me as a conjurer, when I brought them to the ground with the very first shot; for they imagined those birds to be invulnerable. They carried their superstition so far, as to tell me, that I should infallibly die on my journey, for having committed so heinous a crime.

This action did not gain me the esteem of the inhabitants of Mouitt: however, I got away from thence without any harm, and continued my journey towards the village of Guioel and Guebenn, where I found a shrub, called *foudenn* in the country; it is a kind of *alkanna**, the leaves of which are used by the negro men and women to give a red die to their nails, and they never lose this colour till they come to grow again. From thence I continued my journey as far as the village of Del, and then I returned to the trading place. The banks of the Niger were at that time covered in this spot with a small kind of fish, scarce so large as half a goose quill: they were white and transparent as crystal, and each side of them was marked with a narrow silver line.

After spending three days at the salt-pans of Guebenn, I set out from thence the 18th in the evening, and returned to the island of Senegal, directing my course by the point of Barbary, in order to be able to settle it in my map. I travelled very near three leagues on foot, coasting its sands through all their windings, from the bar upon the western bank of the Niger, as far as the village of Gueutt, which is parallel to the middle of the island of Senegal. My canoe followed me along shore, and kept as near to land as possible, in order to take me in, if I should happen to be stopped by a rivulet, or by any of those thickets of tamarisk and sanar, which are scattered upon the coast. All the way I saw nothing but yellow crabs, which covered the earth in such a manner, that sometimes I went over plains of above sixty fathoms, without being able to discover one foot of bare ground. On those white sands the sea bind-weed † expanding its purple flowers, amidst the agreeable verdure of its trailing stalks, formed altogether an admirable embroidery. The shrubs I saw there were a few tamarisks, the *beidel-offar* ‡, the *paretuiver* §, the *sanar* §, the *spartium* ||, the *conocarpus* ¶; and great numbers of *lobelia* **, and *icaque* ††. The latter is a receptacle for a kind of red ants, which lodge in its branches: among the leaves they form a kind of nest, from whence they assail those who are so imprudent as to draw near to gather the fruit; and they bite them most unmercifully. I could not escape those insects, as I had a good deal of the wood to traverse. There was something so venomous in their sting, that my face and hands were covered with blisters, as if they had been scalded: the pain was not assuaged, till I got thoroughly wet with a heavy rain, which fell in the beginning of the night, and was attended with thunder and lightning, by the help of which I saw my way to cross the river, and got back to the island of Senegal.

* *Ligustrum Ægyptium*, el henne vel tamar-endi. *P. Alp. Ægypt. pag. 23.*

† *Convolvulus marinus catharticus*, folio rotundo, flore purpureo. *Plum. Plant. de l'Amérique, pag. 89.*

‡ *Ida. 104.*

§ *Beidel-offar*. *P. Alp. Ægypt. pag. 85.*

§ Trees which have not been yet described.

|| *Spartium scandens*, citreis foliis, floribus albis, ad nodos confertim nascentibus. *Plum. Cat. pag. 19.*

¶ *Conocarpus*. *Linn. Hort. Cliff. pag. 485.*

** *Lobelia frutescens*, portulacæ folio. *Plum. Gen. pag. 21.*

†† *ICaço fructu ex albo rubescente*. *Plum. Gen. pag. 43.*

As soon as I arrived there, I began to think of returning to France. I had been absent from home upwards of four years; and during that time I had had occasion to make as numerous a series of observations, as could reasonably be expected in the settlement of Senegal: at least if there were any more remaining, they were only such as might be deemed a mere matter of curiosity, or generally escape the eye of even the most clear sighted, or require too long a stay to finish. These considerations were sufficient to determine me; and as several vessels were expected that very same month, I resolved to embrace that opportunity.

Though I had sent yearly into France to Messieurs de Reaumur and de Jussieu, a great number of animals, birds, fishes, insects, herbs, seeds of plants and other productions of the country, according as they fell in my way; yet I was sensible that many things were still wanting, especially several trees and shrubs which had never yet been seen in Europe, not even in the king's gardens. Being apprized of the particular encouragement his majesty vouchsafes to give to botanists, and excited moreover by the orders of the Duke d'Ayen, which I received by means of M. B. de Jussieu, I thought my honour concerned, as a naturalist, not to return to France, without bringing along with me the most remarkable plants that grow in the scorching climate of Senegal, to add them to those which his majesty has collected, from both hemispheres, and which are preserved with such taste and magnificence in the green-houses at Trianon, Choisi, and Paris.

With this view I resolved to take one trip more to Podor; and accordingly I set out the tenth of July with a favourable wind. Since I had been in the country, I had never seen but two European plants, the tamarisk and purslane: and this third expedition gave me an opportunity to observe, that of all the trees which line the banks of the Niger, there is not an eighth part, but what are of a very hard spinous wood, chiefly acacias, taller and slenderer in proportion as they are more remote from the sea-coast. But what struck me most, was the shooting of monkeys, which I enjoyed within six leagues this side of Podor, on the lands to the south of Donai, otherwise called Coq; and I do not think there ever was better sport. The vessel being obliged to stay there one morning, I went on shore, to divert myself with my gun. The place was very woody, and full of green monkeys, which I did not perceive but by their breaking the boughs on the tops of the trees, from whence they tumbled down upon me: for in other respects they were so silent and nimble in their tricks, that it would have been difficult to hear them. Here I stopped, and killed two or three of them, before the others seemed to be much frightened: however, when they found themselves wounded, they began to look for shelter; some by hiding themselves among the large boughs; others by coming down upon the ground; others, in fine, and these were the greatest number, by jumping from one tree to another. Nothing could be more entertaining, when several of them jumped together on the same bough, than to see it bend under them, and the hithermost to drop down to the ground, while the rest got further on, and others were still suspended in the air. As this game was going on, I continued still to shoot at them; and though I killed no less than three and twenty in less than an hour, and within the space of twenty fathoms, yet not one of them screeched the whole time, notwithstanding that they united in companies, knit their brows, gnashed their teeth, and seemed as if they intended to attack me.

My first care, upon my arrival at Podor, was to gather as many plants as possible for the king's garden; and I had great success in collecting and putting into two large chests three hundred different trees, before I left the factory: for the last time I went a

shooting, upon my return to the neighbourhood of Bokol, which was on the second of August, by walking in the heat of the sun, I had been seized with a burning fever, of that malignant sort which carries off most Europeans in less than two days. Thus this voyage proved more dangerous to me, than all my former expeditions and fatigues, in the space of four years, during which time I never had the least illness. I was three days without any assistance, before I arrived at the island of Senegal, where I struggled with the distemper a whole month; and after a relapse, which brought me within an inch of my grave, at length I totally recovered. My youth, and a sound constitution, which had never been hurt by debauch, together with the generous assistance of the tenderest of friends*, preserved my life.

Of all the vessels that came this year upon the coast, there was only one left, with which I could return to France. I went on board her in a state of convalescence, after passing the bar the sixth time, and we weighed from the road of Senegal the 6th of September. The contrary winds which prevail at that time of the year did not promise us a short voyage; and as they blew from the north and north-east, we could not stretch northward, but were constantly obliged to bear to the west. Upon our way, within ten leagues of the islands of Cape Verd, perceiving a very white sea, we sounded a hundred fathoms or more, without finding any bottom: after which the sea having resumed its usual colour, we imagined we had passed over a white sand-bank, which the Dutch charts mark at eighty fathoms.

At a time when we were within two hundred leagues of the coast, between the 17th and 18th degree of latitude, a calm came on, which lasted almost fifteen days, with suffocating heats: it was so still, that the ship did not seem to change situation, though the current had carried us a great way southward. This was the properest place in the world to find the sea water in its full saltness; since we were at sufficient distance from land, to be under no apprehension that the river waters could communicate any of their freshness to it; I therefore filled a bottle, which I sealed hermetically, with an intention of making an analysis of it at my return to France.

There is nothing more tiresome than to be in a vessel becalmed; and nothing more dreadful than to be far out at sea, when provisions begin to fall short. We made use of this unlucky accident to catch some fish, and were very much in the right; for the small quantity of fresh provisions we had taken in at Senegal, was consumed; so that we were now reduced to salt meat, and likely to be still a long time at sea.

At that time there was great plenty of requiems, bonites, grand oreilles, and golden-nis: the three latter live only on flying fish, of which they are so greedy, that if you only counterfeit one of them, by covering the hook with a little linen, and two white feathers, and let it hang at the end of a rod, or behind the stern, they will be sure to bite directly. We used no other bait, and it succeeded so well, that we took a prodigious quantity of them, part of which we salted, for fear of scarcity. The *bonite* and *grand oreille* are a middling species of tunny-fish, and have altogether the same taste: the *goldennis* is somewhat inferior to them in this respect, but greatly surpasses them in beauty; and without doubt it is the beautifullest fish in the sea. The colour of its body is a dark blue ground, which in the water appears like an azure blue, and after passing through all the gradations of green and violet, is lost in a gold lustre, diffused all round its sides, which gives it the richest dress that can possibly be imagined.

* M. Andriot, whom I have already mentioned.

To this first calm succeeded several others, the shortest of which were from three to eight days; nor did they leave us till we had passed the 30th degree of latitude. There we had south-west winds, by the help of which we intended to put into the nearest of the Azores. This was the best thing we could do in our present situation, when we wanted both biscuit and fresh water, and the greatest part of our ship's company were unfit for service.

A few days after we descried a very high foggy land, which we found to be the isle of Pico; and near it was that of Fayal. We made all the sail we could towards the latter, and entered the harbour to the eastward the 20th of October. There we cast anchor in fifteen fathoms, afterwards in nine, a sandy bottom, subject to magnetical attraction, and a bad holding ground. This is the only port in the island of Fayal; and though it seems to be sheltered by two great mountains, yet it is exposed to the north-east and south-east winds, which occasion a very rough sea, especially in autumn, and drive the ships off the coast, unless they are well moored with three and even four anchors. From the west winds it is covered by the island itself, out of which it is scooped, as it were, in a semicircle, four hundred fathoms wide, and three hundred deep. The island of Pico, which is two leagues over against it, shelters it also from the general east winds; but on the other hand, it is the cause of its being annoyed by others far more dangerous; for it reflects the south-west and north-west winds that come towards it; and it stops the clouds, which occasion such a variation of winds. I observed during my stay at Fayal, and the inhabitants assured me, they had long experienced it, that as often as the isle of Pico is darkened by a fog, it is productive of wind; and this they look upon as their most faithful anemoscope*. It is likely that this mountain has the same effect as an unelectrified body, which attracteth the clouds; whence it happens, that the ambient air, being pressed unequally on all sides, is forced to take an irregular course.

The Pico of the Azores is hardly more than half a league in perpendicular height: when viewed from the side of Fayal, it has the form of a short cone, terminating in a sharp nipple, and is in 38 deg. 35 m. north latitude, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ deg. west longitude. This is the only mountain in the island of the same name, which may be looked upon as the vineyard plot of Fayal: for the latter depends thereon, and all its inhabitants have their country houses there, with their farms and vineyards, which they cultivate with great care. Thither they go every year to attend their vintage, which produceth two sorts of white wine, like sack, but of an inferior quality. Their malmsey is not so luscious: but the dry or table wine is almost as strong as brandy, and quickly mounts up to the head. As soon as their wines are made, they convey them in September and October to their cellars in Fayal, from whence they are exported to Brazil and some other parts of the world, by the name of wines of Fayal, though this island produceth none, and they all come from Pico.

If Fayal was not exposed to such frequent gusts of wind, it would be one of the most beautiful harbours in the world, because of the delightful prospect it affords, to those who approach it by sea. The stay we made there, before we went on shore, gave me an opportunity to view it at my full leisure. It appears like a mountain scooped into a semicircle, and divided into four or five summits, covered with trees, which descend down as far as the sea, by a very gentle declivity. At the foot of this mountain the town winds along the port, and is surrounded with a great number of gardens, ranged

* An instrument which shews from what side the winds blow.

one over the other in the form of an amphitheatre, which even in its irregularity affords a most charming view to the eye. The anchoring place is like that of Santa Cruz in the island of Tenerif, with this difference, that the shore is less steep, and is covered with a pretty fine sand or gravel, of a blackish colour, on which it is easier landing.

About the middle of the harbour there is a kind of fort, the walls of which are washed by the sea. The town comes next, and is of the same figure as the harbour; it is governed by a *Capitan mor*^a, and very populous. There are five thousand inhabitants, all Portuguese, most of them ecclesiastics, and religious of both sexes; for indeed, I never saw so many convents in one town. The churches are handsome, and properly maintained. There are also several good buildings, among the rest the college belonging to the Jesuits, who are temporal lords of the island. The burghers houses are very neat, all wainscotted and inlaid, whence one may judge that they are in no want of wood.

The island of Fayal is in a fine climate; the air is very good, and preserves during the whole winter a sufficient temperature, to have no occasion for fire; and indeed they never warm themselves, nor do you see any chimney in their houses. In summer it is constantly refreshed with breezes: for as it is situate in the middle of the sea, it is sure to receive them from what quarter soever they blow; and they render the heats supportable.

The soil is not less to be admired than the temperature of the air: as it is red and stony, and in that respect very like the soil of the isle of Pico, it would be extremely fit for producing good wines; but there is not room enough, and therefore they are satisfied with planting such things as are most necessary for life. The moisture of the mountains preserves its fertility: their tops are covered with very beautiful trees, as walnut and chestnut trees, white poplars, and especially strawberry-trees, that never lose their verdure. It is owing to the prodigious quantity of the latter in this island, that the Portuguese have given it the name of *Fayal*, which in their language signifies a strawberry-tree. The juice or moisture of the earth is wonderful, being in constant culture: it never lies idle, and yet is continually producing the several fruits of the earth. On the umbrageous hills they plant a great many roots, as potatoes and colocasia, which serve to feed their domestics. The fields are like unto so many gardens, parted from one another by dry walls, breast high: they are set aside for corn; but what little they gather, is hardly sufficient to maintain the inhabitants; who supply what is wanting with maize, lupines, little ciches, and some other legumes, which grow better upon the side of the hill.

They have likewise a considerable dependence upon their gardens, where they cultivate a great number of fruit trees, oranges and citrons of all sorts, pear, apple, fig, and pomegranate trees, vines, and olives, with herbs of various sorts. Melons, giromons, sweet calabashes †, and several other fruits of the earth, grow almost spontaneously. There is nothing wanting, but for the inhabitants to lay out their gardens in more order and to dress them a little better; as they have plenty of flowers. For borders, they have a great deal of onions, thyme, lavender, sage, rosemary, sweet basil, and aromatic plants. The pink, the gilliflower, the balsam apple, the jessamin, the *balisier* ‡,

* The following are the governor's titles, which he gave me in writing: "Signor Jeronimo de Brum da Silveira Porras Fidalgo da casa de sua Mag. e Cavaleiro Porfesso na Ordem de Chrysto Capitano, Maior da Capitania das Ilhas dos Afllores Fayal e Pico."

† *Cucurbita oblonga*, flore albo, folio molli. *C. B. Pin. Morif. Hist.* sect. 1. tab. 5. fig. 3.

‡ *Cannacorus amplifimo* folio, flore rutilo. *Inst.* pag. 367.

the asphodel-lilies *, the daffodils, and the tuberose, were in flower in the beginning of the month of November. At the same time the lupines †, with which they had planted the hills, had shot out of the ground, and probably were to be ripe the month of January following.

It is impossible to find any where else greater plenty of cattle. They have excellent oxen, sheep, and swine: they likewise breed all sorts of poultry. Fish is not very common, and they have none but from the sea. At that time they were fishing for small soles and flounders, which they caught easily with a rod. I observed a certain conformity between this island and that of Tenerif, as it has very little game, and few birds. In several of my walks, for two leagues all round, I met with only a few hares, and some quail scattered about the fields. True it is, that there were blackbirds on the tops of the mountains; and I saw a great number of them myself, whose black plumage was agreeably speckled with white: they perched in flocks on strawberry-trees, eating the fruit and chattering all the time.

Though autumn is a very agreeable season in the Azores or Western Isles, yet the skies began to be over-cast and to threaten rain. The island of Fayal is more rainy than the rest; doubtless, because of the isle of Pico, and its own mountains, which determine the clouds to stop there. Hence arise a great number of springs, which appear every where, even in several parts of the town, where they are collected in well-paved cisterns. The water of these springs, though very pure, is heavy and extremely crude; to me it appeared to have a tincture of mineral, and of the ferruginous kind.

The highest mountain in this island is very near its centre, within two leagues and a half from the town. Heretofore it vomited fire with combustible matter, and caused frequent earthquakes. The eruption in 1672 was the last: it left at the mouth of the volcano a large basin, which, according to the testimony of the inhabitants, has the figure of a parallelogram, surrounded with a very high wall, and so regular, that one would take it to be done by art, if we did not know for certain, that it owes its origin to subterraneous fires. The rain-waters have now filled this basin, and formed it into a kind of lake, or to express myself more properly, a reservoir of fine water, greatly admired by the inhabitants. There can be no doubt, but that the whole surface of the island has been raised by means of this or several volcanos together; for it has no other stone than different kinds of lavas, mixed with burnt stones and pumices. The grain of those lavas is much thicker than that of the stones of the island of Tenerif, of which I have made mention in the beginning of this narrative.

This relaxation, though somewhat long, gave me a great deal of pleasure. Besides the knowledge I thereby acquired of a country, which I had never seen before, I refreshed myself after the fatigues of my voyage, and was better prepared for that to France. The usual slowness of the Portuguese, and the difficulty we had, from the roughness of the sea, in laying in a fresh store of water, wood, biscuit, flour, beef, fowls, and other provisions, hindered us from leaving the port of Fayal till the 8th of November. The wind was at south-west, so that we soon lost sight of the Azores. I embraced the opportunity of the calmness of the weather, to fill a second bottle of water within three hundred leagues of the coast of France: and this was all I wanted, in order to make a comparison between it, and the bottle I had filled in the sea of Senegal.

Our voyage from Senegal to Fayal had been very tedious; but that from Fayal to France proved most dangerous. We had scarcely advanced fifty leagues from the

* *Lilio asphodelus puniceus.* *Clus. Hist.* 1. pag. 137.

† *Lupinus albus.* *Park. Morif. Hist.* sect. 2. tab. 7. fig. 3.

HISTORY

OF

EASTERN ETHIOPIA.

Originally written in the Portuguese Language, by the Reverend Father JOAÑO DOS SANTOS, of the Order of St. Domingo, and published at Paris in the Year 1684.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING A SUCCINCT RELATION OF THE MOST CURIOUS AND REMARKABLE
PRODUCTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

CHAP. I. — *Of the three Divisions of the World, and the Fourth added to these by Don Emmanuel King of Portugal.*

THIS great monarch, crowned in the year 1496, was so fortunate during his reign as to discover empires so numerous, that he excited the wonder of the whole world at his success, his prudence, and good management; for, not a nation existed but looked on him with reverence, not a province in which he was unknown.

The geographers of his day ascertained that the world was of greater extent than before imagined; the ancients limiting it to three divisions only, to these this sovereign added a fourth, in America, which was discovered under his reign, and subjected to his dominion. Intent on aggrandizing himself in this quarter, Emmanuel, notwithstanding he could with facility have done them much injury, refrained from disturbing the tranquillity of the Castilians; preferring conquests obtained over distant and barbarous countries to warring with Catholics, with whom the dictates of conscience enjoined him to live in peace; and applying the whole bent of his mind to the extermination of idolatry in the Indies, and the substitution of the only true faith.

Inspired with zeal thus laudable he determined, if necessary, to prosecute his intention in person; but previously he fitted an armament, destined, either with allowance of the sovereigns of these countries or by force, to effect settlements among them. With this view many ships of war were equipped in 1586*, on board of which some excellent

* This is an error of the press, the date should be 1506. Emmanuel succeeded John II. in the throne of Portugal in 1495-6, and Naya discovered the empire of the Monomotopa in 1505-6. See Murr's Dissertation on Martin Behaim, vol. xi. p. 302. of this work. Dos Santos, as the reader will perceive, appears not to have composed his work until many years after the expedition, seeing he notices the discovery of the strait of Magellan by the navigator of that name, an event which did not occur until the year 1520. See the Voyage of Pigafetta round the World, vol. xi. p. 288. of this work. ENG. TRANS.

troops were embarked and store of valuable merchandize; and the command of the expedition was entrusted to Pedro de Naya, who was solicitous of labourers to toil in the vineyard of the Lord. Learning the praise-worthy design of His Portuguese Majesty, I offered, in conjunction with many other missionaries to sail with the fleet, and take charge of the ghostly health of his troops, administer the sacraments to them, during their long voyage, and stimulate them to fight with ardour for the glory of God, and the aggrandizement of the Portuguese throne and nation.

In the beginning of April 1506, I repaired to Lisbon, accompanied by the other missionaries of the order of Santo Domingo, hoping for favourable winds, and expecting to sail immediately after our arrival; but we were taught to have no reliance on the weather, for no sooner did the wind begin to blow, as we wished, than it changed to an adverse direction; this, however, did not prevent our embarking, though it delayed our departure till the 13th of the month, when we steered towards the Brazils; but scarcely had we got well out to sea before we experienced a gale so violent as placed us in great peril; successive storms also delayed our progress in such manner that we were unable to double the Cape of Good Hope before the 2d of July of the same year*.

We made Mozambico on the 13th of August following, whence we sailed for Sofala, the place where first our Portuguese by stratagem contrived to fortify themselves, persuading the Moorish sovereign of the country that the building which they constructed with his permission, and which was made a place of strength, was merely intended for a warehouse to secure their merchandize from the weather and robbery.

This prince, who had heard of the grandeur of the Kings of Portugal, and who had long sought a friendly connexion with them, was charmed at having an occasion to oblige the Portuguese, and with the greatest readiness granted what they so ardently desired, that is to say, the formation of a mercantile establishment. But after a little time he regretted, and sought to recall the concession he had made; for his courtiers represented to him that our people had deceived him, that instead of a simple warehouse they were erecting fortifications; that there were sufficient grounds for supposing they had intentions of making themselves masters of the place, and that if they were permitted to prosecute their works, it might be a difficult matter to dispossess them. The King, in consequence, resolved on attacking us by surprise, with design to drive us, not only from the post we occupied, but likewise from the country which it appeared to him we had in contemplation to seize upon, and of which eventually we made ourselves masters, as will be seen in the following chapter. Before I proceed, however, to narrate the particulars of this conquest, that I may render more intelligible what I shall have to impart, it is meet I should give a cursory detail of the general disposition of the four quarters of the world.

Oforius, following ancient geographers, divides the globe into three parts only, Europe, Asia, and Africa; but moderns, more enlightened, have added to these America, discovered in the year 1497, and justly entitled to form a fourth division, being of greater extent and richer than the other three.

Without entering into the merits of the disputed point, contended for by the Spaniards and other nations, of who first had the honour and good fortune of discovering this

* The progress of the Portuguese in the art of navigation at this early period is highly worthy of remark; already, in 1506, their best marines seem to have been acquainted with the winds, prevalent in the tropical regions, and the advantage of steering to the west, in order with greater ease to double the Cape of Good Hope, and avoid the calms and storms, which, on coasting Africa, though the nearest course, so much procrastinate a voyage to the Indies. *ENG. TRANS.*

extensive and beautiful portion of the globe, I may safely advance that many persons contributed to its exploration. Alvarez Cabral, a Portuguese, while sailing along the coast of Africa, was carried away so much to the westward by certain violent winds, that, without any design on his part, he made the coast of the Brazils*; Christoval Colon, a Genoese, is reputed to have sailed still farther westward, and Americo Vespucci, a Florentine, is held merely to have accomplished what the others had begun. However this may be, general consent, about the year 1500, applied the name of the last navigator to this part of the globe. It is surrounded by the sea, which, in the northern part, separates it from the other divisions, and in the south forms the strait discovered by Fernando Magellan, a Portuguese, in 1520.

As the beauty and abundance of a country are in proportion to the number of the rivers it can boast, and as these facilitate communication between its parts, the fecundity and value of this is incontestible, for it is watered by numerous, broad, and deep streams. Of these the chief are: the Orellana, which is fifty leagues in breadth and more than fifteen hundred long; the Maranan, fifteen leagues broad; the Prata (or Silver River), from Peru, whence the silver is brought which forms the medium of the whole world's commerce.

This division of the globe moreover surpasses the others by its islands, of which there are five remarkable ones. The first is Cuba, two hundred leagues in length and seventy in breadth; the second Santo Domingo, one hundred and fifty leagues by eighteen; the third St. John, fifty leagues by eighteen; the fourth island is that of St. James, its dimensions fifty leagues by twenty; Maracapana makes the fifth, that in which three brethren of our order suffered martyrdom from the infidels.

If we credit the relation of Herodotus respecting the origin of the denominations given to three of the divisions of the globe, we must attribute that of Asia to a son of Maneo, of similar name, so called from the descent of his family, being from a tribe inhabiting the city of Sardis, the members of which tribe were called Asians. This division is bounded, westward, by the Red Sea, which separates it from Africa; northward, by the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Tanais, Dwina and the Palus Mæotis, which separate it from Europe. St. Anselm states it to contain thirty provinces, while others make their number forty-two. However this may be, it is notorious that in its dimensions, as in wealth, it surpasses Europe and Africa united. It was antiently celebrated as the site of the empire of the Assyrians and Medes, and is still famous from containing the powerful dominions of the Persians and Turks. In this part of the world did the Almighty create our primogenitor Adam, and place him in a terrestrial paradise; here it was that a vestige of the former world was preserved in Noah's ark from the devastation of the general deluge; and here most of the events related in the old and new testaments occurred.

Josephus, in the first book of his Jewish Antiquities (Lib. xv.), affirms, that Africa derives its name from Opher, a grandson of Abraham, who went into Lybia at the head of a powerful army. After fighting and overcoming his enemies, he sojourned in the land; where his presence was necessary, not only to curb the Africans, but also the Ethiopians, Phenicians, and Greeks, by whom it was inhabited. The Carthaginians gave splen-

* The date of the discovery of the Brazils by Cabral, according to Barros, *Decada primeira della Asia*, lib. iv. c. 2. was the 24th of April 1502. Americo Vespucci was dispatched by Emmanuel on a voyage of discovery to the South Atlantic in 1501; and, on the 1st of April 1502, made the coast of the province now termed the Terra Firma; but he was preceded, according to some authors, in the discovery of this part of America by Rodrigo de Bastidias and Joano de la Cosa. The merit of the first discovery of America is unquestionably to be attributed to Colon. ENG. TRANS.

dour to this quarter of the world by the strength of their immense armies, which were universally dreaded. Africa contains many different nations deserving of notice, from the manner in which they live, and their strange and dissimilar customs; for among them are some, the Adrimachides for example, who eat not either of the flesh of oxen or swine. The inhabitants of Mount Atlas feed on pulse alone. The Africans, or Lybians, support themselves commonly on milk and wild animals; and, while they permit the hair to grow on the right side of the head, shave that which grows on the left. The Macas and Guidanes are entirely shorn, and wear crowns similar to the fillets of our priests. The Auses suffer the hair in front to grow over their forehead, so as to cover the face, but bare the rest of the head. The Zingantes generally dwell in forests, and subsist on honey and wild beasts; as soon as their children are capable of toil, they are taught to cultivate the ground, at which employ they are assisted by their mothers, while the fathers go to war.

Pomponius Mela ascribes the derivation of the name of Europe to a princess, daughter of Agenor, King of Tyre in the province of Phenicia, who was seized upon by Jupiter and borne to the island of Crete, the present Candia.

This last division is parted into many kingdoms, France, Portugal, Spain, England, Germany, Poland, &c. France is one of the chief kingdoms of Europe; its sovereign is very powerful both by sea and land, and all its governments are so amply endowed with every species of natural produce, and abound in such degree in all kinds of merchandize, as to have no need of the assistance of foreign countries; moreover, without going to the Indies, it possesses within itself mines of gold and silver adequate to its wants*.

But now, entering upon the subject of our present work, I shall observe that Ethiopia is divided into two provinces, eastern, and western.

* This passage, no doubt, is an interpolation of Don Gaetan Charpy, from whose translation into French of the work of Dos Santos, effected at the instigation of, and dedicated to the great Colbert, the present English translation is given. There can be no question of the adequacy of the produce of France to answer all the natural wants of its population, but luxury has introduced artificial wants which necessitate a foreign commerce. As the mines of France are here noticed, and as little in Young's or Lister's tour through France, given in this work, is mentioned respecting them, the following account of their productions in weight and value, extracted from the "Statistique de la France et ses Colonies par une Société de Gens de Lettres et de Savans." Paris An xii. 1804, will probably not be unacceptable to the reader, especially as the original account, printed under the patronage of the government, and composed in great measure by individuals belonging to the different Bureaux, may be regarded as official.

Quality of the Minerals.	Weight.	Value in Franks.
Iron, marketable, . . .	2,400,000	Quintaux 45,000,000
Lead, do. . . .	24,000	do. 840,000
Copper, do. . . .	2,000	do. 300,000
Mercury,	600	do. 268,800
Zinc, or Calamine, . . .	60,000	do. 234,000
Antimony,	1,500	do. 30,000
Manganese,	1,200	do. 18,000
Mineral Salt,		3,000,000
Mineral Acids,		3,000,000
Coal,	82,000,000	do. 61,500,000
Turf, Stone, Sand, Clay, &c.		6,912,000
Produce of Salt-works, . .	5,000,000	do. 13,000,000
Total Weight and Value.	89,489,300	do. 134,102,800

Eastern Ethiopia begins at the Cape of Good Hope and extends along the coast of the Ocean and the Eastern Sea to the Red Sea. It is a very fertile province, peopled, as is Western Ethiopia, by different nations, whose customs greatly vary. The climate is exceedingly hot and unwholesome, especially for strangers, as is experienced by the Portuguese who dwell in this country; who mostly are seized with maladies and die of fever; still is not the mortality of the climate of sufficient weight to deter them from adventuring hither, or allay their thirst for gold.

Western Ethiopia commences likewise at the Cape of Good Hope, stretches to the boundaries of Egypt on the eastern side of the peninsula of Africa, and is confined on the south, by the Ethiopia above Egypt, on the north by the borders of Lybia, embracing the country inhabited by the Troglodites, called by the Greeks Pastors or Wild Men, owing to their perpetual residence in groves and forests, where they subsist on hunting and plunder.

These Ethiopians esteem so highly those animals on which they subsist, that at the time of circumcising their children, they give them the name of the ox, the sheep, the lion, &c. regarding these animals, from affording the means of supporting life, as coadjutors with their fathers and mothers in the existence of their offspring.

Their wives, to whom the lot is assigned of cultivating and sowing the land, are held in so much honour, that where any difference or dispute occurs between two parties, they summon the disputants before them, adjudge the point in question, and so perfectly by their authority terminate the quarrel, that nothing more is heard between the parties. In these people what is most worthy of remark, is to find men of such undaunted spirit, that they combat fearlessly the lion and the tiger, and are so eager after reputation, as to reckon life no longer worth preserving when the feebleness of age restrains the exercise of their natural heroism, yet at the same time thus submissive to women. With them it is held unworthy of a manly character to be solicitous of acquisitions, the after-privation of which would be followed with pain; yet does not this opinion, by no means a barbarous one, prevent their perfect resignation to the will of their wives.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Manner in which the Portuguese fortified themselves in Sofala. — The Jealousy of the King in consequence. — The War he waged against them, in the course of which he lost his Life, and the Portuguese were confirmed Masters of the Fortrefs.*

SOFALA is a small maritime kingdom of Eastern Ethiopia, dependent on the sovereign of Quiteva, situate between the river Cuama and Mount Manica, in $20\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of southern latitude. It extends along the sea and the banks of a river, a league in width, which flows through the country called Mocarangua, by Zimboé, the capital and residence of the King of Quiteva. The King has dominion over the whole of this country, as well as the river of Sofala, whence the inhabitants carry on uninterrupted commerce with those of Manica, who make return for the merchandize they take in gold dust.

While the people of Sofala are absent on their traffic to Manica, and collecting gold, ivory, amber, and slaves, their wives cultivate the land.

The fortrefs of Sofala is a perfect square building, surrounded by a good wall, flanked by four bastions well mounted with artillery. It was begun in 1505, by order of Emmanuel, King of Portugal, under pretence of making it a magazine for merchandize;

chandize; and the Queen, Dona Catalina, who governed awhile during the minority of her grandson, Don Sebastian, caused its fortifications to be completed in 1580.*

The governors, or captains-general, formerly resided six months at Mozambico, and the residue of the year at Sofala; but now they dwell altogether at Mozambico, and appoint a substitute, who governs at Sofala, and superintends the merchandize in the warehouses there.

The same Queen, Dona Catalina†, anxious to render herself mistress of Sofala, caused six large ships to be equipped, the command of which was entrusted to Pedro da Naya, who, after great perils and suffering much from storms, entered the river of Sofala with four of his ships, and effected a landing. The two other ships of his squadron, of greater burthen, kept the sea, as well for the purpose of opposing any enemies which might appear as on account of the shallowness of the river, which could not admit vessels of their draught of water. The Moorish King, whose name was Ruffe, was much surprised at hearing the Portuguese had disembarked without asking his permission; but the news which first occasioned alarm, and made him resolve on attacking them with all his powers, was a source of pleasure to him, on his receiving a complimentary deputation from the commander of the armament, with an assurance that he had been obliged to seek shelter in the port in consequence of bad weather, and requesting his consent to erect a warehouse for the security of their persons, and the merchandize with which the squadron was freighted.

This sovereign, who was blind, governed his states in opposition to an established law, by which a King or Prince, having any bodily defect, is held incapable of retaining the sceptre; in this case death is esteemed by these people preferable to life. But this monarch, who owed his blindness to accident, disregarded the law, which, as he shortly after observed to Pedro da Naya, was made for others, but not for him.

The courtiers of this Prince, as noticed in the first chapter, informed him that the Portuguese took advantage of his concession of leave to build themselves a warehouse, and that instead they were hastily fortifying themselves, and giving room for suspicions of their entertaining wrong designs; they at the same time recommended him to prevent their putting those in execution, either by a prohibition against their further prosecuting their fortifications, or by obliging them, by force of arms, to demolish what they had begun. After mature reflection on the subject, the King saw his fault, and determined on driving the intruders from their post, when they should least suspect his intentions, make a general massacre of them, and give up their merchandize as plunder to his troops; a measure which he reckoned would be easily effected, by taking the Portuguese by surprise. The design of the monarch being promulgated among the Moors, a large army was speedily collected, all being alike animated with the desire of making a rich booty.

The intended treachery, on its coming to the knowledge of a Moor, named Abexin, was viewed by him with horror, and immediately after, with intent to counteract it,

* This date is wrong. John III. died June 11, 1557, and the education of his grandson Sebastian, and the regency, were entrusted to Catalina his Queen. She, notwithstanding the excellence of her government, was obnoxious to the Portuguese, on account of her being a Castilian; and in consequence, after a short time, she resigned the regency to her brother-in-law, Cardinal Henry, and retired to a convent. The duration of her sway in Portugal being very short, provided the fort was completed as here affirmed, while she held the reigns of government, it will probably have been in 1558, and not in 1580. ENG. TRANS.

† Again Dos Santos is in error. In the first chapter he notices the expedition of Da Naya, and the settlement at Sofala, in which he is correct, to have taken place in the reign of Emmanuel, in 1505-6. ENG. TRANS.

he imparted what he had learnt to Pedro da Naya. The Portuguese, unconscious of having done any thing either against the King or the state which could provoke such treatment, was mistrustful at first of the truth of the communication, for the Moors are but little famed for sincerity; but Abexin adduced such proofs for what he advanced, that Pedro da Naya profited by the information, and kept on his guard.

The appointed time for carrying into effect the meditated massacre being at hand, he ordered his whole force under arms, to await the enemy, who assailed the Portuguese in the night, at many points, and with vigour incredible, though surpassed by that evinced by the attacked; these, on this occasion, taught the Moors, at their cost, to set a high value on the courage of the nation they provoked to war. After a long conflict, overpowered by the artillery and frequent sallies of the Portuguese, they at length took to flight in confusion, and sought refuge in the palace of the Prince; but hither they were pursued by our people, at the point of the sword; and the King, who was among the fugitives, being slain, this circumstance encreased the inveteracy of the Moors, who fought now not only to defend themselves, but to revenge their sovereign's death. The resolution, the obstinacy of the inhabitants, was on each side equal, and victory hovered awhile over either banner; indeed, towards the close we should have been beaten, but for the timely succour brought forward by Abexin; this Moor joined the Portuguese with a number of partisans, turned the tide of the battle, and caused the complete overthrow of the enemy, but not before they had dangerously wounded Pedro da Naya. The generous, friendly, and critical assistance of Abexin was liberally rewarded: Da Naya, as an acknowledgment for the fidelity with which he had fulfilled his engagements, and the zeal which he had shewn in the moment of danger, after he had completely fortified his magazine, and obtained settled possession of Sofala, caused him to be proclaimed King of the country; and over it he reigned many years. This sovereign was a trusty and sincere friend constantly to the Portuguese, and a great enemy to his fellow-countrymen, who unwillingly saw themselves obliged to submit to the dominion of the Portuguese, in lieu of that of the King of Quiteva, formerly lord of all this country. In process of time this latter monarch was also made tributary to the crown of Portugal, which had, at an after-period, no less than twenty-two Kings who did homage to it for their thrones.

CHAP. III.—*Of the Trees and Fruits which flourish throughout the whole of the Year in the Territory of Sofala.*

WITH truth may it be affirmed that Sofala is the garden of all this continent; it is overspread with jessamine, perpetually green and perpetually in flower, which by the beautiful contrast of its white flowers and lively verdure furnishes an enamel than which nothing can be more grateful to the eye. On every side are seen, orange, lemon, and other curious trees, the Romeyra for example, on which fruit and flowers are seen growing at the same time in constant succession through the year. The vines are almost equally exuberant, for the vintages are two-fold, the first in January, the other in July. Pine-apples, resembling our peaches in flavour, but far preferable, are very numerous; and, among others, the fig-trees are so heavily laden with fruit, as pleasing to the eye as they are grateful to the palate, that the branches bend beneath their oppressive weight. Finally, the sugar-cane is cultivated along the banks of the river by the Caffres, who subsist on its juice throughout the major part of the year, but who have not the ingenuity possessed by the inhabitants of other countries of crystallizing the sweet they yield.

Here the people preserve their oranges and lemons, and carry on traffic in them with the Indies where they are eaten with rice.

But, however fruitful the neighbourhood of Sofala, in the offerings of Pomona, its Cereal productions are so limited, that the inhabitants are constrained to make their bread half of rice and half of millet. This bread is formed into a kind of cake, not edible except while warm, for when it becomes cold it is harsh, and so dry, that it cannot be swallowed without first being soaked in a vinous preparation from millet. This extract is equally potent with the wine pressed from grapes, and is much drank by the Caffres, but the Portuguese use a different wine obtained, as will be seen, from the palm-tree.

If the bread and wine of these poor people be little pleasant to the taste, they are on the other hand indemnified by an abundance of meat, for their stock of oxen, cows, sheep, swine, and wild cattle is very considerable, exclusive of every species of poultry, which is so plenteous that fifteen large fowls are bought for a Bertangy, a coin equal to two testoons or about eleven-pence sterling. This great plenteousness of food enables the lower orders to live very comfortably, and the rich to indulge to superfluity in all kinds of provision.

Besides the secret of softening their bread, the Caffres have discovered means of making a substitute for butter, which they use as a sauce for boiled rice. They extract this butter from the cakes of pressed Gergelins whence previously oil has been expressed; this oil serves better for burning than olive oil, and is used as an unguent for all kinds of wounds. To secure a provision of butter and oil, therefore, every individual lays in a stock of Gergelins.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the Manner in which the King of Quiteva takes possession of his Dominions, and the Mode of his giving Audience.—Of the prevalent Custom of the Country, according to which all the Wives and Concubines of the King devote themselves to Death, upon his losing his Life.*

THE name of Quiteva is common to the sovereign lord of the country bordering on the river Sofala, which, at his accession to that dignity, he assumes to the exclusion of the titles he might before have been known by, this dignity in the esteem of the people placing him on a par with the Deity; indeed, the Caffres acknowledge no other gods than their monarch, and to him they address those prayers which other nations are wont to prefer to heaven.

The Quiteva maintains a number of wives, the chief of whom are his near relations, and are denominated his queens; the residue, by whom also he has children, are regarded merely as his concubines; from this circumstance, when he dies a great confusion is created on nominating his successor. The new Quiteva is commonly selected from among those of his children who are the offspring of his own daughters, or sisters; with these near relatives he has exclusively the privilege of cohabiting, the laws of the country forbidding, in an express manner, his subjects from intermarrying with their sisters or daughters under penalty of death.

If the women of whom I speak, on the one hand, enjoy the favour and countenance of the King during his life, they are, on the other, obliged to give themselves up to death when he happens to die; for this purpose, that they may be constantly ready to accompany him in case of his suddenly expiring, they are always provided with a dose of poison.

The erroneous persuasion of the princes and vassals of this country that this mortal life is succeeded by another, in which still higher rank awaits the great than they enjoyed in this world, occasions those (whom the more powerful on account of their being of opposite parties make the victims of their interest), to submit with joy to their fate, in hopes to be courtiers about their King in another world.

As soon as the Quiteva ceases to live, a successor is chosen, capable of governing with wisdom and prudence. Commonly for this purpose, his eldest son by the royal blood is selected, and should he fail in the requisite qualifications, the next oldest, and thus in succession the rest; and when among the whole it chances to happen that not one adequate to the high post is found, his successor is the minister to whom the defunct was accustomed to impart his secrets. This rule of succession is however not so strictly followed but that some deviations from it occasionally take place.

Thus, for example, while I was at Sofala, the Quiteva died, and left upwards of, thirty children, legitimate and illegitimate; still not one of these was nominated to succeed him on the throne, but the brother of the deceased, who, to a thorough knowledge of the affairs of state, joined all the qualifications necessary for a governor; and indeed should he be deficient in this respect, it would be enough that a majority of the King's concubines should join in his favour, as on these the possession of the throne depends.

As soon as the Quiteva is dead, he is buried with his predecessors, and after his obsequies are terminated, on the succeeding day, his successor repairs to the royal palace, where he meets with some of the concubines of the late King (for it is only those most beloved and in whom he was wont to place the utmost confidence, that take poison on his dying), and with their consent he seats himself on the throne prepared for him in the midst of a large hall; when seated here, a curtain is drawn before him and his wives: hence he issues orders for his proclamation through the streets; this is the signal for the people to flock to render him homage and swear obedience, a ceremony which is performed amid great rejoicings.

The officers and soldiers belonging to his guard in the mean-time place themselves at the gates, and prevent the entrance of more than sufficient to fill the hall, that no disturbance or confusion may take place. At first, those admitted prostrate themselves on their knees, and thus advance towards the throne one after the other, when they address the monarch, he remaining constantly behind the curtain, without exposing himself to the public view until every one that has entered, has done him homage. After this has been effected, each, according to the custom of the country, shakes hands with the Quiteva, and retires; he again places himself behind the curtain till the hall is once more filled, and the same ceremony is again repeated: in this manner the whole day passes in receiving homage. The next, the King sends his ambassadors to publish the death of the late prince, and the peaceable installation in his stead of the new sovereign.

So great is the respect the Caffres shew their King, that on being admitted to his presence they never presume to look him in the face, or front him; but withdrawing on one side, they keep their eyes constantly bent on the ground, and never speak to him but on their knees. The Portuguese alone are allowed the privilege of addressing him standing; they otherwise follow the example of the Caffres, and at intervals clap their hands as a token of joy.

When all have been admitted to the presence, and the levée is finished, the King causes wine, extracted from millet and called Pombé, to be presented to the whole of the company. Should it happen that any one from apprehension should object to drink of the proffered beverage, the refusal is regarded as an insult by the Quiteva, and the individual guilty of such ill-manners is ordered not to quit the town except with his permission, which, as it is never granted, causes the delinquent to be thus consigned to perpetual imprisonment.

CHAP. V.—*Of the Ceremonies observed in causing one of the Children of the late King to be placed on the Throne.—Of the civil Wars occasioned by such Successions, and the Custom usual with the Quiteva of devoting himself to Death in case of any natural Defect.*

THE numerous offspring of the Quiteva occasions many candidates for the throne; and as every one of his wives uses her efforts to advance her own progeny to this dignity, that much intrigue and disturbance should accompany their projects cannot be considered a matter of surprize. Each endeavours, by presents and magnificent promises, to increase the number of her partizans and aggrandise her interest, at the expense of that of her competitors, to cause one of the princes, all of whom are educated in another quarter, to be admitted into the palace, for none can come to court without the express consent of the King, who in consequence is incessantly solicited at every hand. For, when with royal permission a prince once enters the palace, his pretensions to the throne are regarded as indisputable; those, however, who have not this permission, and by force seek to obtain this security of succession, by such demeanour not only render themselves criminal, but forfeit all pretensions to the sovereignty.

Contiguous to the dominions of the Quiteva, are those of another prince called Sedanda. This prince becoming afflicted with leprosy, resolved on following implicitly the laws of the country, and poisoning himself, conceiving his malady to be incurable, or at least that it would render him so loathsome in the eyes of his people, that they would with difficulty recognize him. In consequence he nominated his successor, holding as his opinion that sovereigns, who should serve in all things as an example to their people, ought to have no defect whatever, even in their persons; that when any defects may chance to befall them, they cease to be worthy of life and of governing their dominions; and preferring death in compliance with this law, to life, with the reproach of having been its violator.

But this law was not observed with equal scrupulosity by one of the Quitevas, who, having lost a tooth, and feeling no disposition to follow the practice of his predecessors, published to the people that he had lost a front tooth, in order that when they might behold, they yet might be able to recognize him; declaring at the same time that he was resolved on living and reigning as long as he could, esteeming his existence requisite for the welfare of his subjects. He at the same time loudly condemned the practice of his predecessors, whom he taxed with imprudence, nay even with madness, for having condemned themselves to death for casual accidents to their persons, confessing plainly, that it would be with much regret, even when the course of nature should bring him to his end, that he should submit to die. He observed, moreover, that no reasonable being, much less a monarch, ought to anticipate the scythe of time; and, abrogating this mortal law, he ordained that all his successors, if sane, should follow the precedent he gave, and the new law established by him. He likewise flattered his subjects with the hope of their seeing a new tooth grow in lieu of the one he had lost, and adverting to the regret they would experience on losing a prince whom they loved, on account of a defect which time and patience might eventually remedy.

A neighbouring Sedanda, having once been nominated for his successor by a Quiteva, on his dying, with reason attempted to enter the palace, and seat himself among the women of the defunct, expecting according to custom that every one would acknowledge his right; but he found his expectations vain, as the women with whom he was at enmity, began to intrigue together to exclude him from the throne. With this view they

they imputed to him many imperfections; openly opposed his peaceable initiation, and objected to his entering the palace. The prince, who trusted to reconcile them to his interest by dint of presents and promises, imagined their aversion would be of short duration, and that with the shades of night all difficulty would vanish; he consequently, unapprehensive of the lengths to which they were capable of going, suffered the night to pass without offering the slightest umbrage. In the morning he again presented himself in front of the palace, but encountered still greater resistance than on the preceding day, which obliged him a second time to retire. As soon as he was gone, the women immediately sent to another prince who was absent, enjoining him to repair without delay to the palace, to take his seat among them, and assume the throne. This being effected without any parade, the poor Sedanda found himself supplanted in a throne which he considered infallibly his own; and resenting the affront thus put upon him, he sought for vengeance by a resort to arms; in this view he applied to his friends and partisans, who promised him support: but as those to whom he addressed himself were mere courtiers, who looked to improve their fortunes by his success, and as by having recourse to arms they would, according to the construction of law, be guilty of treason, they, as soon as they were informed that the other prince had been proclaimed King, and had peaceable possession of the crown, abandoned him to his fate: thus the unfortunate Sedanda saw all his hopes destroyed, and was even obliged to fly for safety to the territories of his neighbours.

As soon as the new King is acknowledged legal possessor of the throne, he summons all his grantees to repair to court, to assist at the ceremony of breaking the bow of the deceased Quiteva, which bow is the same as was made on his accession to the kingdom. This aggregation of the nobility is a stratagem used by the sovereign to enable him to rid himself of his enemies, for under pretence of making a court in the other world for the deceased, he causes those grantees who are obnoxious to him to be assassinated for the purpose of attending that monarch, and gives the posts which they enjoyed to such as possess his favour: those however who are inimical to the new King are not accustomed to obey the summons, but prefer retiring to the dominions of some neighbouring prince, where they pass the remainder of their days: in this they are imitated by all who may have objected to the nomination of the King.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Excesses of the Caffres every Year on occasion of the Anniversary of the funeral Obsequies of the King's Predecessors. — How at these Times the King suffers himself to be visibly imposed upon by a Sorcerer, who counterfeits the Voice of the last defunct Monarch; and of the esteem this engenders for him among the People.*

THE King, every year, on the appearance of the new moon in the month of September, repairs to a mountain covered by a large forest called Zimboé, which is the place of sepulture of the Kings. By a convocation of all his courtiers, and others who flock hither from every part to be present at the ceremonies used on the occasion of the celebration of the obsequies of the Kings, he pretends to afford comfort to the souls of his predecessors. As however the ceremonies consist chiefly of excesses, it is by no means wonderful these monarchs should persist in their errors; they bewail the dead by dint of drinking, and desist from leaping and dancing, then only when fatigue obliges them to cease. The order of this anniversary is as follows:

On the appointed day they repair to the mountain, and in the forest find materials for feasting already prepared; here they eat and drink so plentifully, that throughout the week these orgies last, no one knows his companion.

The King, who excites the company to drink, prides himself on being the best and greatest toper of the assemblage; but the most diverting part of the scene is to see a troop of people drunk with wine, and scarcely able to stand, so mad as to exhibit a mock-engagement. For this purpose they divide themselves into two parties, one opposite to the other, their bows in their hands, from which they incessantly discharge flights of arrows into the air as signals of rejoicing. Now they advance towards each other like two battalions about to engage, now strive each party to break through the ranks of the one opposed, mingling in a pleasing manner their forces, and playing off a number of manœuvres. Those who remain firm on the field of battle are acknowledged the most valiant, and bear away the prize set aside for these gambols; but the adjudgment, it will readily be conceived, is not always the most correct, nor can those who best sustained the shock at all times be rightly thought the bravest, as the conflict is between men so deeply intoxicated as not to know their next companion.

The feasting terminated, the King and all his courtiers pretend for three days to bewail the death of their former Kings; after this period a demon enters into a Caffre forcerer, and so well imitates the voice of the last King whose obsequies are celebrated, that every one is deceived, and imagines that it is the soul of the King from the other world, returned to teach the reigning prince how to govern his people, which speaks. The King now advances to confer with the forcerer; every one prostrates himself; and after other marks of respect for the soul of the prince, all retire, and leave the King tête-à-tête with the man possessed, who not only imitates the voice of the deceased King, but speaks in all kinds of languages if required, and holds conversation with the monarch with the same familiarity a father would with a son who might interrogate him on what is to happen in his kingdom. The demon pretends to unfold the future, declares whether or no war will take place, and if the living King shall prevail or be vanquished; whether his subjects shall revolt; and many other similar things, in which divers impostures are dealt: and notwithstanding the King is aware of the cheat, he nevertheless annually continues the farce on account of the profit he derives from it in presents made on the occasion, and the esteem this mock-conference nourishes for him in the minds of the people; those regarding him as the favourite of the souls of the dead, and believing he holds converse with them when he will; that he learns from them, as oracles, whatever passes in his dominions; and is instructed thus in the rule of government he should follow.

It is not only at Sofala that recourse is had to demons, the like practice is common in China. Father Mendoza, in his history of that country, relates these gentile barbarians to be accustomed to address themselves to demons, with whom they hold converse at pleasure; he even adduces an instance to this effect; on sailing from China to the Philippines in a Chinese junk, so dreadful a tempest arose that all on board gave themselves up for lost. The Chinese at this time began invoking their demons; the which perceiving the monks on board addressed their prayers to heaven, and these prevented the effect of the incantations of the Chinese; and as the infidels were solicitous of knowing why they received no succour when in such pressing need, and wherefore so far from their danger diminishing, as often before had been the case, it increased, the demons, though they alone were the authors of the lie, were constrained to acknowledge the truth of the case, confessing they were unable to effect any thing owing to the prayers of the monks on board; a confession, however, which put these servants of God in danger of being assassinated every instant by the Chinese, and cast into the sea. The Chinese at length added written invocations to those they had uttered aloud, to which they received for answer, that they had nothing to apprehend, as before three days

days elapsed, they would arrive at the desired heaven in safety. The falsity of this prediction was, however, made clear by the event, for the time expressed was much exceeded, and fresh tempests arose before they made the port, tempests which visibly abated at the intercession and prayer of these good monks, as even the Chinese themselves allowed. This confession, indeed, on their part, extorted by the fact, was the cause of some among them abandoning their superstitions, and embracing the true religion.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the Observance on the part of the Caffres of certain Festivals, during which no Labour is followed; and of the Punishment inflicted by them on a Portuguese, on occasion of his killing a Calf on one of these sacred Days. — Of the twenty-seven Paradises they expect to find in another World, and the Chastisement they will have to endure in one of the thirteen Hells they imagine to exist.*

IT is not without reason the Caffres are regarded as one of the most wicked and barbarous nations upon earth, for they are perfectly ignorant of all things necessary to salvation. They are without religion, have neither temples nor altars, offer no sacrifices, have no ministers of worship, nor images representing a divinity, though they have a confused idea, the result of natural instinct, which internally admonishes them of the existence of some preternatural principle. They hence acknowledge a God, who both in this and the world to come they fancy measures retribution for the good and evil done in this. They likewise believe in the existence of twenty-seven paradises, where every one enjoys a pleasure proportionate to the merits of his life. They do not conceive that animals act from pure instinct, but allowing them a reasonable faculty, hold them alike amenable with man to reward and punishment, and assign them a special seat of bliss, to which the souls of Caffres will have access, those only excepted, who, notwithstanding they believe in a great God whom they call Molungo, have yet passed their lives in wickedness. These, they fancy, will be condemned to a privation from the sight of his holy presence, and suffer torment in one of the thirteen hells they admit, each proportionate to the evil they have done. These opinions are traditions handed down from father to son, as they have no written testimonies, and refrain from learning either to read or write.

Notwithstanding these are merely traditions, they yet are firmly persuaded of their truth. They, moreover, implicitly believe that monkeys have formerly been human beings, endowed with reasoning faculties equal to those of the human species, and that even now they are dumb merely from apprehension that if they should talk they would be made to work.

Though convinced of the existence of a Deity, they neither adore nor pray to him, but address themselves wholly to their sovereigns, through whose intercession with heaven, as they hold him to be capable of conversing with the souls of the dead, they look to obtain whatever they require.

The King, profiting by the simplicity of his subjects, never grants them audience without they bring with them handsome presents: hence these unfortunate beings, under the persuasion that their King is a Deity, exhaust their utmost means, and ruin themselves in gifts to obtain with more facility what they need. Thus, prostrate at his feet, they implore of him, when the weather long continues dry, to intercede with heaven that they may have rain; and when too much rain has fallen, that they may have fair weather;

weather; thus also in case of winds, storms, and every thing they would either deprecate or implore.

The King, well convinced that he possesses no such power, and that such things depend on a great God, Lord of heaven and earth, never fails of returning an encouraging answer, couched in general terms, telling them to go back to their houses, that he will reflect on what they ask, that he will use his best efforts for their comfort, and that, after a short time, if their wishes should not be satisfied, they must again come to him to iterate their prayers without dread of tiring his patience, for that he deems it a pleasure to listen to the complaints of his people, that he may be employed in procuring a remedy as ample as his power admits.

The people, notwithstanding they obtain nothing of what they ask from the King, still persevere in their entreaties; and as they never go empty-handed to his presence, but constantly with presents adequate to what they require, they strip themselves of nearly all they are worth. In the mean time rain falls or ceases; the wind, which cannot blow for ever, sinks into a calm: but, instead of attributing these events to the great Molungo, the immutable decrees of God who wills the succession of seasons, they ascribe them to the King, on whom the people rely, from the facility he possesses of communicating with the souls of their Kings. Thus does the King take advantage of the ignorance of his subjects, and profit by popular superstition, which he promotes by a variety of illusive practices.

On interrogating some of the best informed among them respecting where they conceived the souls of those to be who had lived a good life and fulfilled their moral duties upon earth, and whether they were in the heaven of Molungo, the answer was — That this seat of beatitude was inhabited by God alone; that the blest had for their abode certain delightful spots, where they enjoyed three times thrice three times told that portion of enjoyment they had experienced in this life; that the souls of men were imperishable; and that the joys of the future life vastly exceed whatever can be known on earth. These opinions afford ground for belief, that at some former period many among them enjoyed a knowledge of true religion; and this is corroborated not only by their creed, respecting the immortality of the soul, but also by their observance of occasional festivals, with a strictness which might put Christians to the blush; for many Christians profane them by dedicating them to labour, or pay but little regard to their festivals, whereas these infidels scrupulously obey the law which forbids them to kill on these days any living thing whatever, even for their support, as will be seen by the following relation.

A Portuguese merchant, travelling with his people from Sofala to Zímboé, was obliged, owing to bad weather, to remain during one of these festivals in the town of Quiteva; and, being ignorant of the rigorous law forbidding the killing of any animal on this day, he had an ox slaughtered for himself and his slaves. The Quiteva, to whom this was immediately reported by spies maintained by him in the town, who bring him intelligence of all that passes, was exceedingly angry that the Portuguese should presume to violate a day so sacred, and, as a punishment for the crime committed against the great Molungo, forbade either himself or his slaves to eat of the ox he had killed, and not only this, but ordered that it should be kept in his house till such time as the *Musimo*, or saint of the day, whose festival it was, should come and consume it.

The unfortunate Portuguese, not daring after this order to touch the beast, left it in the condition it was on his receiving the King's command; and, as he had not hitherto withdrawn the entrails, the great heat which prevails at that season of the year soon rendered it putrid. It afterwards smelt so badly that the merchant could not bear the

the house, where however he was, by express direction of the King, obliged to abide, as a punishment for having profaned the sanctity of the day. Presents were now resorted to, but in vain; nothing could shake the resolution of the King, nor induce him to grant permission to slaughter another beast for the support of the Portuguese and his servants. Here may be remarked the religious scrupulosity of this barbarous King, who preferred exposing a whole town to infection from the putrefaction of the animal, to allowing the infraction of the holy law. This regularity in an infidel prince should serve as an example to those Christians who have so little regard for the due observance of the holy sabbath, and other festivals.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of the Title given by the Caffres to the Quiteva, esteemed by us injurious, and which with them are looked upon as honourable Distinctions, and of their Manner of Procedure on Trials.*

THE Quiteva has three or four hundred men for his guards, who are called Inficis, that is to say, butchers or executioners, who faithfully execute his orders on those whom their sovereign condemns to death. Indeed, their mere appearance occasions terror; for with them they carry all the instruments requisite for the prompt execution of their duty, according to the sentence pronounced, and without any form of process behead, hang, or otherwise put to death on the spot, whenever the King condemns; on this account all avoid coming in their way as much as possible, lest they should be the subject of their orders, or the victim of their error or indignation.

Previous to performing an office enjoined them, they assemble round the palace of the King, crying aloud, "Inhama, Inhama," words that signify they are about to put some one to death. With this object in view, they carry a long cord round their necks, and another round their waist, for taking those with who are condemned; when they have in one hand a cutlass, and in the other a large club, it is a signal of some one being to be beheaded. As soon as the criminal is apprehended, they give him a heavy blow on the head with the club, which felling him to the ground, they immediately fall upon him and cut off his head.

There are other Caffres who are likewise attendants on the King, and are called Marombes. These surround the palace, and sing the praise of the King, whom they term lord of the sun and moon, king of the earth, of mountains, woods, and forests, the conqueror of his enemies, great in all things, the great forcerer, the great thief, the great lion, giving him also the name of other beasts, names which are not considered injurious, provided they be accompanied by the designation Great: when the King travels to any part also, he is attended by musicians who sing his praise.

Of these people the King makes use for carrying his orders where requisite, and wherever they pass all are emulous of entertaining them in the best possible manner, and of making them the most valuable presents. If any thing attracts their fancy, they give a hint of its pleasing them first, but if the possessor should not of himself be so complaisant to present it to them, they are impudent enough to seize upon it without any daring to resist them; so far from it, every one esteems himself fortunate provided he should have any thing worthy acceptance. Sometimes, indeed, they are guilty of outrage on individuals to possess themselves of their property; and at others they meet with people who resist their depredations, and oblige them to undergo one of the three following ordeals for discovering the truth before the judge.

The modes of administering justice are three, by what are termed oaths, but which are frightful processes. The first consists in swallowing poison without ill consequences; the second in licking a bar of red-hot iron; and the third in swallowing bitter water without inconvenience.

The first of these oaths or ordeals is termed by the Caffres, *Lucasse*. A vase full of poison is presented to the person, who by oath is to purge himself of a crime with which he is charged, and who is assured that it will do him no harm provided he be innocent; but also, provided he be guilty and conceal the truth, that it will surely prove his death. The dread of this trial often induces criminals to confess the deeds they are charged with, which are exemplarily punished; for the judge condemns the aggressor or he who made false deposition, together with his wife and children, to become for ever the slaves of the injured party, and half his goods and possessions advert to that party, and half to the crown. But what is most astonishing, if the person accused be innocent, the poison does him no injury whatever, whereas if he be guilty he expires immediately after swallowing the draught.

The second oath or ordeal is termed *Xoqua*: a piece of iron is heated red-hot in a furnace, from which it is taken by a pair of tongs, and presented to the person who has to undergo the proof, and who is directed to lick it, with assurance that his innocence or guilt will appear by the experiment; for that, if he be criminal, it will not only burn his tongue but his face also, but that if guilty it will do him no injury. The aspect of this frightful apparatus so much terrifies the unfortunate beings, subject to its proof, as to make them sweat and tremble exceedingly, and almost become petrified, wavering in irresolution whether to maintain their falsity or confess their crime, in order to avoid a torture capable of drawing confession of that even of which they have not been guilty. What, however, is certainly shameful, some Christians have been known to subject their slaves to this ordeal; and of them several have even for three successive times licked a red-hot bar without experiencing the least hurt.

The third oath or ordeal is not equally dangerous with the preceding. It is termed by the Caffres, *Calang*. A beverage is composed of disagreeable herbs boiled in a pot, the juice of which is exceedingly bitter, and this is presented to the accused with admonishment, that if innocent he will take the whole at a draught, and vomit it back without any consequence; but that he must take care of what he is about to do, since if culpable, and desirous yet of deceiving, and seeming innocent, on swallowing the smallest portion of the beverage it will choke him, an event which has oftentimes occurred.

One is at loss to what, unless the interposition of the Deity, a circumstance so extraordinary is to be ascribed. It is possible, that divine interference may on such occasions be exercised for the manifestation of the innocence of the person accused, and to draw down a merited chastisement on the guilty. This ordeal is indisputably founded on holy writ, for in the Old Testament are many examples almost in every respect accordant. In the book of Numbers, chap. v. especially, it is stated as an ordonnance, when a husband disputes the fidelity of his wife, that he should conduct her to a Levite, who should administer to her certain bitter waters to drink, and that if she had been unfaithful, her entrails in consequence would be so powerfully affected that she would shortly after burst, but that if innocent they would do her no harm.

There is, moreover, in Sardinia, a certain well, the waters of which are in no respect less miraculous; for if an individual has been guilty of robbery, or if any desire exist of knowing the truth of any secret or important action, in one or the other case, provided the person suspected in the one instance of theft, or in the other of falsehood, be brought

brought to the well, and his face be washed with the water drawn from it, if he be guilty he immediately becomes blind, but if innocent, it will benefit and strengthen the sight.

CHAP. IX.—*Of the ridiculous Dress of the Caffres ; their singular Manner of cutting their Hair, so different from that of the Quiteva, who wears a Resemblance of Four Horns on his Head, his Subjects being allowed but three.—Of their Mode of hunting.*

ALL the Caffres are well made, and of good appearance ; but they render themselves ridiculous by the extravagant mode of their dressing their hair, which is frizzled and cut in such manner as to present the appearance of horns on each side of the head, and on their forehead * ; to keep it erect, they tie the hair round a stick with a kind of grafs, which serves them for ribbons. This practice they adopt, as they say, to imitate male animals, on whom nature has bestowed the ornament of horns to distinguish them from females ; women, that art may present the same distinction with the human, as nature does with the brute creation, are prohibited from wearing their hair dressed in this manner. Moreover, as well in the disposition as the number of the horns, there is a difference between the Quiteva and his subjects ; this prince wearing one on his forehead half a foot long, two others above his ears, and one on the nape of his neck, whereas his subjects are permitted to wear no more than three.

There is little difference between the dress of the sovereign and the great, and that of the common people: the former are clad, from the waist downwards, in a robe of cotton or silk; the latter in the skins of monkeys, or other animals killed in hunting. Those who are destitute of means to clothe themselves go entirely naked, without any one taking exception ; the more wealthy wear at times Machiras, or long cloaks, which train on the ground. These are worn fastened to the left shoulder only ; and the length of the train of them is deemed to add to the gravity of the walk of the wearers while it denotes the ease of their circumstances. As to what regards hose, shoes and stockings are unknown, the King and the people alike going bare-foot, that they may be more active in running and hunting.

They have ever been passionately attached to the latter exercise, less for the pleasure it affords, than from their antipathy to labour, being naturally so idle, that when obliged to remain at home, they pass the day in drinking, dancing, and jumping, leaving to their wives the culture of the ground, and spending their whole lives in pastime and pleasure ; this indeed so generally, that there are no exceptions but a small number of artificers, employed in fabricating cloths and stuffs of cotton-wool, and in tipping their arrows, in arming their clubs with iron, and fabricating offensive and defensive weapons, as well for use in war as in hunting.

When a hunting-party is proposed, the people go out constantly accompanied by the majority of their most intimate friends, and especially when the Quiteva intends a royal hunt. On this last occasion, all the Caffres of the neighbourhood of the spot where it is to take place, are advised of his intention, and assemble to the number of four or five hundred men. These surround some wood in which they know there is game, keeping close together, penetrate the closest thickets, ejaculate loud cries, beat the

* Moses in ancient paintings, is represented with two horns on the head. Was this mode of dressing the hair ever common in Egypt ? and did the Egyptians, in this case, set the fashion themselves, or receive it from the Ethiopians ? **ENG. TRANS.**

bushes, and so intimidate the tenants of the forest, little accustomed to hear the silence of their shades invaded by the shouts of man, that they leave their haunts and peaceable retreats to fly for safety to the open country. Here they find themselves beset by a multitude of hunters and hounds, by whom they are pursued and overwhelmed with clouds of arrows. It is only when the monarch is present, that a lion is allowed to be killed, for of all his titles, that on which he most prides himself, is king of these animals; such as should presume to violate the ordinance which proscribes the hunting of lions, except on occasion of the presence of the king, would expose himself to be severely mulcted, or even perhaps to the penalty of death.

CHAP. X.—*Of three Modes of hunting usual with the Caffres; and of what befel a certain Portuguese, who in the Absence of the Quiteva, happened to kill a Lion.*

THERE resided at Sofala a certain Portuguese, called Rodriguez Lobo, who had so much ingratiated himself with the Quiteva, that he obtained from him a grant of the major part of the island of Maroopa, on the river Sofala. This monarch, imitating the conduct of other sovereigns towards their favourites, strove by every means to aggrandize Lobo, and elevate him above the rest of his courtiers; and, to crown his largesses, bestowed on him the title of his wife, as one of the most striking tokens of his attachment. Rodriguez, who, on his side, was as little free as others from the common failing of favourites, of abusing the confidence of their prince, imagined all was permitted him, conscious, as he was, of the king having ordered all his subjects to treat him as his wife. He, consequently, one day assembled a number of friends and slaves to take the diversion of hunting, and, rousing a lion, he shot at and killed the beast, notwithstanding he knew that an action of this kind was prohibited under penalty of death. The favourite, whose good fortune had drawn on him a host of enemies, was shortly after denounced to the King, as a violator of the law; the denouncers thinking thereby to ruin him in the royal esteem, and, by his disgrace, to pave the way to their own advancement. Their design succeeded; they found the king disposed to chastise the presumption of Rodriguez, and make him an example to the whole kingdom, which should deter others from daring to repeat such deeds in opposition to his decrees.

Lobo, aware of his crime, and fearful lest his enemies should prevail to his prejudice, had recourse to stratagem. He caused the lion to be covered with leaves as if he would conceal it, and, enveloping it with a number of pieces of cloth, presented it in this state to the king, to whom he directed to be stated, that Rodriguez Lobo, whom he had honoured with the title of his well-beloved wife, while hunting, was attacked by a lion whose fury threatened his life; and that, desirous of preserving it, less on his own account than for the satisfaction of his lord, for whom he lived more than for himself, he had lanced a javelin at, and killed the terrible animal; and the better to fulfil his vengeance for the daringness of the beast, he had thought right to send it to him as the great king of the lions, that his orders might justify the deed, which in itself was innocent; and that his subjects might look upon it as one of which he most humbly besought his Majesty to believe he could not premeditatedly have been guilty. The handsome turn given to this speech by Rodriguez Lobo so much pleased the King, that he sent him word he might make himself easy on the score of the lion, since he might have been in some danger from it; and that in future he was at liberty, as long as any lions remained

remained on his island, to sacrifice as many as he pleased, either for his amusement, or to revenge their depredations. The courtiers, who were present at this determination of the sovereign, applauded its propriety, and were as loud in the praise of Rodriguez as they had shortly before been violent against him. In the mean-time, that his favourite might be justified in the eyes of the people, he issued a proclamation, by which all people, Rodriguez Lobo his dear wife alone excepted, were prohibited, under pain of death and confiscation of all their goods, from killing lions.

The Caffres being expert hunters, use a variety of means in surprising animals: sometimes they dig pits four or five feet deep, and seven or eight long, but wider at the top than the bottom: these they cover with branches of trees and straw, in order that the more weighty animals, tigers for example and elephants, falling into them, may be so much hurt as to be unable to release themselves, and thus remain at the discretion of the hunters, to perish of hunger, or by shots or arrows.

At other times they surround the coverts in which the game lie, as I have before described, and oblige them to take to the river; when, from the opposite side, they shoot at them till some lucky arrow pierces a mortal part.

Now again, when the equinoctial rains swell the volume of the river and make it overflow, and the wild beasts are driven from their holds by the inundation, they await them on the upper grounds, whither they repair to avoid the waters, and find them collected in such numbers, that scarcely an arrow is shot but kills some or other of the herds; for, on this occasion, though their natural ferocity at other times is such that they prey on each other, this fierceness undergoes a change which is surprising; they seem united as much as when they entered into the ark, and peaceably collect in bands and herds as if the common danger alone engrossed their faculties, and rendered them common friends.

The lord of the island in the river, solicitous once of exhibiting a hunting match to Father Dos Santos, assembled more than five hundred men, armed with bows and arrows and some match locks. On entering the wood they killed three wild boars, and pursued several others, as well as some elephants and tigers, which were so much intimidated that they fled to another quarter; while, however, they were in pursuit of these, they found a young lion and a tiger whelp, which they captured, and which were presented to Father Dos Santos; he accepted them with great pleasure, but soon had reason to repent his possession of them, for the mother-tiger scenting her young in his house, came the following night, making hideous outcries in the neighbourhood as if ready to devour all the inhabitants, and dashing with violence against the doors and windows, a practice she repeated four nights running. But whether tigers cannot bear confinement, whether the whelp was too young to be parted from its mother, it died at the end of the fourth day; and the carcase being thrown into the fields, was not found again on the next morning, whence it was supposed the mother had borne it away.

At another time Father Dos Santos, in company with another monk, were much terrified at seeing a Caffre making towards them at full speed, and seemingly admonishing them of some danger they did not perceive. On his joining them, however, they found his motive to be merely to induce them to quicken their pace that they might behold six lions, which had just passed the river, and which were traversing a neighbouring valley. The monks made haste towards the spot, but not trusting too much either to the Caffres or the lions, which were visible only by the trace they made in the grass, of great height and very thick, they had the precaution to take their station on the summit of a hill.

The monks, who passed the night here, towards day break overheard the roaring of lions and tigers, seemingly disputing the prey one of them had taken. This as he devoured kept growling at and threatening the others to prevent their seizing it from him.

Tigers are so fond of human flesh, whether alive or dead, that in the latter case, when they scent the putrifying bodies, they enter the places of sepulture to tear them from their graves; to prevent this, the graves are dug to some depth, and over them a large stone is laid. One morning a dead tiger was found on a tomb, after vain efforts to tear from the grave beneath a body which was interred, and after, in the attempt, having dug a grave for himself, in which he expired of old age, wounds, and hunger.

Besides lions, tigers, and leopards found in this country, naturalists relate that it produces reptiles called *Inhazaras**, which have four toes to the fore feet, and five to the hinder: they live like rabbits in warrens, whence they occasionally go abroad for subsistence, and feed on ants. Many affirm they subsist on air, grounding their opinion on the circumstance of nothing but air being found in their entrails after their death; but the most probable matter, as they have no teeth, is, that ants are their support, for they are constantly found near ant-nests with their mouth open and tongue protruded, whence the little industrious inhabitants, continually fallying forth to swell their wintry store, collect on the tongue of the *Inhazara*, as if they would carry it away to their hoard; and when this reptile feels its tongue sufficiently loaded it draws it in, closes its jaws, and at once devours the little family which hoped to eat him piece-meal.

CHAP. XI.—*Of the uncertain Abodes of the Caffres, who pitch their Tents where Plenty reigns. The Manner in which their Law-suits are terminated, whether before the King or Governors of Provinces.—Their Mode of making Wine from Millet and Rice.*

THE Caffres, being naturally idle and averse from labour, constantly pitch for their residence on spots productive of abundance of the means of support, which, however, it is difficult for them to find, as they commonly remove in bodies of from three to four thousand, and encamp now in one now in another quarter; and as they do not very willingly quit their abodes, though but of straw, when they begin their march their camp is set on fire in order that none may linger or return; when they arrive at a spot suited to their purpose they construct others. Their stock of moveables is very slender, consisting merely of a bow and arrows for each male, a single pot for each family, in which their millet and rice is cooked, and two spoons, one for stirring their rice and another to eat with. In general they sleep on a mat of reeds spread on the ground; and in the midst of winter they kindle a fire in the middle of the house, round which each places himself to sleep or rest. Their idle nature inclines them to prefer dwelling in woods and forests, rather than in the open country, that they may not have to go too far in search of what is necessary for them; and here they build their huts, and live like wild beasts; when weary of one abode changing it for another, especially at the injunction of their captain or governor.

As for any disputes which may arise between the different individuals of an encampment, the captain or chief of it, who is appointed by the king, sits as judge and de-

eides summarily, without any appeal being allowed to the sovereign, who merely takes cognizance of matters of greater consequence. In the instance either of the sovereign or the chief of an encampment sitting as judge, the parties plead their own cause in court, the injurious practice of employing lawyers and council being unknown. After hearing the cause, the judge gives sentence; the party who loses forfeits all his property, of which one half goes to the judge, and the residue to the one who gains the suit.

Hunting is not only a pastime, it is with them indispensable, as they principally depend on it for subsistence: and when it chances they are unsuccessful, they live on whatever kind of animal comes in their way; for example, monkeys, cats, rats, &c. making up with fish and vegetables; but their principal food consists of millet and rice, both which likewise yield them a kind of wine.

When about to prepare this wine, they soak the requisite quantity of millet in water, leaving it for two or three days till it begins to sour; afterwards, taking it out, it is suffered to drain the space of two or three hours; they next place it in a mortar, in which it is pounded till reduced to a paste; this done, a cauldron half full of water is placed over the fire, into which, when it begins to boil, as much of the paste before described is gradually thrown in as of rice flour, and the mixture is stirred up that it may unite; when the quantity intended to be prepared is thus blended together, and the whole has well boiled, the cauldron is taken off the fire that the beverage may cool: the drink is called Pombé; the boiled grain serves for food.

This extract of rice and the paste of millet, after remaining at rest for two or three days, heats and ferments, nearly in the same manner as new wine does with us; but the people never drink of it till the fermentation has ceased, when they use it with such little moderation as often to become intoxicated: in order that they may constantly have store, they every day make a fresh supply, for the longer it remains so as to become sour and what we should deem spoiled, the better they reckon it, the more anxious after it they become, and attribute to it the greater virtue.

Those not partial to this beverage make another, composed of certain herbs resembling the Cointre; of these they afterwards take the leaves, which, drying and reducing to powder, they eat, and find highly nutritious. By eating these leaves, and drinking the water in which they have been infused, they subsist for days together, taking nothing else.

CHAP. XII.—*How the Quiteva wishes to be thought the only Sorcerer in the Kingdom, and of the Punishment incurred by those who assume this Title.—Of the superstitious Ceremonies observed by the Caffres at their Nuptials; and the injurious Epithets bestowed on their Slaves.*

THE Quiteva, esteeming as honorary distinctions titles which with us would be regarded as offensive, is so jealous of that of sorcerer that he forbids all his subjects under pain of death to assume it without his permission, being unwilling to share this coveted privilege, other than with his dearest confidants, to whom he grants it as a special favour: so much is this the case, that if any rogue suspected of witchcraft be found, it is allowable to put him to death; and the murderer, far from incurring a penalty, is rewarded with half the property of the person slain, while the other half belongs to the King.

If any one discovering a malefactor takes upon himself to pursue him in order to obtain sentence for the crimes of which he may have been guilty, and he be condemned,

the person thus engaging on this object becomes master of his fate, whether to live or die. If he preserve his life, the culprit afterwards remains his slave, and is known solely by the name of the crimes of which he has been guilty, such as thief, murderer, &c.; and this that the wretch, continually hearing these names repeated, may be put in mind of the crime of which he has been guilty, and which has reduced him to slavery, may be rendered more humble, and bear in memory the laws he has violated, and the punishment, but for the mercy of his master in commuting it for slavery, he would have undergone.

The King, desirous of being esteemed the only forcerer within his dominions, is in consequence the only one who enjoys the title; this, however, is no impediment to the constant sacrileges of the superstitious Caffres: these never begin any the slightest affair, neither sow, plant, nor set out on a journey without consulting, by casting lots, on the fate of the undertaking; when, should chance be adverse to their wishes and expectations, they lay the blame on their images, which they abuse and ill-treat in consequence. That they may never be devoid of means of divining the future, they always carry about them certain round pieces of wood, with a hole through the middle, which they throw in the same manner as we do dice; and notwithstanding the vanity of this idle piece of superstition, they nevertheless are exceedingly partial to its practice.

Others there are who imitate the Chinese in their manner of telling fortunes. In this view they play at a game of hazard before their idols, and should chance be against them kick and box their idols, but if after this correction, on pursuing their experiments they should continue unsuccessful, they burn the hands and feet of them in the fire; should ill fortune still attend them, they cast the idols on the ground, trample them under feet, and dash them about with such force as to break them in pieces. Some indeed, who show greater veneration to their images, content themselves with fettering and binding them till they have obtained their end; but should not this take place as early as their impatience looks for, they fasten them to a cord and gradually let them down into the water, even to the bottom, thus trusting to force them to be propitious: if after this, good fortune should not follow, the idols are then withdrawn from the water, the patience of even these milder Caffres becomes exhausted, and the images are subjected to the grossest indignities.

These people are not superstitious merely in matters dependant on chance, they are so in what regards their nuptials. The bridegroom must meet with a man strong enough to carry him on his back to the abode of his intended spouse without halting; should he stop by the way the wedding does not take place on that day, but is deferred to a future period.

When a young man feels disposed to marry, he applies to the father and mother of his intended, and treats with them for their daughter, not as for a companion and wife, but as for a slave, bargaining with them in like manner we would do for merchandize, and haggling about the number of cows and sheep to be given in exchange. The price being at length settled, the relatives and friends of both parties assemble to celebrate the marriage, and the bridegroom being carried by some friend without resting from his own house to the house of his bride, the exchange is made, and the parties attending make presents to the newly-joined couple, of rice, millet, and other things necessary to begin house-keeping.

The title of slave would certainly be more appropriate to the newly-married bride than that of wife, for provided the husband after marriage should be tired of his companion, he is at liberty to send her back to her parents, who are obliged to receive her again;

again; these may again sell her to any other person, her first husband ceasing to have any controul over her. Thus the only advantage accruing to the wife or her parents is the cattle given in barter. By such means those fathers of families whose daughters are numerous, become wealthy. But this renunciation which is allowed to the husband, is not alike permitted by the law of the country to the wife, in order no doubt to prevent the great plurality and frequent change of husbands which would otherwise be the consequence. The man is not restricted to any number of wives, but is free to purchase and keep as many as he can maintain.

Before they marry, these people pay attention whether or no the slave they are about to purchase, has either any part of the body, the eye-brows or eyes, of a white colour; this sometimes happens to be the case, and is a source of great alarm to a Caffre, who imagines such to be children of the devil, not being able to comprehend how it is possible their wives should produce white children. It is related that in the year 1600, Don Jerome Continho, on his return from the Indies, where he commanded the forces of Portugal, brought with him a girl with eyes entirely white, but she died at sea, after the vessel in which she came had passed the island of St. Helena.

Among this people are women who are in a manner savages, and perpetually dwell among the woods; when near the time of their pregnancy, they are constantly in motion, like does, running by the side of bushes in order to lessen the pains of child-birth by the odours they inhale; what however is still more singular, as soon as they are delivered, they seek some spring or fountain in which to wash both themselves and their offspring, and return to their dwellings, where they continue to follow their household affairs in the same manner as if nothing had happened, though oftentimes they will have produced two and even three children at a birth. Moreover, as their means would be inadequate to the support of so many young ones at a time, God provides for the exigence by bestowing on the men breasts of milk as amply supplied as those of the women, as was seen by ourselves in the instance of a person of the name Pedro de Sofala, whose wife died after having brought forth a girl. This unfortunate father possessing no means of maintaining a nurse for suckling his child, placed it to his own breast, and suckled it the space of a year; he would have done a still longer time indeed, had not the infant died, after which the breasts of this charitable father ceased to give milk. Like instances, however extraordinary, have often occurred in the town of Sofala, as well as at Hormouz; and a similar event is related to have taken place in the town of Moura in Portugal, where an old man, sixty years of age, and obliged to support himself by the sweat of his brow, did notwithstanding suckle from his breasts the two orphans of a female relation.

In an island called Inhaquea, between Sofala and the River Luabo, an old woman of sixty years of age becoming pregnant, produced a child; and notwithstanding her great age, reared it and gave it suck herself.

However barbarous these people be by nature, they yet are not devoid of feeling for their children; these they rear with nicest care, and for their provision strive to amass what property they can. But as the King is so perfectly absolute as at pleasure to dispose of the property and even the lives of all his subjects, these, as soon as they have amassed a property which may invite the eye of cupidity, prepare to lose it; being satisfied that, soon or late, imaginary crimes will be imputed to them, of which they will be adjudged guilty, that opportunity may be offered of confiscating what they possess to the King; hence it is a current saying among them, that whatever they amass by their toil and industry, does not belong to themselves but to the sovereign, regarding themselves merely as the depositaries of what some day must pass to him, and their children be unjustly deprived of.

CHAP. XIII.—*Of the four Ambassadors sent by the Quiteva to collect Tribute, the first of whom represents the King himself, the second his Mouth, the third his Eyes, and the fourth his Ears.*

WHEN the time for collecting the annual tribute is at hand, the King selects four ambassadors for the purpose of receiving it, each of whom has a distinct title. The whole four represent the Quiteva himself, but especially the first, who is treated with the most profound respect; he, that he may preserve a proportionate dignity, remains perpetually silent. The second is termed the King's mouth, his function, to interpret the orders of the monarch, and explain the subject of his embassy. The third is denominated the King's eye, his duty, diligently to remark whatever passes on the embassy, in order on his return that he may render a faithful account, and especially to have a sharp look after the number and quality of the articles presented, that none may be pilfered, nor any of value be substituted by those of less. The fourth bears the name of the King's ears, his charge, to see and hear every thing, and chiefly to watch that the ambassador who speaks, does not either augment or diminish aught contained in his instructions, the particulars of which are detailed to the three others. The Caffres generally call these ambassadors Mutumos; they are always the chiefs of the kingdom, and particularly he who represents the sovereign's person; this individual is one of his sons, and in consequence is treated with greater deference by the people than the rest. These four ambassadors take with them more than a hundred Caffres, destined to carry the articles of tribute received. When they approach a spot where they intend to sojourn, they send an express to the captain or governor of the district, to inform him of their arrival, in order that he may come out to meet and render them the customary honours. The captain, on receiving the information, advances to meet them as far as the entrance into the town, accompanied by a number of musicians and dancers, who play and exhibit their gambols before the ambassadors in the procession, while the noise of the drums, in unison with the public acclamations, fill the air with a pleasing symphony. The Caffres of the embassy march in a body, but their apparel is plain and uncostly, their only ornament being a coronet on the head, made of hen's feathers, and adjusted after a particular manner. This troop marches before the four Mutumos, who take station according to their rank; the last, being of highest dignity, has the greatest number of people about him. When they reach the entrance into the town, the governor, who is there in waiting, receives them with all imaginable respect, and conducts them through the croud to the apartments prepared for their reception.

On entering the gates of towns which are fortified, it is customary to salute the Mutumos by a discharge of artillery. These gentlemen, on their first visiting Sofala after it was possessed by the Portuguese, were not a little alarmed at the report of the artillery, and imagining that such loud firing could not be without some danger to their persons, they begged as a favour of the governor of Sofala to discharge no more cannon, as the mere report had already caused the death of one of the attendants on the embassy, who was actually killed with dread; recovering afterwards from their consternation, they expressed a wish to see the artillery. This, at first, they viewed from a respectful distance; but, familiarised with the sight of it by degrees, they ventured at length to touch the guns, but never were able so far to surmount their fears as to stand before the mouths of them, especially the three great pieces at the entrance of the gate.

As long as they stay, nothing goes forward but feasting and entertainment: at length the tribute due to the Quiteva is demanded, and after it has been paid, the ambassadors are conducted out of the town with the same ceremonies they experienced on their entrance. They then immediately return to the Quiteva, to whom they render account of all that has passed, and in whose magazines all the rice and millet they have collected is deposited. The taxes levied on the Caffres are much heavier than those exacted from the Portuguese, the former paying three pieces out of each twenty, the latter but one. These proportions are rigorously attended to by the ambassadors, for should they depart from the regulations prescribed to them, the king would punish them with severity; whereas by attending duly to the object of their mission, they are sure of a liberal reward.

CHAP. XIV.—*Of certain Birds of Prey which fly away with Terrestrial Animals of the largest Size, and afterwards let them fall, to kill and devour them. Of Terrestrial and Marine Crocodiles; the Manner of taking them; and of the Mermaid and its Virtues.*

PAOLO Marco the Venetian relates, in his third book, chap. iv. that in the island St. Lawrence* are certain birds of immense size and such prodigious strength as to be able to bear away even elephants in their claws, and fly off with them with incredible speed; but being unable to support for any length of time so great a weight, they let their burthen drop from as high a point as they can reach, in order to kill it with the fall, when they pounce upon and devour it.

A Portuguese travelling inland one day to purchase ivory, and feeling tired with leading a large monkey which weighed more than fifteen pounds, he fastened it with an iron chain to the trunk of a tree; after taking rest for a time, he perceived the air darkened as if by a cloud about to burst over him, when raising his eyes, he distinguished the obscurity to be occasioned by the body and wings of a bird of prey, which had borne away his monkey, together with the tree to which it was fastened, and which he let drop from a considerable height to prey upon after thus killing it. In consequence of accidents of this nature the inhabitants of these parts are accustomed to keep constant watch, and in order to be secure from depredations are constantly armed.

In the river of Sofala are many crocodiles, which are carnivorous, and live on such animals and human beings as venture into the river. The Negroes and Moors, though used to the country and these animals, with difficulty at times escape their murderous jaws, when they repair for water to the rivers banks; for they have the cunning to lie flat on their bellies for fear of being seen, and only rise to rush on their prey; this if they seize, they bear with them to the bottom of the river to devour it; which they are unable to do out of the water, as they have no tongue to assist them in swallowing, but wash down their food by taking a gulp of water as often as they would swallow what they have masticated. Notwithstanding the voracity of these animals is without parallel, they yet never eat food which is tainted; still the stench proceeding from their throat is so great that it attracts flies in abundance, which the animal encloses in one tomb by shutting its jaws, and thus obtains other nourishment.

The whole difference between young and old crocodiles consists in the former leaving the river every morning and evening to bask, lying on their belly in the sun, while

* Madagascar.

the latter seldom entirely leave the water; when out of the water, however, both the one and the other lose their natural ferocity, and alarmed at the least noise, except indeed when driven by hunger to extremity, fly for refuge to the river.

Gabriel Robel relates, in his book on the remarkable things of the Molucca islands, that these islands contain many sea crocodiles with four eyes, two in the head and two in the throat. These crocodiles have many rows of teeth, which are exceedingly filthy, as they are unable to clean them with their tongue, though this species of crocodile possesses one.

When the crocodiles are about to lay their eggs, they dig a hole, advancing on to the shore for the purpose, as deep as they are able, and in this deposit a number at once, covering them with sand, and trusting to the warmth of the sun to hatch them. The young, as soon as they break the shell, though born on shore, immediately take to the water, and never return without committing ravages which render them most unwelcome neighbours to the inhabitants of the country, who are forbid under pain of death killing any of them. The cause assigned for this prohibition is, that the liver of this animal is one of the most subtil poisons that can be. Some writers indeed relate, that it bears about it an antidote; but as these are two contrarieties so singular, it is difficult for one to credit they should exist in the same animal. Still we read, that in the peninsula of Malacca trees grow with roots, part of which are poison, and part of them antidotes; a circumstance similar to which is remarked by Father Mendoza in his book on the New World.

Though crocodiles are carnivorous, and subsist wholly on the flesh of animals and human beings, yet has God endowed this country with a simple called *nicirini*, growing on the margin of the river Sofala, with which the people who are acquainted with its virtues having rubbed themselves, the crocodiles dare not venture near to bite them, and if they should their teeth become soft as wax, and without strength. When the Caffres wish to prove if the herb they imagine be the real one possessing these qualities, they place it on their head, and if they find it soften their teeth, they rub the whole of their body with it before they enter the water, safe by this precaution from the bite of the crocodile.

The interdict of the Quiteva against killing crocodiles is confined to his own dependants; the inhabitants of the river Cuama, who are not his subjects, both fish for and eat this animal. The manner of obtaining it used by this people, as it is curious, I have deemed right to detail.

They prepare a piece of wood two feet in length, and of tolerable breadth; lengthwise, through this, a hole is bored for a cord to pass, at the extremity of which is a large hook baited with fresh meat; this they cast into the river. Soon as the crocodile perceives the meat, it immediately swallows it, and fancying that all it fees is of the same nature, endeavours to seize on the wood also; but this sticking in its maw, prevents the jaws closing, when the water rushing without impediment down its throat, drowns the animal. The fishermen, when they perceive it at the last extremity, draw it on the shore and dispatch it with clubs. The Caffres notice when the animal is being killed, that it groans and cries like a reasoning being, whence doubtless the proverb of "crocodiles' tears," to express a forced lamentation.

At the distance of fifteen leagues from Sofala, among the islands *Boccicas*, a fish is found, denominated by the islanders the *mermaid*, or *woman fish*, the flesh of which is of excellent flavour when eaten boiled like other meat, and which also serves to make highly savoury sauces. From the waist to the neck this fish much resembles the

human species: the females suckle their young in the same manner as women; but the fish has neither arms nor hands, and as to its features, they bear not the slightest resemblance to those of the human countenance; but its head is rather like that of a maid or thornback, and its mouth full of teeth like that of a dog, but with four of them projecting the length of a foot in the same manner as the tusks of a boar. These teeth have the property of staying a flux of blood, and softening the painful sensations which attend the piles. The proof of it is easy, and the remedy common: all that is requisite, is to wear them near that part of the body where the pain is felt. This fish originated the fable of the Syrens in the works of the poets; but they gave by far too great loose to their imagination when they attributed to it a long head of hair, a hairy body, a human face, and a voice so musical as to enchant mariners; for this sea monster has neither hair on the body nor the head: its head is monstrous, and nothing resembles the human countenance; and as to singing, it neither sings nor speaks, being like every other fish condemned to eternal silence.

There is likewise found in the marshes of Sofala a fish called by naturalists *Mácon*, which has two holes in its neck like a lamprey; mostly it inhabits the marshes, but when these become dry it peregrinates inland in search of moisture; and though the drought oftentimes continues four or even five months, this fish, by burying itself, still subsists where others would die, leaving its holes only when it rains, at which time the Caffres lie in wait for it; should however the drought continue unusually long, and the earth no longer retain sufficient moisture to keep it in life, it devours itself.

In the rivers Cuama and Sofala sea horses (*Hippopotami*) are common. These animals are amphibious, and leave the water for the land, where they seek for food and commit great ravage on the circumjacent country, and especially in that which is sown. The head of this animal is three times as large as that of our common horse, and the body large in proportion: in the middle of its forehead it has a white star: its legs are short and very thick, with five toes to the fore and only four to the hind feet: its mouth is very large, and full of teeth, four of which are more than two feet long, and curved like the tusks of a boar. What however is extraordinary in this species of animals, is, their practice of destroying each other for food; hence it rarely happens that two are found together, unless indeed where a male is followed by several females about to drop their young, on which occasion they enter into the woods adjoining the river, where they foal: the young colts, whenever they see the old ones approach, afraid of being killed, throw themselves into the water.

This animal is naturally of a sickly constitution, and subject to gouty pains, which it cures by scratching the stomach with the left foot; and it has further been noticed, when it wishes to effect a perfect cure, that it falls on the horn of the hoof of the left foot; this, entering the stomach, appeases and terminates their pain. Hence the Caffres and Moors of this country make use of the horn of the hoof of this animal as a remedy for the gout.

Besides hippopotami, in these rivers, other amphibious animals are found, remarkable for horns similar to those of the bull, and having their hoof divided like theirs. Here likewise are horned asses, the flesh of which boiled with rice and millet is excellent food: this flesh serves the Caffres for subsistence through great part of the year; and they are so fond of it, that without having patience to wait till it has become sufficiently cool to be eaten, they devour it hot as it is from the pot, and by this practice much injure their teeth; these in consequence shortly become rotten and fall out, unless certain simples be used, with which they are acquainted, to prevent them.

CHAP. XV.—*Of the Manner in which Amber is found; of its different Species; and if it be true that Whales make it their Food.*

I HAVE thought I could not more usefully terminate this book, than by releasing the public from the uncertainty in which they have been placed by the disputes of different writers respecting the manner in which amber is found, its nature, and its different species. But before I proceed to speak of the places where it is found, I must premise that those who would persuade their readers it is vomited by whales, are egregiously wrong, as is evident from the account we have of a piece found on the coasts of Melinda in 1596, so large that a person might with ease conceal himself behind it; the value of this piece, from its great dimensions, was so highly rated that no person could be found possessed of means sufficient for its purchase, whence the proprietor was obliged to divide it into pieces. A part of these pieces was bought by Don Pedro de Souza, captain general of Mozambique. This one example suffices to controvert the opinion of those who assume that amber is produced in the interior of, and is an excrement of the whale.

It is moreover well authenticated, that between the rivers Lindo and Quilinvano a piece was found which weighed upwards of twenty pounds; and when Roch de Britto Falcon was taken by the Turks, on his passage from Melinda to the Indies, he one day, in the place where he held the appointment of captain, bought a piece of amber two feet high and a foot wide. The origin of the vulgar error that amber is vomited by whales is, probably, the fact of whales having been seen eating this substance, especially that species of it which is black, and so tender that even birds pick at and make it their food.

As to the places where amber is found, some state that to obtain it, it is necessary to double the Cape of Good Hope and proceed as far as the Red Sea, where it abounds: others again deny this; but it is most probable that amber proceeds from the bottom of the sea, where it is produced, and from which it is torn by the motion of the waves and the action of storms, which shake it in such a manner as to separate it from the rocks or the bottom to which it adheres; when, after the tempests subside, it is collected: this opinion is also corroborated by the relation we have of a vessel obliged to cast anchor off the island of St. Lawrence (Madagascar), in a spot where there was but twenty fathoms water; in raising the anchor of this vessel the next day, it was found covered with pieces of amber brought up from the sandy bottom.

In this country indeed three kinds of amber are found, yellow, black, and grey, which enrich this people by the profit they derive from them: the yellow is preferred to the black; but the grey is esteemed of greater value than either.

Other authors again, who have written in modern times, ascribe a different origin to this matter, and believe that in the islands in the north a particular liquor occurs, differing but little from that kind of gum common in our cherry trees, which falling into the sea becomes indurate from the action of the water, and is afterwards cast on the sea shore, where the air completes its petrification. That it is progressive in its formation from a fluid state to that in which it is found, indeed, is proved from the many instances afforded of amber in the cabinets of the curious, in which, owing to its pellucidity, flies, spiders, and bees are distinguished; these, caught either by their feet or other portions of their body, when the amber was yet soft, have become enveloped in the accumulating mass, and thus remain in an incorruptible state, owing to the exclusion of air. Notice of this circumstance may even be seen in the epigrams of Martial, No. 32. and No. 39.

HISTORY OF EASTERN ETHIOPIA.

BOOK II.

OF THE ARMY SENT BY THE KING DON SEBASTIAN TO THE KINGDOM OF MACORONGA; THE VICTORIES OBTAINED BY THE PORTUGUESE OVER SEVERAL MONARCHS, WITH WHOM THEY WERE OBLIGED TO FIGHT BEFORE THEY CAME TO THE GOLD MINES; THE MANNER IN WHICH THESE ARE WORKED.—OF THE RIVERS, FOUNTAINS, AND LAKE OF CÜAMA.

CHAP. I. — *The Portuguese Army enters the kingdom of Macoronga in search of Gold Mines. The manner in which the Gold is dug.*

DON Sebastian was scarcely seated on the throne, before he resolved on extending his dominions by means of new conquests. In this view he caused a number of vessels to be equipped for an expedition to Sofala, the command of which was entrusted to Francis Baretto, who, penetrating into the kingdoms of Macoronga and Manica, discovered mines of gold in these countries, of which by his prudence and valour he made himself master.

In the prosecution of his designs, it was necessary he should pass through the territories of the Quiteva, who objected to this measure, and prepared to resist by force any attempt on the part of the Portuguese to enter his dominions. He feared a junction of their forces with those of the King of Chicanga, a monarch more powerful than himself and his sworn enemy, apprehensive lest the consequence would be his becoming tributary to the European power. He therefore gave orders that every step should be disputed; and, in addition, to the army sent to oppose the Portuguese, he set another on foot to prevent a diversion on the part of the troops of the King of Chicanga; he also placed ambuscades in every favourable spot by which the enemy might be surprized, and skirmishes repeatedly took place, in which the Portuguese constantly had the advantage, though with some loss on their side. Still the harassing warfare they were obliged to maintain, disgusted them with an enterprize so difficult; and, from their having no means of recruiting their losses, each man of theirs killed was equal to a hundred of the enemy, who were able immediately to bring others into the field to supply the place of such as were slain. Notwithstanding this, the resolution of the Portuguese supported them under their difficulties, and enabled them to open themselves a passage through the files of the enemy.

The Caffres, who had now repeatedly experienced the courage of those they had to oppose, no longer considered themselves safe in their towns, but, to escape slavery or death, abandoned them, carrying off all their cattle and provisions, and trusting by this means to oblige the Portuguese, in despite of their victories, to retreat, owing to want of the necessaries for supporting their army.

Still the brave Baretto continued to follow up his conquests both by sea and land, and spread such consternation through the country, that the Quiteva, who resided at Zimboé, having intelligence of the approach of this general, took to flight with all the inhabitants of the city and withdrew to a large forest in the neighbourhood, not choosing to risk the defence of the town. Baretto consequently entered it without resistance; and

as he had not a sufficient force to garrison, and indeed did not wish to preserve it, he gave it up to pillage, and after setting it on fire continued his march towards the kingdom of Manica, which in the space of a few days he entered.

The monarch of this country, concealing the vexation he felt at his arrival, sent a deputation to compliment him on the occasion, and express his satisfaction at his visit, the persons sent bearing with them a present of provisions. Baretto, highly pleased at meeting with a friendly reception, sent messengers in return to render thanks for his civility, and entreat his acceptance of the presents intended for him by the King of Portugal. The Moorish King upon this expressed a wish to see the Portuguese general; and the latter, at the interview which in consequence took place, communicated the instructions he had received from his court, the principal of which was, to negotiate a treaty of amity and intercourse between the two monarchs.

This Sovereign, on the approach of Baretto, went forward to meet him, marking by this unusual condescension the esteem in which he held the King his master, and the respect he bore his ambassador; at the same time he communicated to him, that as long as he might choose to remain in his dominions the whole of his companions should be maintained at his expense, and in the course of the conference all the articles of the treaty of amity were agreed upon; among which the second was, that the King of Chicanga should freely admit the Portuguese throughout his territories for the purpose of trafficking, as well in gold dust as in other merchandize; of the former the quantity bartered is very considerable in this country.

The Portuguese were enchanted at having in so short a time concluded a treaty of such advantage to their Sovereign, and so beneficial to the realm; they moreover flattered themselves with the hope of acquiring store of gold with which to return enriched to their country; but when they saw what toil was requisite for extracting this precious metal from the bowels of the earth, and the danger incurred by those who worked in the mines, they were speedily undeceived, and no longer regarded their fortunes as instantaneously made. At the same time they were induced to reflect, that the labour and risk of digging the gold from the abysses whence it is drawn, are such as with justice to stamp that value on it which it bears from its consequent rarity.

These people have divers methods of extracting the gold, and separating it from the earth with which it is blended; but the most common is, to open the ground, and proceed towards the spot where, from certain indications, ore is supposed to abound. For this purpose they excavate vaults, sustained at intervals by pillars, and, notwithstanding they make use of every possible precaution, it often happens that the vaults give way and bury the subterranean sappers beneath their ruins. When they reach the vein in which the gold is found mixed with the earth, they take the ore as it is, and put it into vessels full of water, and by dint of stirring about the water, the earth is dissolved and the gold remains at bottom.

They likewise take advantage of heavy rains, which, occasioning torrents, carry before them whatever loose earth they meet in their way, and thus lay open the spots where gold is embedded in the ravines. This the Caffres collect and wash with care, to purify from the grosser part of its earthy admixture.

These people also, however unpolished they may seem, yet possess a secret peculiar to themselves for discovering the gold concealed in certain stones*, which they likewise

* This secret consists, it is highly probable, in the stone containing the gold being softened, and its natural colour changed by the presence of gold, a circumstance noticed constantly by the gold seekers of Celebes. See, in the portion of this work allotted to Asia, a description of the gold mines of Celebes, by Von Wurmb. **ENG. TRANS.**

have the ingenuity of extracting, constantly observing the same practice of washing well to separate all earthy particles from the metal, and thus rendering it equally lustrous with that obtained from the earth. This gold is, however, much cheaper than the other, either owing to its being more common, or to its being obtained with greater facility and at less expense than that exfoliated from the bowels of the earth.

This country being thus fecund in valuable mines, it cannot be surprizing that, in after periods, other nations, following the example of the great Baretto, should be solicitous of penetrating into the country. Baretto returned to Sofala well satisfied not only on account of the treaty he had concluded with Chicanga, but also at being so fortunate as to terminate another with the Quiteva, who, apprized of his being about to return, no longer avoided him as before, but invited him to pass through his country, with assurance that he would meet with friends alone, in which number he begged to class himself. He in fact received him with open arms, and expressed a desire of living in friendship with the King his master, and of being admitted among the number of the friends of the general himself. The treaty of peace signed by the Quiteva and Baretto, comprized the following articles: that the Portuguese should have the liberty of entering at pleasure into his kingdom for the purpose of traffick, and of passing through it to Chicanga to trade for gold; and, on the part of the Portuguese, that, for this concession, they should annually send to the Quiteva two hundred ells of linen. Thus these two parties, but shortly before inveterate enemies, parted apparently in friendship; but the state of amity thus established was not of long duration.

CHAP. II. — *Of the War waged by Baretto with the King of Mongas, over whom he obtained a complete victory, notwithstanding the incantations of a Sorceress, who quitted him to side with the Caffres. — Of the remarkable Springs in this country.*

THE Portuguese, by the treaties concluded between the two Kings of Chicanga and Quiteva, spread general consternation through the country. Their ambition now knew no limits, but increased in proportion to their advance into the country. They felt particularly anxious to open a road into the kingdom of Mongas†, a matter not to be effected but by fighting with and overcoming whoever should dare to oppose their progress. The obstacles were indeed many to the effectuation of their designs; but Baretto, who commanded a well-disciplined army, by his prudence and the bravery of his troops, overcame them all, and was constantly victorious, as well in the different skirmishes which took place, as in pitched battles.

The king of Mongas was powerful, and had a very fine army on foot, which disputed every pass through which the Portuguese had to march. At length the day arrived when they had to combat the whole force of the Caffres; these, notwithstanding their number much surpassed that of the Portuguese, and notwithstanding this superiority promised them success, were yet somewhat intimidated. They had learnt by experience to place its due value on the bravery of the Portuguese, who moreover had an old sorceress with them, whom superstition regarded as a palladium, that would secure the victory to which ever side she remained with. The Portuguese indeed placed no reli-

† The dominions of the Monomotopa. The country is termed Mongas, the sovereign *Monomotopa*, as the sovereign of Sofala is termed *Quiteva*. A confusion has arisen from the errors of geographers, who have, in both instances, given the distinguishing name of the sovereign to the countries over which they rule. ENG. TRANS.

ance either on this tale, which was promulged by herself, or on the power of the witch, and formed their line of battle in due order, depending on their own intrepidity and that good fortune which hitherto had attended their banners. The attack began on the part of the Portuguese; but previously the old woman had changed sides, and was gladly admitted into the ranks of the Caffres: she promised them victory, engaging to strike their enemies with panic, and blind them by means of a powder she had in a bag, provided they would but stand firm to the first shock; and such implicit credit did they give to her promises, that they even provided themselves with cords with which to bind their victims. For her assistance she was in return to receive some considerable presents: In the mean time the Portuguese, who laughed at the imaginary enchantments of the witch, bore down on the opposite army; and the general, singling out the old woman who was readily distinguished in their ranks by her ridiculous contortions, and was then in the act of giving to the air the powder which should deprive them of fight, directed a field piece to be pointed at her, expecting thus to intimidate her; but, confident in her charms and deeming herself invulnerable, she mocked the effect of the cannon; the match was applied, and the palladium of the enemy at once was blown to atoms. The confidence of the Caffres in their invincibility was now at once annihilated; for throughout they trusted more to the magic of the sorcerers, than to their individual bravery. Baretto, in the destruction of the witch, however he might deem it a weakness to rejoice at the fall of a woman, from motives of policy joined with the army in the shout of exultation which was sent forth from the ranks. A moment's pause in the operations of the army now took place; and as a token of regard for his skill, the general took from his own neck a chain of gold that he wore, and placed it round that of the cannoneer. Excited to fresh endeavours by so conspicuous and so valuable a mark of esteem, the cannoneer thundered incessantly upon the Caffres, and with such effect that whole columns fell before him, and the utmost disorder prevailed in the enemy's ranks, who now began to waver. The general, who saw their irresolute state, immediately sounded a charge, which was carried into effect with so much vigour and so opportunely, that, but for a body of reserve which at the critical instant came up to their support, the army would have been completely defeated. The succours brought made the conflict more severe, and victory remained long uncertain; at length the Portuguese prevailed, made themselves masters of the field, took all the baggage and arms of the enemy, and with them a great number of prisoners, whom they made slaves.

The Caffres, who now to their cost experienced the capacity and valour of the Portuguese, were anxious for peace, which was granted on condition that the king should allow free access into his dominions for themselves and their merchandize. This treaty, which lasted some length of time, enabled the Portuguese to become acquainted with the country, and explore all its rarities, among which especially worthy of notice is the forest of *Lupara* or the *Spine of the World*, so called as well on account of its range which exceeds five* leagues, as the prodigious height of its shaggy mountains, which with the trees that cover it tower to the region of clouds. The river Zambese, beating with violence against these rocks, in lapse of time has wrought itself a passage through the forest, and rushes with such violence over its craggy bed, that all who hitherto have had the temerity to attempt its course have been shipwrecked.

* Instead of five leagues, read five hundred. The Spine of the World stretches from the line in Long. 58° West of Greenwich to Lat. 22° S. where they unite with the main ridges of Africa, and proceed to the Cape of Good Hope. ENG. TRANS.

In this kingdom is a somewhat remarkable fountain called Maembé, which divides itself into five streamlets, each possessing different degrees of warmth. Two of them are fresh and tepid, two other of greater warmth, and of the fifth the water is of a boiling heat; yet notwithstanding these various temperatures, the five streamlets all proceed from one common source*.

Near the fort of Teté † is a river the water of which, though it be six score leagues distant from the sea, is salt; but what is more extraordinary, the stream which flows contiguous to the river Mangania, at more than two hundred leagues from the sea, is not only equally salt, but in addition possesses the property of petrifying wood cast into it. Albertus Magnus relates his having seen one similar in Germany: and in the *Astronomy of John Ceres*, chap. 12, mention is made of a fountain the water itself of which changed to stone, and congealing immediately upon leaving its source, became so hard as to be capable of resisting the fiercest heat of the dog-days.

In Alentejo, a province of Portugal, a league distant from a town called Avis, is a river which has five different beds, and which overflows its banks at very unusual periods of the year; for this happens during the hot weather between April and September, when other streams are dry. In these months it increases in volume as much as it diminishes in winter, when from the abundance of rain that in that season falls in Portugal, other rivers swell so as to deluge the plains in their neighbourhood.

In this river, moreover, another singular peculiarity is remarked: as long as its waters flow in their natural channel they differ in no respect from those of other streams in general, but when they overflow their banks they turn to stone whatever they meet with in their course, not excepting even the grass. And in this province, should the rainy season continue longer than common, or the rains be so heavy as to inundate the country, and destroy the seed in the ground, the peasants take no heed of the disaster, but, sure of a more abundant crop in the end, as soon as the waters disappear they sow again their lands, and in six or seven weeks after their golden crops invite the sickle; thus the only inconvenience they endure is the labour of a second sowing, for not even the seed is lost, as the more ample harvest makes them amends, and the fertilized earth brings forth its treasures so quick as to make them on a par with those of their neighbours, who have not had their lands submerged, in point of the time at which their crops are ripe.

CHAP. III.—*Of the exertions made by Francis Baretto to obtain information respecting the Mines of Gold and Silver in that part of the country, in the vicinage of the river Cuama or Zambeze. Of the trick played him, and the utter discomfiture of his Army.*

It is a matter of fact that this country is rich in gold and silver mines, but these metals are not so easily obtained as is imagined; for the Caffres are prohibited under penalty of death and the confiscation of their property from discovering the site of the mines, either to their neighbours or to those who pass through their country. When a mine is discovered the persons finding it make loud outcries to call witnesses round them,

* Such accidental circumstances are less extraordinary than is imagined: water, by flowing over certain metals, creates an effervescence, and caloric is consequently disengaged in various proportions according to the nature of the metallic substance contained in the ore over which the water flows; where the ore is competent to occasion but a slight effervescence, the water becomes tepid; where the fermentation is violent, the water is raised to a high degree of heat. *ENG. TRANS.*

† Upon the river Zambeze.

and cover the spot, above which they place some object to denote the site; and, far from being susceptible to be prevailed upon by strangers to point out these spots, they avoid encountering them as much as possible, for fear they should even be suspected of such a deed.

The motive of the sovereign for enacting these prohibitory laws, and for exacting a declaration to be made to the court of all mines discovered is, that he may take possession of them, and by preventing the Portuguese from becoming masters of one portion, give no room for succeeding warfare on their part to seize upon the remainder.

After Baretto had possessed himself of the gold mines of Manica in the manner we have before described, he directed his course at the head of his forces towards the country through which flows the Cuama, to make himself master of those of silver at Chiconá, for this purpose ascending the river Cuama from Sena. On the way he fought with the king of the Mongas, who opposed his passage, and defeated him in several battles, and proceeded victoriously through all the countries and kingdoms along the river without finding any one powerful enough to arrest his progress.

After the defeat of the sovereign of the Mongas, this prince, the most potent of all the princes of this quarter, was under the necessity of suing for peace, which was granted him. The remaining Caffres, upon this, perfectly dispirited and too weak to keep the field, abandoned their habitations and the open country, and took refuge in the woods. The Portuguese, now freed of their enemies and masters of the country, arrived in safety at Chiconá, where Baretto immediately commenced his inquiries respecting the position of the silver mines, but he found none inclined to give him the information he sought; every one concluding that if he once possessed himself of these, the entire subjugation of their country would naturally follow. However, a certain Caffre of a scheming and artful disposition resolved on attempting to impose on Baretto, and for this purpose told him that, provided he would proportion the reward to the value of the discovery, he would make him acquainted with the spots where the mines were. The general, highly solicitous of the information, loaded him with kindness, made him various presents in advance, and flattered him with the expectation of ample reward in case of his fulfilling his promise. The Caffre, a complete rogue, promised to be with him the next day and conduct him to the spot, but at the same time signified how requisite, in order to avoid suspicion, it would be for him to return home, that he might depart thence by stealth under covert of night to join him unseen, and proceed thus to the mines, as in case of his attempting any thing of the kind by day he would lay himself open to the penalties of the law. By the air of probability in the statement, Baretto was perfectly duped. The Caffre, the next night, repaired to a spot where was a vein of silver ore, from which he took two or three pieces of ore which he buried in another spot, and thence returned to Baretto to fulfil as he said his promise, assuring him he would conduct him whither he should find silver without much toil or trouble. The general did not think fit to go himself with the Caffre, but sent people to accompany him and dig in the spot he should indicate. So eager were these on the occasion that they paid no attention to the circumstance of the earth having been newly dug up, and in a little time they came to the three masses of silver ore, buried there by the Caffre on the preceding night, of which intelligence was immediately given to Baretto, who was in raptures on the occasion; nor wonder at his joy, the double motive of his expedition, a thirst for glory and conquest, and an expectation of enriching himself, he thus fancied complete: When the Caffre returned, he loaded him anew with expressions of kindness, and what to the wily infidel was of much greater weight, with additional presents far exceeding the value of the silver produced. Baretto

was now confident of his sincerity, and dreamt of another Potofi; but his visions proved in the end mere shadows, and he saw the Caffre no more. At first it was imagined he had been surpris'd in his nocturnal labours and condemned to death, and already the general deplored him as a man faithful to his interests; but upon sending his people again to the spot where they had dug up the silver ore, and their long-continued toil in pursuit of the vein proving altogether fruitless, he no longer doubted of the cheat put upon him, but had leisure to repent that he had been so weak as to make the Caffre presents above the value of the silver discovered.

This fraud did not however annihilate the hopes of Baretto, who continued to pursue his search by means of two hundred men whom he left at this post, provided with every requisite for their support, and an ample stock of ammunition. These had instructions not to leave the place until the site of the mines should be discovered, while he himself with the residue of his forces retired upon Sena. He moreover directed the party left at Chicoma to make incursions into the woods, and hunt out the inhabitants who had fled from their homes, and who keeping also hoped the Portuguese would feel themselves constrained to forego their designs after consuming the provisions they had with them. The event did not realise these expectations of the natives; the Portuguese had strongly intrenched themselves, and while they hoarded the provisions they possessed to serve them at exigency, by following the directions of the general in pursuing the fugitives in their recesses, though they encountered great resistance, they almost constantly returned loaded with provisions and spoil. A warfare thus harassing at length determined some of those who had fled to the woods to come to terms with the Portuguese, and among other articles they agreed as the purchase of a cessation of hostilities to disclose the site of the silver mines. The Portuguese, who themselves are by nature sincere, were void of mistrust of any treachery on the part of the Caffres, though these had planned the treaty merely to make the invaders fall into the ambush they were preparing.

Peace being now concluded by the treaty, which stipulated that either party should regard the other as friends, and that the Caffres should furnish the Portuguese with every thing necessary towards their support in their intrenchments, and provide them with trusty guides to direct them in safety to the mines, and people to assist them in working them; this last article was the first which either party prepared to put in execution, but especially the Caffres, who sought by lulling the Portuguese into a false security to ensnare them, and appointed among themselves for effecting their plan the very day they should proceed to the mines. The Portuguese, who took with them on the journey a hundred and sixty men well armed, consequently left but forty for the defence of the fort. Trusting to their guides, the expedited party were led into an ambuscade where they had to sustain the fire of four hundred Caffres from their covert in the forest, which effected the destruction of almost the whole of the Portuguese detachment. The few who escaped bore the melancholy intelligence to their comrades in the fort. At first it was proposed that this should be evacuated, as it was much to be apprehended that little time could elapse before it would be attacked, and as the means of resistance to the force which they had room to expect would be employed against them was very far from adequate to the maintenance of the post; but the thought of flying before barbarians, the dread lest a measure of this kind should be imputed to pusillanimity and affix an indelible stain on their military character, induced many to differ from this proposal; and their determination resolutely to withstand the enemy at length prevailed with the whole, who vowed either to avenge their countrymen on the heads of the traitors, or perish in the attempt.

In the mean time the fort was invested by upwards of four thousand Caffres. Yet, large as was their number, they did not dare to venture an assault, but contented themselves with blockading the fort. At length the Portuguese, having exhausted their provisions, had only a choice of death left them, and resolved on that which should be worthy of their former life; they consequently made a fortie on the enemy, and wherever their blows were dealt they carried with them destruction; but overpowered at last by numbers, they fell to a man, selling their lives at a rate so dear that no blush shall stain the cheeks of their countrymen at the remembrance of their catastrophe.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the barbarous inhumanity of the Caffres of the vicinage of fort Teté, who feed on human flesh; and of the war waged with the Mumbo, who had despoiled a Caffre of his possessions, who was friendly to the Portuguese.*

BEYOND fort Teté on the opposite side of the river Guama there are two nations of Caffres, the one denominated *Mumbas*, the other *Zimbas* or *Muzimbas*; both the one and the other of these subsist on human flesh, and for the purpose of devouring them kill all they meet, whether by sea or land; and when victims among strangers are wanting, they put to death their slaves and the aged, whom they say are but an incumbrance.

They are destitute of religion, have neither altars, nor images, nor idols, and no other object of adoration but their sovereign, who styles himself Lord of Heaven and Earth. He on his part is so persuaded of possessing the dominion he arrogates to himself, that whether he wishes it should rain or cease from raining, whether solicitous of cooler or warmer weather, should the seasons in their course be different from his inclinations and appear to contradict his will, he madly seeks for vengeance, and impiously as vainly spends his rage in imprecations, and lances his arrows at the sky. But, on the other hand, the anger which the prince so fruitlessly manifests against heaven, recoils on himself; for his people, witnessing his want of controul over the elements, with reason regard him as an usurper pretending to rights which he does not possess: thus is he perpetually placed in danger, not only of forfeiting their opinion of his divine nature, and losing the presents which they are accustomed to make on addressing themselves to him to obtain what they seek from heaven, but also of being precipitated from his throne.

The Portuguese not only sought opportunities to establish themselves firmly in the country for the promotion of their individual interests, they were equally anxious to support all those who were favourable to their cause. In prosecution of this policy, they espoused the quarrel of a Caffre oppressed by a neighbour of greater authority, took up arms in his defence, under the command of the captain of Fort Teté, and, crossing the river, marched direct upon Chicaronga, whither the usurper on their putting themselves in motion had retired.

They no sooner arrived before than they invested this place, and attacked it with such vigour that this Mumbo Caffre who had six hundred men with him, was obliged to quit the place and restore the possessions which he had unjustly seized upon, to the friend of the Portuguese. These having effected this object returned, shewing by their conduct not only that they had power to establish their superiority, but also sufficient to maintain the cause of those dependent on them, and redress the grievances they might endure from more powerful neighbours.

This

This Caffre had long been accustomed to make incursions on the territories of his neighbours, before he was attacked by the Portuguese; and had become so arrogant and cruel, that he placed over the gate of his fort the heads of all he killed, and kept their mangled carcases in a large room, into which all who came to visit him were introduced, as well to impress them with awe as to shew that his vengeance against those who were his enemies did not terminate with their life, but was entailed on the corpses of his victims. On the defeat of the garrison, the Portuguese delivered from their dreadful slavery a number of women and children whom this wretch kept, with a number of men, in pens, for the purpose of killing and eating them in succession, according to their general practice, and carried them with him to Fort Teté. As to the wretch himself, he saved his life by an ignominious flight.

The example made in this instance of the Mumbo, who lost all his property in the fort, was not sufficient to deter another Caffre in the vicinage of Sena from despoiling one of his countrymen of his property who was befriended by the Portuguese. This man fled to them, stating that, on account of his affection for them and his espousing their cause, he had endured the most cruel treatment, and imploring them to reinstate him in the possessions of which he had been deprived. The person to whom this Caffre addressed himself was André St. Jago, governor of Sena, who took him under his protection, and promised to send forth a body of troops to countenance the entreaty he should make that his enemy would in a friendly manner restore what he had violently usurped, and in case of refusal to effect by force what might be denied to milder measures.

André San Jago in consequence took the field at the head of his people, with two pieces of cannon, and advanced against the offending Caffre, who was called *Muzimbas*. On approaching the place in which he was posted, he found him deaf to any friendly propositions, and, when he regarded the strength of the fortifications he had thrown up, he repented having so readily interfered; and, apprehensive the siege would be of longer duration than what had before been suspected by him, he converted it into a blockade, awaiting succour, for which he sent to the commander of Fort Teté, Fernandez de Chares. This officer marched out to join him at the head of as strong a detachment as he could spare, but, regarding the enemy with whom they had to combat as unworthy of their attention, they proceeded in straggling and detached parties, without order, and without the precaution of sending forth scouts. The troops of their antagonist which kept the field, observing this neglect of discipline, placed themselves in ambush in a wood through which they had to pass, and while yet in the same disorder attacked them. The commander of Fort Teté and his soldiers, after shewing the utmost bravery, became the victims of their own imprudence and neglect, and fell to a man. The barbarous conquerors, not content with the lives of their enemies, mangled the carcases of the dead, from which they cut all the limbs and head, leaving nothing but the trunk; after this they secretly entered the fort. When they had joined their companions there, they published the defeat of the enemy by beat of drum and shouts of exultation. The noise somewhat surprized André de San Jago, but his astonishment redoubled when he beheld the troops of *Muzimbas* marching in triumph on the ramparts, each carrying a limb cut from the enemy, and on the end of a pike the head of the governor of Fort Teté. At a sight so melancholy, and which deprived him of all hope of succour, he was greatly afflicted, and determined on a silent retreat; but *Muzimbas*, apprised of his intention, fell upon the Portuguese unexpectedly, and completely cut to pieces the rear-guard, killing the commander, who on news of the attack had flown to render them assistance, and who preferred sharing death

death with his brave men to surviving in a country where nothing but his unfortunate defeat could be present to his imagination.

The Portuguese on this occasion likewise lost Father Nicolas de Rosario, a monk of the order of Santo Domingo, who had accompanied the army to say mass and administer the sacraments; but the manner of death of this good father was so cruel, that it may be regarded as a kind of martyrdom; for after tying him to a tree, and exercising on his body what the most infamous and brutal passions alone could suggest, they killed him by repeated wounds. Muzimbas, desirous on this occasion of signalizing himself, put on the clerical dress of the monk, and bearing in one hand the chalice and in the other a spear, marched thus at the head of his troops, who each bore one or other of the members of the Portuguese they had killed, which they ate at a feast given in honour of their victory: this took place in 1592.

The succeeding year Don Pedro de Soufa, governor of Mozambico, attempted to revenge the death of André de San Jago, and the death of his troops; but he was unfortunate in his expedition, and obliged to retreat, losing by the way the major part of his rear-guard, which was utterly defeated by Muzimbas, and leaving all his baggage and cannon to the conqueror, rendered still more arrogant and vain by this additional success. After this Don Pedro de Soufa formed an army consisting of upwards of fifteen hundred Caffres and two hundred Portuguese, with which he crossed the river to lay siege to Muzimbas. On this occasion he invested the town in form, and caused it to be attacked at several points, at each of which however he met with an equally obstinate resistance; and the Caffre moreover, by raising épaulements, sheltered his men in such a manner that they were very little incommoded by the artillery of the Portuguese. These at length determined on carrying the place by assault, and in furtherance of this plan filled the ditch with fascines, and pushed their lines forward to the very foot of the counterescarp, where they made a lodgement to cover themselves from the sallies of the besieged; but the enemy threw such abundance of hot water and boiling oil on the Caffres, who were naked, that the major part of them were dispirited; and in addition to this annoyance, they made such profitable use of certain machines of iron which they use for the defence of towns, and which, being projected with strength and precision, carry death wherever they strike, that the Portuguese and the Caffres with them lost the whole day in attempts of no avail; at length they founded a retreat in order to dress the wounded and bury their dead.

On the succeeding day the general renewed the assault and erected gabions which commanded the ramparts of the Zimbas. From this position the musquetry annoyed the enemy so severely, that they at length offered to capitulate; but while the articles were preparing, Muzimbas, as excellent a politician as a warrior, availed himself of a stratagem which obliged the Portuguese to raise the siege. He counterfeited a number of letters from the women of Mozambico and Sena, representing to their husbands in the army of Don Pedro, that their persons were in extreme peril, owing to insurrections that had taken place in those two towns; and conjuring them, if they valued either their lives or those of their children, who were in danger of reverting to their pristine slavery, (the Caffres threatening to destroy both towns), to return to their homes. In these letters the most endearing expressions were used; and the superior claims of kindred and affection to those of mere friendship and attachment to the Portuguese in a cause which must take long time to bring to issue were strongly insisted upon. They stated, that while they were prosecuting a siege, which, from the excellent troops and numerous resources of Muzimbas, must necessarily be long procrastinated, they were at the crisis

of their fate, and that delay might render their affairs irretrievable. The substance of these letters being spread through the camp, the Caffres represented to their commander the necessity of flying to the defence of their property and families, promising at the same time, after avenging themselves of their enemies, to return and signalize themselves in his service. Don Pedro de Soufa, who had no means of enforcing obedience nor of preventing their abandoning him, was fain to allow their departure; and having now but two hundred men left with him, determined on raising the siege. Muzimbas, however, who reckoned much on the success of his stratagem, and had already prepared his measures, caused the rear of the Portuguese to be attacked in a narrow defile, and, cutting it in pieces, and making himself master of all the baggage and artillery, returned triumphant to his fortrefs.

Still placing a due value on the prowess of the Portuguese, Muzimbas resolved to prevent the renewal of a war which might terminate in his ruin, deprecated the resentment of the Portuguese, and entered into treaty for peace; the articles of which, after much dispute, were concluded, Muzimbas agreeing to restore the usurped possessions of the Caffre, which had originated the war, to the right owner.

CHAP. V.—*The Army of Muzimbas being augmented to Fifteen thousand Men, he obtains possession of the Island Quitoa by means of information given him by a Moor, whom he causes to be punished according to his deserts.*

THE Portuguese, thunder-struck at the severe check their forces had received, now occupied themselves in placing their army on such a footing as should enable them to take signal vengeance for the treachery which Muzimbas had used in surprising their men on raising the siege of his fortrefs. But this wary enemy, foreseeing their intentions, made new levies, and by holding out to his subjects and neighbours, that the object of life with brave men should be the acquisition of glory, and the rendering themselves formidable upon earth, by flattering them with success, and above all with a rich booty, he succeeded in causing many to take up arms, and this the more readily from the Caffres, an idle race, in general preferring the ease and plenty usually attendant on a warlike life to the toil of peaceful occupations. With his first levies he made incursions on the territories of his neighbours, whose wives and children were killed and eaten, or made slaves by his troops, and by his numbers, and by his depredations, he spread such general consternation, that the chief of the inhabitants contiguous to his possessions, to escape similar injuries, and that they might participate in the spoil of others, flocked to join his standard in such numbers, that he found himself at length at the head of an army of fifteen thousand men, unrestricted by discipline from any licentiousness whatsoever, provided they continued faithful to his orders.

This ambitious character, seeing that every thing gave way before him, determined on laying siege to the island Quitoa*, trusting he should readily obtain possession of it, and intending to give it up to pillage, the more to attach his troops and render them hearty in his service. No sooner had he conceived the design, than he hastened to put it in execution; but the tide being too high to admit of his embarking his troops, he contented himself with wasting the country adjacent to the island, closing all communication between the island and the main, and commencing a blockade. The inhabitants

* Between the mouths of the rivers Quitoa and Quifima, north of Cape Del Guço. ENG. TRANS.

who defended the place were soon made acquainted with the intentions of Muzimbas, to whose dominion they were adverse, and which they were resolved on avoiding at the peril of their lives; but a moor who was among them, calculating the hazard of a warfare with this chief, resolved on sacrificing to his own safety and fortune both the lives and liberties of his countrymen. In this view he swam across the arm of the sea which separated them from the army of Muzimbas, to whom he caused to be communicated, that he had a secret of importance to impart, which concerned materially his present intentions: this was sufficient to insure his introduction; Muzimbas was anxious to see him, and ordered him instantly to be ushered to his presence. When before him, after a low bow he addressed him in the following terms: "I present myself before you, great general, who are the first conqueror of this country, and who so well deserve to be its master. Apprised of your intention of turning your arms against the island Quitoá where I reside, and apprehensive the resistance of the forces it contains, which are determined to defend the island, might retard its conquest and the pleasure I should feel at becoming your subject, I have encountered the dangers of the sea to offer you my service with heart and hand, and to lay open to you a way by which the island may be entered, as it is not equally well protected on all sides, and especially as on those where it is presumed you mean to make your attacks; and as I am well satisfied, by following my instructions, that you will speedily make yourself master of the island, I entreat protection for myself and all belonging to me, in our persons and our property, which latter I leave to your generosity to augment at pleasure when you shall be our sovereign."

Muzimbas, highly gratified by this offer, received the traitor with much kindness, promised him all he required, and even greater recompense than his most ardent expectations led him to anticipate. The enterprize was carried into effect under favour of night, when the Moor placed himself at the head of the troops, and guided them to the secret pass in perfect safety. So still was the march, that the sentinels, who did not expect an attack in this direction, were plunged in sleep, and consigned to death, together with more than three thousand inhabitants, who served the cannibals for food during the pillage of the town.

Such was the ravage and such were the excesses committed by the army in Quitoá, that the whole population was exterminated, and the only family left was that of the traitor who had introduced the enemy, and who flattered himself with receiving an ample fortune. Muzimbas, who knew how to proportion his rewards to the merit of services received, solicitous of delaying no longer those which the Moor had earned, caused him at length to be summoned to his presence. The traitor now expected nothing less than that he should be appointed governor of the place, and loaded with gifts; he consequently collected the whole of his family to be witness of his glory, and of the security and opulence its different members were about to acquire.

Approaching Muzimbas they fell at his feet, imploring his favour and protection, and enlarging on the good fortune of the Moor, their relative, who had been enabled to assist his righteous cause, they entreated him in the humblest manner to regard them as the most faithful among his subjects. On this Muzimbas, in whom nature had implanted sentiments of honour as well as a cruel disposition, who, like Alexander, could hug the treason while he abhorred the traitor, cast a terrible look upon them, and addressing the Moor, said: "Learn, wretch, learn hence, that a conqueror like me may avail himself of the perfidy of traitors like yourself, but is incapable of countenancing or rewarding it. In course of time I should, by the valour and intrepidity of my army, have succeeded in my object, without having recourse to the succour I

" derived from you, and which I merely accepted to spare the blood of my soldiers.
 " The advantage of having by your means obtained on our part a bloodless victory has
 " hitherto restrained my resentment at your treason : you have had a breathing time ;
 " it is fit now that I should manifest my indignation and horror at such a monster ; I
 " condemn you therefore together with your family to be cast into the sea, esteeming
 " all of you alike unworthy to serve as a meal for my soldiers, fearing lest the perfidy
 " of your nature should have communicated a venomous quality to your flesh and blood."
 These words were pronounced by Muzimbas with so much vehemence and passion, that the guards about him, whom he directed to put his will in execution, immediately followed his orders, and gave the bodies of the whole to the waves.

After the destruction of Quitoa, and the death of him who had precipitated if not occasioned its ruin, Muzimbas marched against the island Mombaza, which he conceived incapable of resisting his arms : but the Turks, who suspected his intentions, had previous to his arrival dispatched four galleys with succours for its relief, and by means of this were enabled to arrest his progress, and present on the different occasions of their joining battle a very formidable front.

In the mean time a fleet belonging to the Portuguese accidentally arrived off Mombaza ; those on board, till their arrival, having no intelligence of what was passing. They profited by the circumstances of the time, and succeeded in beating the one and resisting the other ; for they defeated and captured the galleys of the Turks, and entered Mombaza victoriously in view of the army of Muzimbas on the opposite bank of the river. This chief, unable to comprehend by what means success so complete and so prompt could have been obtained, exclaimed that the Portuguese were truly the gods both of sea and land ; and thenceforth he sought their alliance and friendship. This exploit was effected by the brave general Thomas de Sousa.

Shortly after, a treaty of peace was concluded between the Portuguese and Muzimbas, to whom the former gave up the town of Mombaza, which he laid in ruins. Afterwards he proceeded against the capital of Melinda, which he reckoned upon taking with ease ; but a succour of three thousand men having been thrown into the place by certain Caffres called *Mossequios*, Muzimbas, who had already effected a lodgment on one of the bastions, was repulsed. Encouraged by this success, the garrison made a sally, and completely overthrew the army of Muzimbas ; the major part being put to the sword, a small vestige only succeeding in reaching their homes by dispersing in every direction, and thus avoiding the fury of the Caffres.

CHAP. VI.—*The Moors of the Island St. Lawrence, as well as those of Mozambico, rebel against the Portuguese.*

THE island of St. Lawrence is situate opposite to that Ethiopia of which I have already given a description ; it is three hundred leagues in length by eighty in breadth, and is separated from the main by a channel sixty leagues broad at its narrowest part. It was discovered in 1506 by the expedition under the command of that famous captain Tristun de Cunha on its passage to the Indies, and the first landing happening on the anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, it received his name, though previously it was called by the inhabitants Madagascar. This country abounds in all kinds of vegetables, rice, millet, and a great variety of roots so pleasant to the taste as to form a principal part of the food of the inhabitants through great part of the year ; here also are seen a number of orange and lemon trees, and abundance of sugar canes.

During the government of George de Meneffes in Mofambico, the Moors rose against the Portuguese, and refused any longer to admit them into their ports, stating, they hindered them from disposing of the growth of their own soil; this, however, was merely a pretext to oblige the Christians, against whom their hatred was implacable, to leave the country.

George de Meneffes, who knew of the reluctance of the Moors to their settling in this country, notwithstanding this reluctance determined on establishing a settlement of the Portuguese; and causing a vessel of war to be well manned and equipped, sailed direct to the island with the intention of waging war with them in case the Moors should oppose his views and deny a residence in the country, or the freedom of commerce to the Portuguese; and determining to place a factor there with ten soldiers and two monks to administer the Sacrament to them.

The Moors, intimidated by the arrival of this ship, attempted to excuse their rebellion, and pretended that the fomenters of it had been rigorously punished, as a proof of their desire of living on a friendly footing with the Portuguese. These however, not trusting to their professions, proposed to leave, as they had planned, a small garrison behind them. Before their departure, however, some misunderstanding taking place among the soldiers of which the garrison was composed, they severally embarked and returned to Mozambico, leaving on the island Father Thomas alone, a monk of the order of Santo Domingo.

Immediately after the sailing of this vessel an Arab ship arrived from Mecca, the crew of which, on hearing of the assumed sovereignty of the Portuguese over the inhabitants, took vengeance on Father Thomas, who had remained and occupied himself in preaching the gospel. They consequently, in a beverage which they presented, administered poison to him; he suspected indeed their bad intentions, but drank the draught in perfect resignation to the Almighty will, and quickly after experienced its mortal effects.

The Portuguese, affected at the treatment the good Father experienced from his treacherous hosts, and justly offended with them, resolved on avenging, with their own, the cause of Heaven; they accordingly returned the next year to the island and laid it waste, afterwards sailing back to Mozambico, where they had scarcely arrived before a vessel from Mecca was shipwrecked on their coast, and afforded them a new object of plunder.

This year was fertile in treachery, the Moors acting with perfidy towards the Portuguese in one of the islands contiguous to that of Comoro, which serves as a retreat for all the outcasts and scoundrels of the country.

George Meneffes, governor of Mozambico, sent a vessel to this island of Mazabangen for the purpose of taking in refreshments; but the captain, deeming it imprudent to venture on landing without first sending intimation of his design to the king of the island, dispatched for the purpose two Moors acquainted with the language of the country, with orders to request permission to land, and to state that the vessel was from Portugal, and that they looked for nothing but what they meant to pay for. The king, who professed amity, promised to furnish them with whatever they might require, and observed that his subjects as well as himself would feel themselves happy in supplying them with what their means afforded, as he regarded the Portuguese as their good friends and allies.

The Portuguese were gratified at meeting with so courteous a reception; at the same time they kept themselves on their guard against surprise on the part of people, on whose sincerity and conduct they had little ground of reliance. Nor were they in the wrong
in.

in this caution, as was proved by the event; for they learnt by a young man belonging to the island, who swam to their ship, that shortly after the departure of their messengers, the king gave directions to his people, immediately upon their landing, to fall upon the Portuguese, seize their ship, and by such an example deter the Christians from again venturing to his island.

The people on board the ship differed in opinion respecting the degree of credit to be given to the testimony of this man, some looking upon it as a mere invention, and regarding him in the light of a spy; they therefore kept him on board: but, in order to remove their doubts, they sent ashore a felucca, and had ample reason to repent their incredulity, for part of the crew were murdered, the rest escaping merely by throwing themselves into the sea. The Portuguese were anxious that the same man who had come on board should return to the island, that he might continue to give them information respecting what was passing there; but, separate from his disinclination to incur the danger he should in trusting himself again in their hands, he was as much averse from his countrymen as he was partial to the Christians, the number of whom he shortly after increased, becoming a member of the order of Santo Domingo, among the Fathers of which order he lived in a very exemplary manner for many years.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the three scourges with which God afflicted the Ethiopians. — Of the Uses to which Manna and Cocoa are put, and where they are found.*

THE cruelties exercised by Muzimbas, occasioned him to be esteemed one of the scourges of God, who ultimately punished this prince with the annihilation of his army; for he sent such immense flights of locusts into the country, that when on the wing they darkened the day; and when they alighted they devoured so completely all the flowers of the field and every description of verdure, even to the roots, that the earth seemed as if ravaged with fire: the consequence was, so great a scarcity of grain and corn throughout the whole of Ethiopia, that a general famine prevailed.

The Caffres sold their children for a measure of millet, and even delivered themselves up to slavery, that they might have wherewithal to eat; and those whose circumstances were mean, waged war with the others for the purpose of devouring them*.

The

* History furnishes many melancholy examples of the extremes to which different nations have occasionally been reduced by famine, but among the most afflicting of these instances, no one perhaps exceeds that which is related as the result of the failure of the overflowing of the Nile, in the year of the Hejira 597, commencing in October 1200. The horrible picture is given by Abd-Allatif, an Arabian physician of great esteem, whose valuable work respecting Egypt has been dressed in several of the languages of Europe, and has lately, with notes which display unbounded patience and toil, and at the same time the deepest erudition, been published anew, through the medium of the imperial press at Paris, by M. Sylvestre de Sacy, under the title of "*Relation de l'Egypte par Abd-Allatif, Paris 1810.*" The narrative, as it will in all probability be new to the English reader, as it affords a curious specimen of the Arab style of that period, is of undoubted truth, and presents a picture, however horrible, yet so highly extraordinary, is in part subjoined.

"In this state of things, the year 597 (beginning October 1200-1) announced itself as a monster whose fury was about to annihilate all the resources of life, and every means of subsistence. All hope of a rising of the Nile was abandoned, and, in consequence, the price of every article of produce was increased considerably; the provinces were parched with drought; the inhabitants foresaw inevitable scarcity; and the dread of famine occasioned much tumult. Those who dwelt in the country withdrew to the chief towns of the provinces; many among them emigrated to Syria, Magreb, Hedjaz, and Yemen, where they dispersed themselves in every direction, as formerly the children of Saba. Infinite multitudes sought refuge in the cities of Misr and Cairo, where to the most frightful dearth was joined as terrible a mor-

The last plague was the small-pox, which carried off those whom famine and the sword had spared, for none who were afflicted with this destructive malady escaped.

"tality: for, on the sun entering the constellation of the Ram (March 1201), the atmosphere became infected, and a pestilential and destructive contagion began to be manifest. The poor, starving with hunger, satisfied its cravings with the vilest refuse—dogs, human carcases, and carrion, nay even the very excrements of man and animals. They went even further, and devoured young children. It was not unusual to surprise individuals with infants roasted or boiled. The captain of the city guard caused to be burnt alive those persons who were guilty of these crimes, as well as those detected in eating such meat.

"I myself saw a small infant roasted, in a basket. It was carried before the provost, together with a man and woman, said to be the parents of the child: the provost condemned them to the stake.

"When the poor first began to feed on human flesh, the horror and wonder excited by such unusual repasts, occasioned it to be the theme of conversation every where; but afterwards people were so accustomed to it, and indeed conceived so much liking for these detestable viands, that they became a general and common food, were eaten as a treat, and store of them was kept for future need: different modes of curing and cooking such meat were invented; and the custom once introduced in the city, spread to the provinces, so that no part of Egypt remained in which such practices were uncommon. Wonder at such a resource now ceased; the horror it first inspired entirely vanished; and it was no longer spoken of other than as an indifferent and ordinary matter."

After a recital of many shocking examples of individuals laying in wait to destroy children and others incapable of defence, that they might support nature by such unnatural yet only remaining means; of mothers devouring their children; husbands and wives their companions, and children their parents; of which cases he was mostly an eye-witness, Abd-Allatif proceeds:

"One matter we shall notice for its having been frequently before us: At Misr, at Cairo, and in the neighbouring towns, wherever we turned our steps, the eye was perpetually disgusted with the afflicting scene of a corpse, or an individual at the last gasp, and oftentimes of numbers in this condition. At Cairo especially, the dead daily carried to the place of sepulchre were from one to five hundred. At Misr the ravage of death was without bounds, and defied calculation; the dead were not buried; the living contented themselves with casting them without the walls: nay, towards the end, the survivors were too few to be able even to remove the corpses which were seen lying in the squares, in the passages between the houses and the shops, and even on the floors in the houses. And oftentimes by the side of a body hanging in strips, were seen a cook, a butcher, and people of similar professions.

"Of the burghs and villages, all the inhabitants perished, except those who had been able to remove to other parts. Scarcely, even from this statement can be excepted the capitals of provinces and the larger villages; for example Kous, Aschmounein, Mahalleh, and others of similar magnitude; and in these even the number of survivors was extremely small. Oftentimes a traveller passed through a considerable village without finding a single person alive: the houses he saw all open, and in them only the corpses of those by whom they had been inhabited stretched on the floor opposite to each other, some in a state of corruption, and others but newly dead; and frequently moveables abounded, with none to claim possession.

**** "The road from Egypt to Syria, by the testimony of numerous witnesses, resembled an immense field sown with corpses, or rather a field through which the reaper had passed; it had become, as it were, a banqueting house for birds and beasts, which preyed upon their flesh; and the dogs, which these emigrants had made the partners of their flight, were the first to devour their bodies.

**** "People of free condition were sold. *** A young girl might be purchased for a few pieces of silver. I myself was offered two maidens, not yet of the age of puberty, for a single piece of gold; and on another occasion I saw two females, one of them yet a maid, whom the cryer offered for sale for eleven pieces of silver. One woman also came to me and proposed to sell me her own daughter, of some beauty and still a girl, for five pieces of silver. On my representing that such traffic was contrary to law, 'Take her then,' she exclaimed, 'as a free gift.' ***

*** "Villages which before contained a population of ten thousand, now became so many deserts, in which at times a few straggling beings might be found, and in which at others not one could be seen. The major part of the city Misr was wholly depopulated: the houses on the canal, the street of the Pond, Maks, Haleb, and the neighbouring places were entirely depopulated, though previously there was not one of these suburbs but in population might vie with cities. At Cairo, even the palaces, houses, and shops in the best quarters of the city, and in its very heart, are most of them tenantless and silent; to such extent indeed, that in one of the most thickly peopled parts there is an hotel consisting of fifty lodgings, in which, if four be excepted, the whole are empty, and these four are tenanted merely by persons to preserve the hotel. The inhabitants of this once great city at the present time use no other wood for fuel for their kitchens and ovens than the timber of the roofs of houses, door-posts, and fences." Book II. Chap. 2. Page 360 to 374.—ENG. TRANS.

The position of the island Mozambico is detrimental to the vision of the inhabitants ; for, from the instant the sun sets till it rises the succeeding morn they distinguish nothing, becoming as it were blind till the great eye of the world re-illuminating the earth disperses darkness and restores them sight ; what however is remarkable, this accident is peculiar to this island, for out of it the human sight is not subject to this extraordinary eclipse*.

In the island Delgado, fertile and productive of almost every thing, manna, formed of the dew from heaven, falls on certain trees, on which it is found in masses in a congealed state, like but not equally hard as sugar-candy.

The inhabitants lay up for their consumption a considerable stock of this article, and sell a still greater quantity, as on their part they are unacquainted with any other medicine, using it as a purgative ; to their knowledge of its aperient property are we indebted for its introduction into the *materia medica* of Europe.

With respect to the manner in which the *cocoa nut* is produced, authors seem to differ : some imagine it the fruit of a tree which grows at the bottom of the ocean, which is only detached by the action of the water in great tempests, and afterwards cast on different shores by the waves.

Others again esteem it to grow on a kind of palm-tree, of terrestrial and not submarine production, the branches of which extend wide, and preserve its fruit in such a perfect state as to make it the most esteemed and useful upon earth, its flesh being savoury and the water of it so delightful that our finest liquors scarcely can enter into competition.

When the cocoa has attained its full size, it is large as a man's head, especially when encompassed in its external coat ; a coat similar to our chestnuts in its position, but of different texture. From the fibres of this outward coat, sacking is made, sails, and coverings for houses ; beneath this coat is a texture of filaments of finer quality, of which linen is made, and cordage and cables for shipping ; and under this is the shell of the cocoa, of considerable hardness, which is used for firing, and its finer parts for beads for rosaries and other works.

After this shell is taken off, the fruit appears, which differs from our Michaelmas peach only in colour, being of the same size, but extremely white, and of most delicious flavour.

Within the hollow nut is a sweet liquor, as refreshingly cool in its nature as the nut itself is heating. When it is wished to extract this water without breaking the nut, a hole is bored through the top of it, at one of three indents which present the similitude of a monkey's countenance. Individuals, anxious for the preservation of the shell, either as a curiosity, or for the use to which it is applicable, saw it through the middle, and make cups of it to drink out of. What is remarkable, this fruit continues perfectly fresh and good as long as the liquor within is retained ; but when it loses this, it becomes dry and good for nothing.*

* The former part of this statement is correct ; within the torrid zone the twilight is scarcely perceptible, owing to the promptitude with which the sun passes the few degrees requisite before the refraction of its rays ceases, when dark night begins. This singularity, to an individual coming from higher latitudes, where the twilight is always of longer duration, and of unremitted continuance during part of the year, never fails of exciting notice within the tropics. The assertion that the sudden succession of darkness to light is not experienced out of the island of Mozambico, is no otherwise to be accounted for than by supposing the author meant to say, instead of "out," north of the island and without the tropics ; especially as at Sofala he must have observed the same appearances.—ENG. TRANS.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of the Mode of taking Elephants; and an Account of a Hunter who died upon one he had killed.*

THE number of elephants in this country is prodigious, so much so indeed that the inhabitants are obliged to pursue and make frequent hunting courses after them, to preserve from their ravage the lands they sow with rice and millet, in which lands these animals generally commit great waste; when, however, the chase is inadequate to the sufficient reduction of the elephants, snares are made for them, after the same manner as in different parts of the Continent is done for wolves; when a Caffre discovers that an elephant has fallen into his toils, he assembles his friends and relatives, that they may partake of the sport and consequent feast.

Had not the Caffres the inducement for pursuing the elephant, which arises from the necessity of protecting their property, they would yet have sufficient in the benefit they derive from their capture, seeing its flesh serves them for food, and its teeth are an object of considerable traffic. Indeed with them the elephant is esteemed of great value; so much, that one being obtained perfectly white, many princes of the surrounding country waged war for the possession of the valuable animal; but it was ultimately adjudged to the lord of the soil on which it was taken, as a maternal right.

The Caffres, aware of the risk incurred in hunting elephants, endeavour commonly to come upon them when they sleep, which they are enabled to do on account of their discovering themselves by their snoring so loud as to be heard all over the country; when, getting as near to them as they are able, they lance a javelin into their body; this awakening them, occasions, in proportion to their agitation, a less or greater effusion of blood, and oftentimes their death; for they frequently fall upon the javelin, which in consequence is plunged deeper into their bodies. Many authors describe a different mode of taking this animal: according to these, the elephant after it has passed three years old never lies down to sleep, but leans in taking repose against a tree, the trunk of which at this time is cut near the root, and the tree in falling encumbers and kills the elephant. Were such the truth, ivory would be still dearer than it is, and far more rare; for the danger of this mode of hunting would deter many who now pursue the animal in view of enriching themselves with its spoils.

Two Caffres happening once to wound as many elephants but very slightly, were, on account of the fall of night, unable to follow the trace of them; the next day they returned to the chase in hopes of finding them dead; but their wounds not being considerable, they had traversed a great distance, and were tracked by their blood: the hunters at length discovered them, one of these elephants had gone into a river, and with its trunk was throwing water over the other, this was lying on the bank, and in consequence the huntsmen concluded it was dead. Approaching now somewhat nearer than was prudent, to the living one in the water, this elephant seized one of the two hunters with his trunk, and cast him with such violence on the body of the dead elephant as to deprive him of life, thus avenging the death of his comrade by that of the person by whom it was occasioned.

History is full of similar anecdotes, which prove that this animal, though buried in matter, possesses reason in a superior degree to any other upon earth.

It is related, that at Goa, a capital city in the Indies, there was an elephant nicknamed *Perico* (or the sot) on account of its predilection for wine. It was accustomed

to halt before the door of the different taverns, and never quit its station until a quantity of wine was poured into its trunk; and if, which sometimes happened, any one out of joke gave it money, it carried it to the best tavern, and readily distinguished bad from good wine; so that indeed those who frequented these wine houses, were used always to ask for the elephant's wine.

The viceroy of the Indies, in the year 1600, sent as a present to the king of Spain an elephant which readily comprehended whatever was said to it in the Italian and Portuguese languages; at least it never refused any thing required of it in either of those tongues; it appeared fond of music, and would beat time to a tune with its trunk; and whenever its guide, desirous of teaching it any thing, scolded this elephant or expressed dissatisfaction, one might perceive a sensibility in it, and that it was affected by the reproaches it received, and uneasy till its master seemed to be reconciled.

HISTORY OF EASTERN ETHIOPIA.

BOOK III.

OF THE ISLANDS OFF THE COAST OF MELINDA; THE WARS OF THE PORTUGUESE WITH THE MOORS; AND THEIR SUCCESSES, AS WELL IN FIGHTING WITH THESE, AS THE TURKS, WHO CAME TO THEIR ASSISTANCE.

CHAP. I. — *Of the Islands off the Coast of Melinda: Pimbo, Lamo, Patta; their Rebellion against the Portuguese, and the Manner in which they were punished.*

AFTER having in the former books spoken of the major part of that Ethiopia which begins at Cape Carrientes, and extends to Cape Delgado, (a space of more than three hundred leagues, all of which is comprised within the jurisdiction of the Captaincy General of Mozambico), I shall close the history of the continent with an account of the countries and kingdoms extending from Cape Delgado to Egypt and the Red Sea, which form the limits of this Ethiopia; and, resuming the thread of this history, take a tour through the islands of the coast of Melinda, and speak of the kings of this part of the world who are tributary to the Portuguese.

The captain of Mozambico, the master of all this country, oftentimes purchases dearly the honour of governing it, having to preside over nations differing in manners no less than in language.

On the north is the extensive kingdom of the Munimigi, composed of pagans and savages, who pay tribute to their sovereign of considerable amount, and proportioned to the revenue they derive from their gold mines in the kingdom of Gorage.

These people are universally sorcerers, and so well comprehend the art and practice of witchcraft that they are capable of staying even the activity of fire, voluntarily throwing themselves into the midst of a burning pile without receiving the slightest injury, and all the while conversing with those round the pyre, thus clearly evincing the inefficacy of the flames to consume them.

This kingdom is environed by many others belonging to Prester John, * denominated by his subjects *Azeque*, a word commensurate with Emperor.

* The Emperor of Abyssinia, it is well known, was long distinguished by the title of Prester John. The origin of this title has been variously given, and many absurd opinions of its etymology have been published. According to Bruce, it is derived from the common exclamation with which this monarch is assailed on his appearing in public: *Rete o Jan Hoi; O king, render justice!*—ENG. TRANS.

On leaving the territory of Gorage, proceeding towards the west is the province of *Couché*, inhabited by pagan subjects of Prester John. A gold mine discovered in this country is so rich, that when the sun shines on it, open as it is to the day, the splendor which it irradiates, dazzles the eye; it is even forbidden any one to approach it; and the gold hitherto brought from the country is obtained from other mines. The ore is so rich, that two parts in three consist of pure gold, though this is of a quality so inferior to the best, as to be rated at only half its value.

The kingdom on the west, abounds not only in gold mines, but also in horses, mules, and cotton cloths. The Prester John receives annually a tribute from this kingdom, of three hundred head of cattle, and as many horses, as well as three hundred ounces of gold, valued at thirty-six franks (3 sh.) per ounce.

Bordering on this kingdom, is that of Damuta, which extends as far as the equinoctial line. It is inhabited by pagans, tributary to the Prester John. This country is likewise very productive; but as it yields no iron, that metal is bought at its weight in gold, which is very common. Salt likewise is exceedingly rare, and very dear; being brought to this country from the kingdom of Dambia, and the province of Belgada. Oftentimes a slave is purchased for five or six lumps of salt of four pounds weight.

In the neighbourhood of Damuta is a province in which the women are so much addicted to war and hunting, that they constantly go armed. When contention fails in their neighbourhood, they purposely excite quarrels among themselves, that they may exercise their skill and courage, and neither the one be impaired nor the other be relaxed by idleness. They are much more daring than the men of the country, and, that they may have no impediment to the proper exercise of the right arm, they are accustomed, while their daughters are young, to tear the breast of that side with a hot iron, and thus wither it and prevent its growth.

Most of these women are more occupied with warfare than the management of domestic affairs, whence they rarely marry, and live as formerly did the Amazons of Scythia. Where by chance any enter the marriage state and have children, they take charge of them no longer than till they are weaned, after which they send them to their fathers to be brought up. But the chief of them imitate the example of their queen, who lives in a state of perpetual virginity, and is regarded as a deity by her subjects; nay, even all the sovereigns, whose territories are adjacent to hers, pride themselves in living with her on friendly terms, and defend her against any attacks. Indeed the power of this monarch is such as to make her another Queen of Sheba, whose authority over her subjects, as is related by the Patriarch Bermudes in his Book on the Prester John, was without any limits.

The same Patriarch relates that, off the coast of China, islands are found peopled with Amazons who suffer no men among them except at certain seasons, for the preservation of their race: if the fruit of the connection chance to be girls, they preserve them; if boys, the care of bringing them up devolves on their fathers, while they themselves are employed in exercising their horses, and in war*.

* With the exception of horses the same is related as the substance of a communication afforded to the missionaries sent by the Jesuits to the South Sea islands, by one of the inhabitants of the Mariana islands. In one of the Carolina islands a nation of women is, in the narrative alluded to, said to exist, which is governed by similar principles: the account appears in an appendix to the work of the president De Brosse on the Navigation of the South Sea, and is inserted in the portion of this work, dedicated to that part of the world. *ERG. TRANS.*

CHAP. II.—*Of the Islands off the Coast of Melinda; Pemba, Lamo, Pata; the different Religions of the Inhabitants; the manner in which their Rebellion was punished by the Portuguese.*

AS we have now afforded a description of the inland country, and chief kingdoms, stretching from Ethiopia to Egypt, we must now proceed to a detail of the maritime parts and islands, in which we shall begin with Cape Delgado, proceeding thence towards the Mouth of the Red Sea.

Cape Delgado is situate under the parallel of 10° S. the country thence to the line is called the coast of *Melinda*; and is under the jurisdiction of the captaincy of * Mombaza. Along this coast are many islands, peopled by Pagans, Moors, and Caffres. Some of these are large and fertile; for example: Quitca, Monfia, Zanzibar, Mombaza, Pemba, Lamo, Pata; the others are of inferior size and consequence. In each of these islands the governor of Melinda maintains a factor, to whom the management of the traffic with them is intrusted; the articles of merchandize they yield are tortoise-shell, amber, ivory, wax, millet, rice, and slaves. Of all these islands however Pata is of most value, as in that is manufactured a variety of silk and cotton stuffs, of great beauty and in high request for the dresses of the wealthy of the different neighbouring kingdoms. In this island also, very curious straw work is manufactured with great ingenuity and skill.

Each of the islands has a moorish king, and all are subject to the sovereign of Portugal, to whom they pay tribute through the governor of the coast of Melinda. These Moors are descendants of the Ishmaelites of Happy Arabia, the colonists from which part have prodigiously increased in the islands.

They live in great harmony, as far as regards civil matters; but the moment religion becomes a matter of discussion they divide into parties, each supporting his peculiar tenets, and preferring the sect to which he belongs; a misfortune incident to all faiths distinct from that of the Romish Church, the only true religion.

The Arabs follow the creed of the Persians; that is to say, the interpretation of the Mahommedan law laid down by Ali, which is materially different from that supported by the Turks who are sectaries of Omar; each hence supposes the other in error. This schism is the origin of the animosity subsisting between the grand Sooltaun of Persia and the Great Turk, who are continually at war.

From the difference of the tenets of the Persians and Turks have originated many sects in various regions under the controul of the monarchs of either nation, opposite the one to the other, a division which immediately succeeded the death of Mahmoud, when, four of his nearest relatives, pretending to be doctors and inspired, published as many expositions of the law, which, differing from one another, occasioned as great a variety of sects. Ali was the first author of the sect called *Immemia*, and his tenets were followed by the Persians, Indians, and the Arabs, who dwell in the maritime parts of Happy Arabia; from these last spring the Mons, who dwell on the coast of Melinda.

* The town of this name is situate on a cognominal island at the mouth of a river which empties itself into the sea in about lat. $3^{\circ} 50'$ S. The town on the island is large and populous, and the Portuguese still have a factory and dominion in it. It was taken and partially destroyed by Francis Almeida in 1505, and afterwards abandoned. Some time after, the Portuguese constructed a citadel from which they were driven in the year 1631, but of which they again made themselves masters in 1729, and have since continued in possession. ENG. TRANS.

Abubekir was the Second, who founded the sect denominated *Melkia* (or Royal) his followers the other Arabians, the Saracens, and part of the African Mahomeddians.

Omar was the third; he instituted the sect termed *Anephia*: his disciples, other Africans, and the people of the desert of Zahara.

Othman was the fourth, he established the sect called *Buanephia*, or *Xaphaya* as it is more commonly termed, which sect also is followed by some of those inhabiting the coast of Melinda. Each following these different sects regards all dissentients as heretics; hence quarrels are perpetual, except when the common interest renders it expedient for their feuds to cease, that they may unite in defence against the Portuguese, whom they detest, and whose yoke hangs heavy on their necks. They have in consequence oftentimes rebelled, and as often have they been made to repent their disloyalty and rashness, especially those who inhabit the island Pemba, an island eight leagues from the main opposite to Mombaza, on which it depends. This island is ten leagues in length and highly fertile. It is watered by numerous rivers which contribute greatly to the nourishment of its groves of oranges and lemons, fruits so common in the island that any one may gather them at pleasure. But the comforts enjoyed here are dearly purchased by the frequency of maladies to which indeed strangers are more liable than the natives, who become habituated to the climate, and especially the waters, to which the unhealthiness of the island is chiefly attributed, they being equally unwholesome and abundant.

The Portuguese had firmly established their dominion over these people, and held them in a state bordering on slavery, entering into their homes and taking what they pleased, as if it were their own; while, far from objecting to such usurpation, the Moors appeared to receive gratification from their taking or accepting their poultry, sheep, goats, or whatever they possessed.

Tired at length of such passive obedience, and at the usurpation of the Portuguese over their persons and property, then abusing their authority on all occasions to such extent that if any one chanced to fall, struck his toe against a stone, or even incurred an injury even slighter than this, he immediately laid the blame on the Moor before whose dwelling the accident happened, and pretending a hurt, obliged him to give up all he had either to appease his resentment or to defray the charge of his cure.

Conduct so outrageous and unreasonable made the Moors determine to take up arms not only against the Portuguese but also the king of the island, who, by a strange infatuation, whether resulting from fear or weakness, winked at the behaviour of the Portuguese.

This popular insurrection was so secretly planned and so effectually prosecuted that the Portuguese were all of them put to the sword, the vengeance of the Moors sparing neither woman nor child; and had not their sovereign avoided their resentment by flying with some of his confidants to Mombaza he would no doubt have been confounded with their oppressors, and have shared their fate. On reaching Mombaza and relating what had passed, Matthew de Mendez de Vasconcellos, who commanded on this coast, equipped an armament against the island, and re-established the monarch on his throne, punished the chiefs of the insurrection, and such as had been conspicuously guilty, and aweing others, who in consequence of the examples he made even awhile deterred from such deeds. After completing this enterprize, as glorious for the Portuguese nation as creditable to the general, he returned to Mombaza; but the conversion of the sovereign who embraced the christian faith, and his marriage with a Portuguese lady, occasioned other and more fatal rebellions.

Opposite to Melinda is a small island called Lamo, governed by three different kings tributary to Portugal. The Portuguese, incapable of supporting the insolence of the Moors of Ampaza, one of the towns of this island, who were bitter enemies of the Christians and guilty of all kinds of cruelty towards them, entirely destroyed that capital, as will be related in the succeeding chapter.

The inveteracy of the Moors was not confined to this town, for the king of Lamo, who professed himself their friend, betrayed them and delivered up to the Turks Roch de Britto Falcon in the manner I shall explain.

In the same year the Turks dispatched from the Straits of Mecca (Babelmandel) a galley commanded by Meer Ali Bey, a Turkish corsair, for the purpose of pillaging and sacking Melinda.

This pirate was so fortunate that the success of his voyage even exceeded his expectations, for as soon as the Moors perceived his flag they immediately rose in his favour against the Portuguese.

At this period Roch de Britto was sailing with the commander of Melinda for the Indies, and when he arrived at Lamo, was apprized of the expedition of the Turkish commander whom he studied to avoid on account of the inequality of his force. The king of Lamo, a Moor subject to Portugal, assured Falcon that he might remain on his island in perfect security, where he trusted the Turk would not venture to come to attack him, but if he did, promised to defend him, as well as the small number of Christians with him, at the peril of his life. Roch de Britto, far from suspecting treachery, confided in the promises of the Moor and remained on the island, whither the Turk, as soon as informed of his place of refuge, pursued him. The perfidious Moor, who had secretly resolved on sacrificing the Portuguese, introduced their enemy into the island, where the Portuguese being surprized, were made slaves. Captain Britto himself, supported by a few, seized a buckler and sword, and resolved on selling his life and liberty as dearly as possible; but the Turks overpowering the little band with numbers, most of his party were killed, and himself dangerously wounded. The Turk, who fought to save the life of this captain, less from the value he had for such an illustrious character than from the hope he had of obtaining a high ransom, ordered great care to be taken of him, and caused him to be sent to Constantinople; but the vexation Britto endured at seeing himself thus sacrificed and overcome, combined with the number and badness of his wounds, caused his death on the voyage, so that the only fruit gathered by the corsair from his victory was a few slaves, and a booty valued at about a hundred and fifty thousand crowns (£18,750.)

CHAP. III. — *Of the Revenge of the Portuguese on the Traitors of the towns of Ampaza, Lamo, and Mombaza, the Inhabitants of which were put to the Sword, and their Houses, after first undergoing Pillage, burnt.*

THE loss sustained by the Portuguese from the capture of the vessel of Roch de Britto, affected them far less than his death, and that of his companions, for which they resolved on taking ample vengeance on the Moors; but they suffered some time to elapse without testifying any such intention, that the Moors might be lulled into security by the fancy that they were afraid to attack them, or were inclined to pass over their treachery.

Don Duarte de Menezes, Viceroy of the Indies, who took this affair to heart more nearly than he seemed to do, caused a fleet to be equipped, consisting of two galleons,

three galleys, and twelve galiots; the command of which he entrusted to Martin Alfonso de Mello, with Simon de Britto de Castro under him for lieutenant; and, on board these vessels six hundred and fifty Portuguese, no less animated with a desire of revenging their relatives and friends than with a thirst for glory.

This armament sailed from the port of Goa on the 9th January 1587, a season of the year best suited a voyage to Africa from India, and, with a constantly favouring wind, reached Ampaza on the 28th of the same month. The Portuguese sailed past this town without halting, and proceeded to Magadaxo, which they expected to take at the first assault, but which defended itself in a most vigorous and successful manner, as likewise did the Moorish inhabitants of Brava, so that the expedition was obliged to raise the siege of both towns, and make for the Seven Uninhabited Islands opposite to the town of Ampaza.

This place, which is as strong from its natural position as by its fortifications and the number of its inhabitants, was besieged in form by the Portuguese. They anchored before the town, the monarch of which was so powerful as to be dreaded by his neighbours; full of revenge and anxious for battle; the resistance they had to encounter serving but the more to inflame their courage.

Scarcely had the Portuguese reached the Road before they landed part of their troops, who opened the trenches before the town, while the naval part of the armament attacked it from the sea with incredible fury. The inhabitants, surprized at seeing themselves besieged, without knowing by whom, sent out a vessel to reconnoitre, and when on its return they had intimation that it was the Portuguese, they began to dread their just resentment.

The king, after holding a council of war, published an ordinance, enjoining every one under pain of death above fourteen years of age to take up arms for the defence of their country, their liberty, and his throne, flattering them with succours from the Turks, and confiding in what the kings his neighbours would furnish, in case the siege should be continued. These hopes and necessity served to inspire the inhabitants to defend themselves, which they did resolutely for the space of some days: but the besieged seeing the Portuguese availing themselves of the low water to disembark other troops, and that no succours arrived, suffered fear to get the better of hope, and gave way to tumult. The king, solicitous of stopping the rising insubordination, spoke to them in the following terms, trusting he might recal them to a sense of duty. "I have caused you to be collected, my dear friends, to represent the danger you run in case you refuse a last effort for your deliverance; but as I know that you are more dearly attached to the honour of your country than the preservation of your property or even your lives, I beseech you, by the love you bear me and my government, to employ that bravery which is so natural to you in the defence of a prince, who, by his own example, will shew that he does not value his own life, when your property and lives are at stake. Let us not therefore by a cowardly flight to the interior attempt to seek a safety we should not find, but remember that the Castres, who are more attached to the Portuguese than us, will seek with them to wreak vengeance on our heads. Let us, my dear subjects, shew that we can rely in confidence on ourselves, though the kings my neighbours do abandon me on this trying occasion; let us make a law of necessity which shall stand instead of all assistance, and give new vigour to our courage. Be but faithful and firm, and should our resistance be attended with success, I promise you, on the word and honour of a king, that henceforth I will be to all of you rather a father than a sovereign."

This

This speech from the mouth of a king, who called on them for the exercise of a courage, which from what he foresaw was indispensable, had a powerful effect on his auditors, who swore in the most solemn manner to use all their exertions for the defence of the state. But as these people are as superstitious as they are difficult to govern, they sacrificed a white sheep, persuaded that the opposite side on which it should fall on receiving the mortal blow would be that would obtain the victory. The day being fixed for the ceremony, the people assembled in the square to which the sheep was led, when turning its head towards the east they placed on its head a composition of rice and vinegar, with a garland of palms; the sacrificer then after certain invocations, to which the people made responses, struck it with a club on the head, the animal falling towards the Portuguese, they considered it an infallible presage that they should defeat them. The rumour of the favourable omen quickly spread through the town which resounded with shouts of joy, as all now flattered themselves with obliging the Portuguese to raise the siege, and involve them in confusion and ruin. The people on this occasion renewed their homage to the king, and touching his knee with their hand, as a last protestation of fidelity, raised it on their head.

While the Moors were employed in the ceremonies of offering sacrifices to their gods, and in doing homage to their prince, the Portuguese, availing themselves of the low water, were disembarking, and had formed themselves into three battalions. The first was commanded by Simon de Brito de Castres, the second by the captain general of Melinda, and the third by the general of the army. The two first battalions marched direct against the Moors who had entrenched themselves in the town, which was vigorously attacked, and defended with equal resolution; but the resistance of the Moors provoking the Portuguese to redoubled exertions, they forced the entrenchments, upon which the Moors retired into the town. With the Moors the Portuguese entered pell mell, but here they met with so violent a fire as arrested them in the midst of their progress; for, separate from the Moors within the town, exceeding much in numbers those who had been opposed to the Portuguese at the trenches, the men who had been present at the sacrifice seeing themselves called upon by the presence of the enemy, rushed to arms, divided themselves into squads, and taking their stations in old stone buildings, poured such a quick and well directed fire on the Portuguese that many of them were killed.

In the mean time the general, at the head of his battalion, attacked the town from the land side, and gained an eminence which commanded the place. This new attack, which was very warm, obliged the Moors to divide their forces and fly to the part menaced with greatest danger. Such indeed was the peril deemed that the grand *cacis*, their chief priest, and whose presence alone could restore their fallen courage, rushed to the spot; but the death of their king spread such general consternation among the besieged that they immediately gave way, and fought in vain, within the walls of their houses, a safety no where to be found. The Portuguese followed them constantly with greater fury than ever, and found no obstacles to their progress. Men, women, and children were put to the sword, and so blind in short was the rage of the Europeans, that not even an animal escaped destruction; thus avenging, as they said, the death of their comrades, and the treachery of the Moors towards their nation.

The town being given up to pillage, it became the theatre of inhumanity which would disgrace the most bloody war. The most vile indignities were lavished on the dead body of the monarch; his head was cut off, stuck on the point of a lance, and afterwards, together with the town, was condemned to the flames. The conflagra-

tion was so dreadful, that the whole place was reduced to ashes as well as the suburbs, where the Portuguese felled more than eight thousand palm trees, the beauty and principal wealth of the island; thus did they utterly ruin this part of the country, desirous of leaving an eternal monument of their victory and revenge, and a frightful warning to those who should dare to shew themselves their enemies.

After the ruin of this great town, the Portuguese sailed towards Lamo, which had revolted, and, not content with refusing the customary tribute to the King of Portugal, had been guilty of the treason before related towards Roch de Brito. The King of Lamo, conscious of his criminal conduct, and desirous of escaping the resentment of the Portuguese, sought, to avoid by flight, a peril which he did not dare, however much a hero, to front. The Portuguese commander, who was made acquainted with the fear and flight of this prince, whose spoil he was anxious to possess, upon this declared him an enemy to the crown of Portugal, and as such, confiscated all his property. The general afterwards entered the town at the head of his troops to seize upon the most guilty, and having made a strict scrutiny, condemned such as he discovered to exemplary punishment. He now repaired to the coast of Melinda, where the king awaited him with such anxiety, that as soon as the Portuguese squadron had cast anchor he went on board, the commander receiving him with those expressions of joy and respect which are constantly shewn to monarchs, even when in a state of warfare with them.

The fame of the revenge taken by the Portuguese spread over all the country, and so much astonished and terrified the Moors, that every one resolved on courting their friendship, seeing they were thus terrible, not only when really offended, but even when they fancied an injury.

The commander, whose conduct and valour had already filled the Moors with respect and dread of the Portuguese name, sailed from Melinda, where he left some sick behind him, and steered for Mombaza, whither the king of Melinda accompanied him, reinforcing him with three of his own vessels.

The Portuguese availed themselves of this opportunity, than which none appeared to them more fit for laying siege to Mombaza, and landed for the purpose in its neighbourhood. At first they encountered a vigorous resistance, but this served only to heighten their glory the more, it being inadequate to preventing their ultimate success, the king being at last obliged to submit to the king of Portugal, as previously had been the king of Ampuza, who, after his rebellion, became tributary to this sovereign of Mombaza.

The Moors, when they found resistance vain, offered a capitulation, which, as the Portuguese on this occasion fought for conquest and not revenge, was granted, on condition of the vanquished paying forty thousand crowns for the expense of the war, and dismantling the town.

CHAP. IV.—*The Moors of Melinda request Succour of the Turks, in a meditated Rebellion against the Portuguese.*

THE dominion of the Portuguese being odious and heavy in the eyes of the Moors of Melinda, they deputed emissaries to Meer Ali Bey, who commanded a Turkish squadron in the Red Sea, to intreat assistance; in consequence he fitted out four galleys for that coast, being rendered confident from the former expedition in which he captured Roch de Britto and his vessel. Flattered with the hopes of similar success and already counting on the profit and pillage he should make, he concluded a league with the

the Moors, these holding out to him a fair prospect of defeating and utterly ruining the Portuguese. The difficulty, however, which Meer Ali Bey had to contend with in finding timber suited to the construction of his galleys, causing him a longer delay than he reckoned upon, the Portuguese took advantage of it to render themselves sole and absolute masters of Melinda, perfectly subduing the inhabitants and depriving them of all hopes of assistance.

The intreaties of the deputies were so urgent that Meer Ali Bey put to sea with the four galleys and the vessel he two years before had captured from the Portuguese. He coasted along the whole coast of Melinda, as far as Mogadaxo, the Moorish population of which received him with open arms, and made him valuable presents, in the view of engaging him to become their protector. He afterwards touched at all the large and small towns of this coast from which he drew various other presents, sometimes gratuitously offered, but exacted where not voluntarily given; he then continued his voyage to Melinda, where arriving in the night he lowered his sails and came to an anchor, meaning to attack the place the next day, as he was aware that the King who commanded there was in the interest of the Portuguese.

Matteo de Vasconcellos, governor of the coast of Melinda, seeing himself beset both by sea and land, held consultation with the king, the result of which was that they should defend themselves to the last extremity. They consequently mounted some pieces of cannon on a sandy eminence commanding the road, the fire from which so much distressed the galleys of the Turks, as to induce them to withdraw towards Mombaza, where they determined on fortifying themselves, with intention of driving the Portuguese wholly from the coast; but Providence, who sustained them, continued its protection on this occasion, for as soon as Vasconcellos saw himself attacked, he forwarded intelligence to Emanuel de Sousa Coutinho, governor of the Indies, that he might render him prompt assistance, which he did. To the relief of Vasconcellos this governor dispatched two galliasses, five galleys, six galliots, and six transports, on board of which were nine hundred soldiers, the squadron being placed under the command of Thomas de Sousa Coutinho, who sailed with it from Goa the beginning of January 1588, with a fair wind. The favouring weather enjoyed by the squadron at its departure was not constant through the voyage; when out at sea so dreadful a tempest arose as obliged the commander to send back one of the galleys, which had sprung a leak, and the crew of which, to lighten the vessel, had been forced to throw overboard much of her lading: two galliasses, in addition, were left in the gulph to prevent the Turks from entering, and the remainder of the armament proceeded on its voyage at the mercy of the storm, and without the crew knowing whither they were borne. The tempest lasted almost the whole night through; but the wind falling as the dawn approached, they distinguished fires in the distance towards that part of the coast of Ethiopia which they imagined to be uninhabited, and making towards the spot, they found them to be those of the ships separated by the storm; on joining them they returned thanks to Providence, as, but for these fires, they would infallibly have been wrecked on the coast.

They now changed their course, bearing down for Melinda, and reached the port of Brama, the Moors of which were now friendly to the Portuguese; here they were informed of the passage of the four Turkish galleys, and of their having forcibly exacted contributions of money from the town, acting rather as plunderers than as deliverers.

The Portuguese armament, after remaining two days in this port for the purpose of receiving information respecting the Turkish squadron, proceeded and cast anchor opposite

posited to Ampaza*, a town which had been so completely ruined, two years before, by Martin Alfonso de Mello, that not one stone was left upon another, but which the prince of Ampaza had already rebuilt. This sovereign was surprized as much as his predecessor had been at the appearance of the Portuguese, but taught by the example made of that predecessor and his people, of the danger of resisting these Europeans, he chose a wiser policy.

Equally prudent and brave, this prince sent ambassadors to the commanders of the Portuguese Squadron, made tender of every thing he could have occasion for, and offered to join his forces if requisite: he moreover intimated that he might enter the town in perfect security, for he had constantly been as friendly disposed towards the Portuguese as he was inimical to the Turks, whom he had never suffered to enter his port but when it was out of his power to prevent them. If he had avoided the Portuguese, he said, upon the occasion of their ruining the town in 1586, at least he had not assisted the monarch against whom they fought, and whose territories he now possessed, and consequently he had proved by his neutrality then, that he had not been their enemy; he moreover added, that they should ever find him, now and in time to come, a friend incapable of entertaining even a thought of treachery towards them. The commander made a suitable reply to this courteous demeanor, and professed that the Portuguese would feel themselves honoured by his friendship.

While the squadron were taking in water at Lamo, the commander received news from Vasconcellos of the Turks under Meer Ali Bey being at Mombaza, where it would be easy to fall upon them by surprize, as they were lulled in fancied security. Vasconcellos' account of their unprepared condition to resist Coutinho, recommended an attack before the Turk should have intelligence of his arrival. Coutinho followed this advice, prohibited any one from leaving the ship, and immediately sailed, reaching the town of Melinda by night, off which they anchored. Notwithstanding the general prohibition against leaving the ship, a number of Portuguese noblemen, or *fidalgos*, were permitted to land here, in order to pay their respects to the faithful sovereign of the place, and deliver to him a magnificent present from the governor of the Indies.

Coutinho, learning that the king of Pemba and his son, who had been driven from their kingdom by their mutinous subjects, were then at Melinda, and aware that unless the Portuguese assisted them they would have no chance of re-establishment on their throne, took both on board his squadron and engaged to reinstate them. Scarcely had they arrived before Mombaza, when the Turks, who had fortified themselves there, testified their readiness to engage the Portuguese by a salute of artillery.

Thomas de Souza Coutinho, seeing their eagerness for battle, issued directions for entering the port and carrying the town. Matteo Mandes led the van, composed of small vessels gallantly hung with streamers; the galliots and four galleys closed the rear. In this order they proceeded to the sound of drums and trumpets, accompanied by shouts of joy and loud anticipations of victory, the procession resembling rather a triumphal entry than preparations for a bloody engagement. The flotilla wholly slighted the fire of the fort, the guns of which played without effect on the ships

* In recent maps the island Lamo is omitted, though Mombaza, Pemba, Zanzibar, and Monfia are given. This appears the more extraordinary, as it is marked in the two-sheet map of Africa, by Moll, published the beginning of the last century. It lies at the mouth of one of the rivers which descend from the ridge of mountains termed *The Spine of the World*, or *Lupara*; and, from being divided, as is represented in this work, among three kings, must necessarily be populous and fertile. The island is probably alluvional, as well from its position at the mouth of the river, as from the number of date trees upon it; the palm delighting in a hot low country. ENG. TRANS.

as they passed, and gave new venom, by their inutility towards retarding the progress of the Portuguese, to the rage of Meer Ali Bey. When within gun-shot, each vessel poured a well-directed broadside on the fort, the consequence of which was the death of the governor, under whom Meer Ali Bey acted as lieutenant-general. The death of this personage occasioned a general panic; and Ali Bey was one of the first to abandon the fort and seek refuge in the town. The Portuguese, taking advantage of the confusion, immediately attacked the fort; and six fidalgos, on this occasion, gave signal proofs of valour in seizing the standards of the Turks and substituting the Portuguese flag. Not content with the capture of the fort, perceiving that two galleys of the Turks had moved for protection under the batteries from the town, Matteo Mandes engaged them with such impetuosity and success, that he speedily captured both. This victory, obtained with little trouble or effusion of blood, was highly advantageous, the prizes taken being loaded with merchandize and money. After putting in chains the Turks who were found on board, Mandes pursued the two other galleys, and the other vessel, of greater bulk and higher out of the water than the rest: these surrendered without a contest, and the crews were made slaves.

After these two exploits, in which the Portuguese destroyed a hundred Turks, made eighty prisoners, and released from slavery all the Christians they found, the commander of the expedition ordered Don Francis Mascarenhas to remove the cannon from the fort and bring it on board, which, with much difficulty, was effected.

The Portuguese, who, from being too humane, had been so frequently deceived by these barbarians, resolved on plundering the town of Mombaza; but the king, assured of the war terminating to his prejudice, sent a deputation to the commander entreating peace in the name of himself and people. The answer of the commander was favourable; satisfied of its being advantageous to the sovereign whom he served, rather to obtain security and establish his rights by the submission of a rebel, than to purchase obedience by the effusion of blood, he granted the request of the king and people, stipulating as conditions, that he should in twenty-four hours deliver up all the Turks in the place, without which he would execute the orders of the king his master, and his own resolves.

This answer gratified the king of Mombaza, as it allowed him an entire day to determine on what measures he should take. In the interval he withdrew from the town, which was abandoned by every individual, and secretly retired with Meer Ali Bey to the woods; so that the Portuguese, receiving no answer by the time stipulated, and knowing nothing of their retreat, disembarked five hundred men, who, under the standard of the Crucifix and the Arms of Portugal, marched towards Mombaza, of which they made themselves masters, finding no one to oppose them. The town, after being given up to plunder, was set on fire and reduced to ashes.

CHAP. V. — *Meer Ali Bey made Prisoner.*

WHILE the Portuguese were engaged with the Turks, certain Zimbos on the other side of the army beholding with pleasure the success of the Portuguese, sent deputies to the general to plan measures for their acting in concert with him, either by a diversion or a union of forces with the army of Portugal, with the sovereign and subjects of which they wished to form a treaty of alliance. The proposal was readily embraced, and the measures planned were as successfully prosecuted; for the Zimbos hunted the troops of Mombaza from their coverts in the forest, while the Portuguese

occupied the plain: the Moors made a stout resistance in certain defiles, in which they had entrenched themselves; but the Zimbabwas, who sought occasion to signalize themselves, were rendered by resistance the more resolute and sanguinary, and ultimately drove them from the forest into the open country, where they were either cut in pieces or made slaves.

Meer Ali Bey in despair threw himself into the sea, with a view of drowning himself, being unwilling to survive his defeat; but assistance given in time preserved him from a desperate end, for a lot he regarded with less pleasure than even death itself: the Portuguese made him prisoner, and carried him on board their vessel. The captain of the galleys of this prince, a Carife, and a son and brother of the king of Quilise, who were with the king of Mombaza, shared the same fate. One of these was ransomed, but the other was beheaded for having taken part with the Turks against the Portuguese. These did not use reprisals towards Meer Ali Bey, by whom Roch de Britto was so ill used when enslaved.

This general, whose temper of mind was such as enabled him to accommodate himself easily to circumstances, saluted the commander of the Squadron with great humility on going on board, and observed to him at the same time, in an open and frank manner, that as the accidents of fortune could neither add to nor diminish from his natural qualifications and worth, he regarded the casualty which had befallen him, as one of those common occurrences of war which place the victor in the place of the vanquished; and as this was not the first time he had been obliged to submit to a conqueror, having once before been carried a prisoner into Spain, he had some consolation in having fallen rather into the hands of the Portuguese than the Zimbabwas, whose brutality was extreme.

The general gave him to understand that the treatment he should receive, would not be regulated by that he had shewn to Roch de Britto; but on the contrary, that he should have no room to complain of his country, much less of himself, or any of his people.

This victory was followed by the news brought by the vessels before Mombaza, of that obtained by Thomas Coutinho over the Turks. So that the Portuguese, anxious to depart, sent Matteo Mandes de Vasconcellos to reinstate the king of Pemba in his dominions, the same who had proceeded in the fleet with them from Melinda. The Portuguese by this shewed, that if they dethroned those kings who dared to become their enemies, they knew how to protect and re-establish such as ceased to be so.

After the re-establishment of this prince, the Portuguese left the coast of Pemba for that of Melinda, where they received those congratulations which are due to such as by their courage or conduct render themselves respectable: what however most surprized the inhabitants of Melinda was, to find among the slaves captured by the Portuguese the general of the Turks himself: this circumstance gave origin to a saying which has ever since that time been current, that, "Os Portugais não se tome a ninguém, porque tarde o cedo lho hão de pagar*."

Meer Ali Bey being about to go on board the commodore's galley, he was informed that he would there meet with the king of Melinda, and that, as it was his misfortune to be subject to a foreign yoke, it would be fit he should sink somewhat of his natural pride on approaching a prince, before whom submissiveness would be most becoming. This general, no less sensible than brave, made answer, that the misfortune of being overcome was not with him a subject of despair; and that having at all times shewn

* The Portuguese take nothing from any one but what soon or late they pay again.

the greatest respect to crowned heads, he certainly should not fail in reverence towards the king of Melinda, to whom it was due, not only on account of his dignity, but for his personal merits, his valour, and the friendship by which he was united to the king of Portugal. Sentiments like these, which proceed from those noble minds alone that are unmoved by the events of war, the accidents of human life, made Ali Bey be regarded in so respectable a light among the Portuguese, that many even envied his fate. Thus had this general the consolation, when in chains, to fill his enemies with equal awe as when arrayed in arms in the field.

CHAP. VI. — *The Portuguese arrive at Lamo; seize the Person of the King of that Town, and publicly behead him.*

THE arrival of the Portuguese before Lamo, where they anchored, greatly embarrassed the sovereign, who regarded their presence as a reproach for his treachery towards their nation. Apprehensive of evil consequences, a council was held; in this it was determined, that a complimentary deputation should be sent to the Portuguese on occasion of their arrival in port, the ministers hoping that a mild demeanour would pacify their arms, and deaden their desire of vengeance. The king, to pay a higher compliment, resolved on being himself the messenger. Advised of the intended honour, the general received the king with all the respect and consideration due to his rank, as well on his own part as on that of his men, who were so instructed: but when he should be inclined to depart, the men were instructed to follow his example in opposing the departure of the king, or that of those with him.

The orders of the commander were exactly obeyed. The Portuguese now held a council, in which the treachery exercised by the king of Lamo towards Roch de Britto was again canvassed; and it was at length concluded, that the better to establish the authority of their country, it would be wrong to spare the blood of an inimical and perfidious king.

The prince, who flattered himself that his frank demeanour would cause the Portuguese to forget their resentment, was much surprised, when, on preparing to leave the galley, he received a treatment so opposite to that shewn him on his arrival; but the order for his arrest was so secretly given, and so well executed, that in a few days they sentenced him to death, as the heaviest punishment that could be inflicted on him, and one that would strike terror into the minds of other monarchs, and make them cautious of incurring the anger of the Portuguese by any similar treason. At the same time to render this action as remarkable to future ages, as it had in any that had preceded this been uncommon, an ordonnance was published by which all the lords subject to Portugal and all the officers of the army were summoned to be present on occasion of the execution, under penalty in case of defection of being declared rebels. This injunction was issued by the Portuguese less for the purpose of rendering honour to the condemned monarch, than that his death might be looked upon as an example: in the ordonnance the time and place where the scaffold would be erected were particularized. This the general surrounded with two hundred armed men, and all the avenues to the place were lined with guards, lest the Moors should attempt to rescue their king, and release him from punishment.

All things now being ready, the sentence of the king and his chief accomplices was read aloud, to whom also at the place of execution their condemnation was repeated, it was couched as follows:

" Sentence pronounced in the name of Don Emanuel the very mighty and formidable prince, lord, and king of Portugal, by Thomas de Souza Coutinho, general of the army of the said Don Emanuel, by and with the advice of a council of nobles and officers, who with one common voice have condemned the king of Lamo to have his head severed from his body, and all his property and dominions confiscated to the profit of the Crown of Portugal. We confirm this sentence, first : because the king is an usurper, without any just pretence to the kingdom of Lamo ; and secondly : because of his violation of the rights of nations, and therein being guilty of treason, inasmuch as he delivered up Britto and forty of his soldiers into the hands of the Turks. Moreover, we declare that if any of the kings of this coast shall presume to carry off the body of the king of Lamo after his execution, they shall be looked upon as rebels, and punished as such by the loss of their thrones : and we will that this sentence become public, as well as the death of the treacherous prince against whom it is pronounced, that all posterity knowing his perfidy may at the same time see the justice of the mighty king of Portugal by whom this sentence is pronounced."

After the last reading of the sentence, the condemned monarch was seated in a chair on the scaffold covered with carpeting, and in this position his head was cut off, as at the same time were those of the brother of the Quilife, one of his adherents, and of the two ambassadors who had been sent by the king to Meer Ali Bey. These last persons were all of them beheaded at the foot of the scaffold, but the king alone suffered on the scaffold.

The Moors, however averse, were constrained to be witnesses of the execution of their king and his friends, for they had neither means nor courage to attempt their release. Their entreaties were found vain, and even presents and offers to ransom them ineffectual ; for the Portuguese with reason imagined that the advantage they should ultimately derive from such an example would render them more formidable than a more humane procedure could do.

If this expedition cost some their lives, it cost others considerable sums of money ; for the kings who had opened their treasuries to the Turks were each of them taxed four thousand crowns towards the expenses of the war.

The vengeance of the Portuguese extended even to one of the principal bastions of the port of Lamo ; this was demolished on account of the resistance at this part having been less than in other parts of the fortifications of the town.

The prince of Sio, among the number of those who had failed of obeying the Portuguese commander on his summons to repair to Lamo, as well as the prince of Pata, was condemned to have his capital dismantled, and to pay a fine of three thousand crowns.

After the Portuguese had punished all the defaulters among the princes, they proposed to sail for the island of Mandra, to take in water. Now this island is difficult of access, and this circumstance had rendered its inhabitants so insolent, that they held out against the whole Portuguese force, and refused payment of the customary tribute. The Moors, trusting that the Portuguese were acquainted with the danger of this port, the entrance of which can only be attempted at most imminent risk, denied them water, and opposed the landing of the soldiers who were coming on shore to provide themselves with articles of the last necessity ; telling them in a mocking strain, that they would not admit any thing foreign among them, and that, had they power to oppose the common law of nature and prevent the obtrusion of the sun's rays, even these should not be suffered to penetrate into their houses.

The Portuguese, not deterred by such a silly gasconade, made them quickly see that, if they were unable to resist the introduction of the beams of the great luminary of day, they

they were equally powerless to resist acknowledging the might of Portugal; and making for the island with repeated salvos of artillery, they ran the risk of the bar at the mouth, and reefs round the port, and filled these people so thoroughly with dread and astonishment, that, forgetful of their first resolves on defence, they abandoned their town and property to the Portuguese, who after pillaging it set it on fire, and destroyed more than two thousand palm-trees, which formed as well the ornament as the chief wealth of the island.

After the destruction of Mandra, the general resolved on returning to Goa, a voyage which he effected in seven days. At the port of the island he met with Don Emanuel de Souza, who awaited him with impatience to escort him in convoying the four galleys he had taken.

These two generals, whose strict union and friendship for each other, neither distance nor their different duties had power to diminish, were delighted on seeing each other, and lavish of their endearments and felicitations on the reciprocal successes which had attended their arms.

The governor of Goa, who had always looked upon the defeat and capture of Meer Ali Bey as an object of main importance to the crown of Portugal, attributed the whole glory of this action to Thomas de Souza Coutinho, and was anxious to see the Turkish commander who had given him such trouble. On the presentation of Meer Ali Bey to the governor, he would have thrown himself at his feet; but the Portuguese general rose to receive him, and prevented such an humiliation, inquiring if any thing was wanting in the treatment he received to render his captivity more comfortable. Meer Ali Bey, who possessed a fund of sense, made a suitable reply in a noble and yet submissive manner, expressive of his satisfaction at having to do with conquerors so humane as were the Portuguese. It is true, answered Souza de Coutinho, war exposes us all to such misfortunes, and the most experienced officers have oftentimes to endure the uncivil humours of an arrogant conqueror: I speak on this subject from experience of usages which I myself sustained while a slave in Malabar, the bare remembrance of which is painful. I was not only loaded with irons, but was subject to every species of indignity: still heaven, the protector of the warrior, at length withdrew me from his hands, and the munificence of my sovereign has placed me in a post sufficiently honourable to make me forget my misfortunes.

This little history of vicissitudes happily terminated, Meer Ali Bey did not need, to support him under adversity; at the same time, it gave him room to hope that he might experience as happy a deliverance from captivity as others had done before. But the Portuguese commander, embarking for Lisbon, carried Ali Bey with him: scarcely however had this Turkish general landed in that city, before he renounced the errors of the Mahomeddan religion, to embrace the faith of the crucified Jesus, and thus obtained with liberty the means of salvation.

CHAP. VII.—*Of an inhabitant of the kingdom of Bengal, who lived three hundred and eighty years at the Intercession of Saint Francis d'Assise.*

* EVEN were I not bound by that obligation which every faithful translator should regard, of copying with exactitude his original, I frankly confess, I should yet have chosen for the conclusion of my work, the relation of this miracle, effected by Saint

* Here Father Charpy speaks.—THE FRENCH TRANSLATOR.

Francis d'Assise; and doubtless my author, whose object in this publication was to give a display to all Europe, of the valour and piety of the Portuguese, conceived that in no better manner he could terminate his book, than with the account of this miracle, operated by the Almighty, through this Saint, in the instance of an inhabitant of the kingdom of Bengal.

Don Alfonso de Castro, viceroy of India, anxious to know the truth of the accounts he had heard of the extraordinarily prolonged life of the individual in question, himself caused diligent inquiry to be made, and entreated the bishop of Cochin, on his part, to second him by other researches. This prelate accordingly made minute inquiry into the merits of the tale by means of his officers, and found its truth perfectly confirmed.

This man lived three hundred and eighty years; had been subject to nineteen successive sovereigns; had been married eight times; and after the death of his last wife had during forty-six years been a widower: at the end of this term on taking a ninth wife, the young woman bore him children, as also had done each of his preceding wives. This natural prodigy, extraordinary as it may appear in an age remote from that of the patriarchs, is rendered still more so from the circumstance of this man, throughout his long life, never having been subject to any malady sufficiently serious to require bleeding; from his never having been liable to the tooth ache, nor to pain on shedding his teeth, or on their growing again, though this had thrice happened: moreover, it is affirmed that his complexion was as ruddy as that of a man but forty years old, and that no wrinkles denoted his extreme age.

Nature had not only laboured to preserve a vigorous constitution in this wonderful man, she had equally exerted herself in the preservation of his intellectual faculties, his reason, and memory; he readily answered whatever was questioned, and the most remote things, things which from lapse of time are lost on marble and brass, lived in his remembrance as faithfully as they are traced on the page of the historian.

Those anxious to unravel the cause of a miracle so unprecedented in latter ages, were very much divided in opinion: some attributed it to the climate, some to a singular effort of nature; but if the good man himself had not developed the mystery, no one would have imagined it a pure effect of grace. He related that on a certain day, while tending his flock on the banks of the Ganges, a traveller presented himself before him, apparently weary with the tediousness of the way, and his strength exhausted by the loss of blood he had experienced from wounds in his sides, hands, and feet. Those who had thus treated him, had moreover stripped him of his garments and covered him merely with an old grey dress, fastened round him by means of a cord. The condition of the poor man affected him so strongly that, on his entreaty to carry him over the river, he took him on his shoulders, and rendered him this trivial service; in return he received from him certain grains, which he enjoined him to preserve, and promised him length of years.

But while addressing the stranger for the purpose of learning the manner in which he was to employ the grains so as to try their efficacy, the traveller suddenly vanished. The astonishment occasioned by his disappearing thus, stamped so lively a recollection on the mind of the peasant, of the appearance of this man, whom he never after saw, that on entering one day a church in Bengal he recognized in a picture of Saint Francis d'Assise, which was suspended over the altar, the very individual whom he had seen on the banks of the Ganges; and, uttering a loud exclamation—"There," said he, "is the man who promised me length of years!" Now, that this procrastinated life was owing to the intercession of this saint, is rendered highly probable, as well from
his

his preserving till his death the same appearance, the same health, and vigour, as he enjoyed at the instant the faint vanished from his sight, as from the result of the inquiries of the bishop and governor of the place. This relation is likewise further authenticated by Nunha de Cunha, viceroy of this country at the time the fortifications of Dio were enlarged in 1529.

I have read in the works of Peter de Natalibus, that Saint Severus lived the space of three hundred and seventy-three years, being elected bishop of Tongres when two hundred and ninety-seven years of age, and filling four bishoprics during a succession of seventy-six years. Cardinal Baronius mentions the circumstance as an extraordinary exercise of grace. Nicolas de Cemit moreover testifies, that a man among the Bramins was known to have lived three centuries.

Were Christians to solicit similar length of days, it ought to be only to have leisure for repentance; as, however, God grants such long life only that man may the better prepare for the happiness of eternal life, let us so spend the shorter allotment afforded us, that we may hope to meet in heaven with that ultimate reward which is the end of our toils, and the limit of all our hope.

A VOYAGE TO MADAGASCAR AND THE EAST INDIES.

BY THE ABBE ROCHON,

Member of the Academies of Sciences of Paris and Peterburgh, Astronomer of the Marine, Keeper of the King's Philosophical Cabinet, Inspector of Machines, Money, &c.

Translated from the FRENCH.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND.

THE island of Madagascar has excited the avaricious desires of the Europeans, ever since it had the misfortune to be tolerably known. Its extent, together with the richness of its soil and productions, seemed to offer to the people who should make a conquest of it, commercial advantages which they would not, certainly, have suffered themselves to neglect. Luckily however, the unwholesomeness of the climate has hitherto saved it from the yoke of those civilized nations, who assume the barbarous and unjust right of subjecting to their authority those tribes whom they call *savages*, merely because they are unacquainted with the manners and customs of Europe.

There is not one of these civilized nations that can boast of having sacrificed even a few of the most trifling interests of commerce, to the sacred principles of the law of nature. All of them have been unjust and barbarous: all of them have carried the sword, fire, and disease into every place to which they were attracted by the hopes of gain. Ought they to forget that the soil upon which these savages live belongs to them, as much as that upon which we live belongs to us?

The Europeans would have acquired more solid and lasting advantages, had they endeavoured to introduce industry and the arts into those countries which are destitute of them. These presents would not have been unproductive; and commerce would have soon experienced how much preferable that mild and humane method is, to the unjust and cruel means which they employed to subdue the unfortunate inhabitants of all those countries which held forth to them any new objects of wealth.

The island of Madagascar was discovered in 1506, by Lawrence Almeyda; but the Persians and Arabs knew it from time immemorial, under the name of *Sarandib*.

Alphonso Albuquerque commissioned Ruy Pereira dy Conthinho to explore the interior part of it, and ordered Trifan d'Acunha to sail round it, and mark the bearings of its principal capes and head lands.

This island is divided into twenty-eight provinces, which are, *Anossy*, *Manapani*, the valley of *Amboule*, *Vohitzan*, *Watte-Manabore*, *Tcondre*, *Etomampo*, *Adchimouffy*, *Erengdranes*, *Vohitz-Anghombes*, *Manacarongba*, *Mantatane*, *Antaveres*, *Ghalemboule*, *Famatave*, *Sahaveh*, *Voulou-Voulou*, *Andafoutchy*, *Mangbabey*, *Adcimoutchy*, *Mandrarey*, *Ampatre*, *Caremboule*, *Mahafalley*, *Houlouwey*, *Sivab*, *Tvandrbou*, and *Machicores*.

When the Portuguese discovered Madagascar, they wished to give it the name of the island of St. Lawrence. In the reign of Henry IV. the French named it *Ile Dauphine*: but though its real name is *Madecasse*, it is generally known under that of Madagascar.

This large island, according to several learned geographers, is the *Cerne* of Pliny and the *Minuthiasde* of Ptolemy.

It extends almost N. N. E. and S. S. W. and lies between the twelfth and twenty-sixth degrees of southern latitude.

We may reckon that the superficies of this island, so celebrated for the fertility of its soil, and the variety of its productions, contains two hundred millions of acres of excellent land. It is watered on all sides by streams and large rivers; and above all by a great number of small rivulets, which have their sources at the bottom of that long chain of mountains which separates the eastern from the western coast. The two highest mountains in the island are Vigagora in the north, and Botistmene in the south.

These mountains contain in their bowels abundance of fossils and valuable minerals. The traveller who, in the pursuit of knowledge, traverses for the first time wild and mountainous countries, intersected by ridges and valleys, where nature, abandoned to its own fertility, presents the most singular and varied productions, cannot help being often struck with terror and surprise on viewing those awful precipices, the summits of which are covered with trees, as ancient, perhaps, as the world. His astonishment is increased when he hears the noise of immense cascades, which are so inaccessible that it is impossible for him to approach them. But these scenes, truly picturesque, are always succeeded by rural views, delightful hills, and plains where vegetation is never interrupted by the severity and vicissitude of the seasons. The eye with pleasure beholds those extensive savannas which afford nourishment to numerous herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep. Fields of rice and potatoes present, also, a new and highly interesting spectacle. One sees agriculture flourishing, while nature alone defrays almost all the expences: the fortunate inhabitants of Madagascar never moisten the earth with their sweat; they turn it up slightly with a pick-axe; and this labour alone is sufficient. They make small holes in the ground at a little distance from each other, and throw into them a few grains of rice, over which they spread a little mould with their feet. What proves the great fertility of the soil is, that a field sown in this manner produces an hundred fold.

The forests contain a prodigious variety of most beautiful trees, such as palms of every kind, ebony, wood for dying, bamboos of an enormous size, and orange and lemon trees.

Timber fit for masts, and for constructing ships, is no less common than that employed by carpenters and cabinet-makers. Flacourt says, that he sent to France, in 1650, fifty-two thousand weight of aloe wood of an excellent quality. Physicians call this wood *agallochum*, and the Portuguese eaglewood.

These numerous trees and shrubs are surrounded by a multitude of parasite plants and vines. In these forests may be found agaric and mushrooms, the colours of which are lively and agreeable, and which have an exquisite flavour. The Malegaches call them *bolat*, and know very well how to distinguish those which are not prejudicial to the health. Useful gums and resins are also collected here: the milky juice which the islanders draw from trees, called in their language *finguiere**, produces, when it coagulates, that singular substance known to naturalists by the name of elastic gum,

* *Jatropha elastica*. LINN. T.

The elasticity of this resinous gum has been lately employed in various arts; surgery has even derived some benefit from it, as it serves to make excellent bandages; but it is evident, that this valuable substance may be used with advantage for many other purposes.

All the forests of Madagascar abound with plants unknown to botanists, some of which are aromatic and medicinal, and others fit for dying.

Flax, a kind of hemp, which, in length and strength, surpasses that of Europe, the sugar-cane, wax, different kinds of honey, tobacco, indigo, black pepper, gum lac, amber, ambergrease, several silky and cottony substances, would long ago have been objects of commerce, which Madagascar might have furnished in profusion, had the Europeans, since they frequented the island, endeavoured to diffuse among the islanders that knowledge which is necessary for preparing and rendering valuable the articles above mentioned. The most indefatigable botanist, in the course of a long life, would scarcely make himself even slightly acquainted with the natural history of all the vegetable productions that grow in this island, the extent of which, in latitude, comprehends several climates.

Every research, which tends to give us a knowledge of the productions of Madagascar, will be no less useful to commerce than to the improvement of arts and manufactures.

There are, doubtless, few countries in the world where navigators can find, in greater abundance, and at less expence, refreshments of every kind.

It was in the great bay of Antongil, that M. Mahè de la Bourdonnais, with as much skill as expedition, found means to repair the losses and misfortunes which his squadron had sustained; without the resources which he procured here, that able seaman would have, perhaps, not been in a condition to put to sea; and might, consequently, have failed of that great success in India which has given a lustre to his memory.

The long stay which M. de la Bourdonnais made in the bay of Antongil, to repair his shattered vessels, filled him with regret during his whole life, that he had not acquired more knowledge of the productions of Madagascar while he was governor of the isles of France and Bourbon. This celebrated man was fully sensible of the utility of which that large island might be to the colony over which he had presided.

Timber for building houses and constructing ships, pitch and tar, whale oil, salt-fish of all kinds, indigo, tobacco, manufactured hemp and flax, with cotton and different kinds of silk, appeared to him very important objects of commerce. He admired with what dexterity the women of Madagascar weave those beautiful pieces of stuff, which serve them for clothing; some of them are made of the filaments of the leaves of a plant called *raven*, others more highly valued by the natives, but in less request among the Europeans, are manufactured of cotton and silk.

M. de la Bourdonnais was no less struck on seeing the industry with which these people forge and melt iron and other metals; but he set more value on their manner of twisting small cables, which are employed in fishing for whales, and in mooring their pirogues.

He hoped that the natural ingenuity of these islanders, and their taste for the mechanical arts, would render it a matter of little difficulty to introduce into Madagascar several branches of commerce, useful both to Europe and the French colonies in the isles of Bourbon and France. He proposed therefore to engage the directors of the East India Company to erect there manufactories of sail-cloth, forges, founderies and rope-walks. The population of Madagascar is sufficiently extensive to give us reason

to expect success from such establishments: besides, in that country, labour and raw materials are exceedingly cheap.

No dread was to be apprehended that M. de la Bourdonnais would lead the directors of the company into great expence for warehouses and buildings. On the contrary, he wished they might have the prudence to imitate the simplicity and economy observed by the Melegaches, in the construction of their houses. Nothing, indeed, would be more ruinous than to raise in this wild country edifices like those used by us for carrying on manufactories of that kind. It is too common in Europe to see useful establishments languish, and, sometimes, even occasion bankruptcy to those who set them on foot, because they have been so imprudent as to launch out into an extravagance of building, which is almost always of no utility to the principal object of their plan.

The industry of these people cannot, certainly, in any manner, be compared to that of the Europeans. It is impossible to calculate exactly the immense loss of time which is occasioned to them, by the coarseness of their tools, and the imperfection of their arts. The savage does not know, as we do, the advantages of dividing labour, which procures to each individual the greatest possible degree of dexterity, and, besides, saves time, which artisans always lose in leaving one kind of work to undertake another. When one, however, has been a witness to the laborious care of the savages, and to the patience which they employ in order to succeed in the most common arts, one cannot help honouring them with that grateful applause which is due to those, who, among us, exert themselves in bringing manufactures and the arts to perfection. Nothing is necessary but some new inventions to change the industry of a great nation. The invention of the stocking-loom, and the more recent discovery of spinning cotton by machinery, have operated a great revolution in these two branches of manufacture. Neither knitting nor spinning by the hand can ever in future come in competition with work executed by machines.

The natives of Madagascar are called *Malegaches* or *Madecasses*. They are portly in their persons, and rise above the middle stature. The colour of their skin is different; among one tribe it is of a deep black, and among another tawny; some have a copper-coloured tint; but the colour of the greater part is olive.

All those who are black have woolly hair, like the negroes on the coast of Africa. Those who are of a complexion similar to that of the Indians, and Mulattoes, have as lank hair as the Europeans. Their nose is not flat; they have a broad open forehead; their lips are thin; and their features are regular and agreeable. These people generally display in their countenance a peculiar character of frankness and good-nature. They never shew any desire of learning but things which relate to the simplest wants of mankind; and this desire is always extremely moderate: they are very indifferent respecting knowledge which cannot be obtained without reflection. A natural want of care, and a general apathy renders every thing insupportable to them that requires attention. Sober, light and active, they spend the greater part of their lives in sleeping, and in amusing themselves.

The Malegache, like the savage, is destitute both of virtue and vice. To him the present is every thing; he is susceptible of no kind of foresight; and he does not even conceive that there are men on the earth who give themselves uneasiness respecting futurity.

The Malegache, as well as the savage, is absolute master of himself; his freedom is confined by no check or restraint; he goes wherever he thinks proper, acts as he chooses, and does what he pleases, except what may hurt a fellow-creature. It never entered the mind of a Malegache to attempt to domineer over the thoughts or actions

of any one; each individual has his own peculiar manner of living; and his neighbour never disturbs him, nor even thinks of attempting it. In this respect these islanders are much wiser than the Europeans, who have the cruel madness to wish that all the people of the earth would conform to their customs, opinions, and even prejudices.

Are savages then so much to be pitied? Do we find many of them discontented with their condition? Does it become us to despise the state of nature? Are we not surrounded by men, who, tired of existence, detest it, and seek to deprive themselves of it?

The savage confines his wants and desires to the procuring of what is absolutely necessary for his subsistence. He enjoys in peace the gifts of nature, and endures with silence those evils which are inseparable from humanity.

The conduct of man in a state of civilization is not so reasonable. Idleness and opulence hurry him on to those vain and false enjoyments which, in the end, bring upon him new infirmities; while unrestrained passions, and a taste for the most frivolous things, make him continually deviate from the path that leads to happiness. He who seeks it never finds it. Happiness exists, and can exist only in ourselves, and in the good use which we make of our reason.

Were the savages as unhappy as we suppose, because they are not acquainted with or despise all those superfluities upon which we set so much value, why do they refuse to adopt our manners, our customs, and our laws?

"Vander Stel, governor of the Cape of Good Hope, having procured a Hottentot child, caused him to be educated according to the manners and customs of Europe. Fine clothes were given to him; he was taught several languages; and his progress fully corresponded with the care taken of his education. Vander Stel, entertaining great hopes of his talents, sent him to India under the protection of a commissary general, who employed him with advantage in the company's affairs. After the death of the commissary, this Hottentot returned to the Cape. A few days after, while on a visit to some Hottentots, his relations, he formed a resolution of pulling off his European dress, in order to clothe himself with a sheep's skin. He then repaired to Vander Stel, in this new attire, carrying a bundle containing his old clothes, and, presenting them to the governor, addressed him as follows: 'Be so kind, sir, as to observe, that I for ever renounce these clothes; I am determined to live and to die in the religion, manners, and customs of my ancestors. The only favour I have to beg of you is, that you will suffer me to keep the necklace and cutlafs which I now wear.'—Having delivered this speech, he immediately betook himself to flight, without waiting for the governor's answer, and was never afterwards seen at the Cape*."

Such examples are not uncommon: I could mention several of the same kind among the Madecasses.

The inhabitants of Madagascar are divided into a great number of tribes. It is supposed that the population of this island may amount to four millions. This evaluation, however, is by far too great; and it is impossible to ascertain the truth on this point, in the present state of the island, which is divided into a great number of societies, all distinct one from the other: each society inhabits that canton which it finds most convenient, and governs itself according to its own usages. A tribe is composed of several villages, who have all a particular chief. This chief is sometimes

* *Histoire des Voyages*, tom. v.

elected, but for the most part succeeds by hereditary right. The lands are not divided : they belong to those who take the trouble to till them. These islanders are not acquainted either with locks or bolts, and live in a very frugal manner. Hunger regulates their hours of repast. It is, however, common to see them dine at ten in the morning, and sup at four in the afternoon. Their food consists of very white rice, exceedingly light, and well boiled, which they besprinkle with a succulent kind of soup, made from fish or flesh, and seasoned with pimento, ginger, saffron, and a few aromatic herbs. This simple dish is served up in the leaves of the *raven*, which are used for plates, dishes, and spoons. These vessels are always clean, and are renewed at each repast.

The Malegaches have two methods only of preparing their food. They either boil it in earthen vessels of an excellent quality, which they manufacture with great ingenuity, and which they call *panelles*, or they broil it upon the coals.

They catch with much dexterity a great number of birds unknown in Europe, which are as much sought after by naturalists, on account of the beauty of their plumage, as they are esteemed by travellers, on account of their exquisite taste.

The pheasant, the partridge, the quail, the pintado or guinea fowl, the wild duck, teals of five or six different kinds, the black paroquet, the spoon-bill, the turtle dove, the black-bird, the green wood-pigeon, pigeons and paroquets of various colours, together with a kind of bat of a monstrous size, afford excellent and delicate nourishment to the Europeans. It was not without a considerable degree of reluctance, that I first ate the bats of Madagascar, dressed after the manner of a fricafeed chicken. These animals are so hideous, that the very sight of them frightens our sailors ; yet when one can overcome that disgust which is inspired only by the idea of their figure, their flesh is found to be much more palatable than that of our best fowls.

The Malegaches catch immense quantities both of sea and fresh-water fish.

The dorado, breams of different kinds, soles, pilchards, much larger but not so good or so fat as ours, herrings, mackarel, oysters, muscles, crabs, and turtle, furnish food in abundance to the islanders who live on the borders of the sea. The rivers also supply them with very fine eels, and fresh water mullets, in taste and excellence preferable to sea mullets. On these coasts there are a great many kinds of fish, which one must not eat without trying whether they are poisonous, by putting a piece of silver under their tongue. If the piece of silver loses its colour, and becomes black, those who should eat them would experience the most fatal symptoms, and be exposed to great danger. Several of the people belonging to admiral Boscawen's Squadron lost their lives at Rodriguez, by not taking this useful precaution.

The French have frequented only the eastern coast of Madagascar. The province of Carnassi, in which Fort Dauphine stands, is well known to them, and also a part of those where Foulepointe, the bay of Antongil, and the island of Nossi Hybrahim, are situated.

OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF MADAGASCAR.

THAT part of Madagascar where Fort Dauphine is situated is very populous. Almost all the villages are built upon eminences ; they are surrounded by two rows of strong palisades ; and within these there is a parapet of earth four feet in height. Large bamboos, placed at the distance of five feet from each other, and sunk to a considerable depth in the ground, serve to strengthen the palisades : but some of these villages are fortified also by a ditch ten feet in breadth, and six in depth.

The

The place where the chief resides is called *Donac* : it contains two or three buildings furrounded by a peculiar kind of inclosure, where the chief lives with his women and his children.

The chiefs always go armed with a fusée, and a stick headed with iron, to the other extremity of which is affixed a small bunch of cow's hair : they cover their heads with a cap made of red woollen cloth. It is by their caps, above all, that they can be distinguished by their subjects. The authority of these chiefs is very much limited ; yet in the province of Carcanoffi they are supposed to be the proprietors of all the land, which they distribute among their subjects, in order to be tilled and cultivated. For this they require a small quit rent, which, in the language of the country, is called *faensa*.

The people of the province of Carcanoffi are not entirely ignorant of the art of writing. They have even some historical books in the Madecasse language : but their learned men, whom they call *Ombiaffes*, use only the Arabic characters. They have among them treatises on medicine, geomancy, and judicial astrology. These Ombiaffes are both forcerers and physicians. The most celebrated come from the province of Matatane, in which country magic is preserved in its full glory. The Matatanes are dreaded by the other natives of the island, because they excel in this art of deception. The Ombiaffes profess, in the public schools, geomancy and astrology. The art of writing has, doubtless, been brought into this island by the Arabs, who made a conquest of it about three hundred years ago. Their paper is made in the valley of Amboule ; it is manufactured from the *Papyrus nilotica*, which the Madecasses name *Sanga-Sanga*. They pull off with great dexterity the inner bark of this tree ; divide it into very thin filaments, which they moisten with water ; and having laid them across each other, in various directions, press them well down. They are then boiled in a strong lye of ashes, and afterwards pounded in a large wooden mortar till they are reduced to a paste. This paste is washed and drenched with water upon a frame made of bamboos, in the form of a grate. When this operation is finished, the leaves are spread out to dry in the sun, and are glazed with a decoction of rice water, called in the Malegache language *ranou pan*. This paper is of a yellowish colour ; but when it is well glazed, it does not imbibe the ink. The pens used by these islanders are made of the bamboo.

Their ink is made from a decoction in boiling water of the bark of a tree which they call *arandrato*. This ink is not quite so black as ours, but it is naturally more shining.

The Arabic language has made some progress in the north-west part of the island of Madagascar. It is well known that the Arab princes formed large establishments along the African coast, which, according to geographers, correspond with the kingdoms of Monomotapa and Mono-Emugi. They took possession also of the island of Comora ; and these princes, when they emigrated to Africa and the adjacent isles, did not forget their ancient country. They still indeed carry on an inconsiderable trade with Aden, Mascate, and the coasts of Abyssinia. They have also on the small river of Bombetoc, in Madagascar, a kind of settlement, which enables them to visit different parts of that island, for the purposes of commerce. By these means they have introduced their language, and left some traces of Mahometanism among the Malegaches. Formerly, there subsisted between the Arabs and the Portuguese of India a hatred and animosity, which were founded solely on the zeal these two nations entertained for their religion. The Arabs of Comora and Madagascar made frequent attacks upon the Portuguese establishments on the coast of Africa, which did them great injury : they even destroyed some of their settlements ; but this hatred became gradually extinguished, when the decline of the Portuguese power rendered them less the objects of jealousy. An attempt was made at Goa, about twenty years ago, to take advantage of this suspension of hostilities,



in order to form a Portuguese settlement at Cape St. Sebastian, in Madagascar. The intention of this establishment was merely religious. The Portuguese thought of forming a mission, rather than a factory; but this project was not attended with success. M. Boffe, an inhabitant of the isle of Bourbon, saw the melancholy remains of this establishment.

It is surprising that Mahometanism has not made greater progress in this island, which has been so much frequented by the Arabs. However, if we except circumcision, abstinence from pork, and some few trifling practices, which have very little influence over the conduct of these people, the descendants of the Arabs themselves have lost sight of the fundamental parts of their religious opinions. They do not believe in a future existence; like the Manichees, they admit of two principles, one supremely good and the other extremely wicked. They never address their prayers to the former; but they entertain a great dread of the latter. They are continually doing homage and offering up sacrifices to him.

The island of Madagascar is so near to the coast of Africa, that it is natural to suppose that it must have been peopled from that vast continent; but at present the different races are so intermixed, that it would be vain to attempt to describe all the varieties of them.

One can, however, in this island distinguish the race of real negroes; but it is a matter of more difficulty to distinguish those who are descended from the whites.

The whites, who inhabit the province of Anossi and Carcanossi, pretend to be descended from Imina, the mother of Mahomet. They have assumed the name of Zafferahimini. The whites, who inhabit Foulepointe, Nossi-Hibrahim, and the bay of Antongil, are sprung, some from the pirates, and others from the Jews; for this reason, they call themselves Zaffe-Hibrahim, that is to say, the descendants of Abraham. Besides these, there is a third kind of whites, who say they were sent to Madagascar by the Caliph of Mecca, to instruct the Malegaches in the secrets of nature, and the religion of Mahomet. These impostors seized upon the province of Matatane, after they had expelled and massacred the Zafferahimini, who governed that district. They are called Zaffi-Casimambou. Their complexion is darker than that of the other whites, and their profession is to teach to read and write the Arabic language.

The Zafferahimini, in the province of Anossi and Carcanossi, believe that they came originally from the sandy plains on the borders of Mecca. On this account they are called *Ontampassemaca*, and are divided into three classes, the Rhoandrians, the Anacandrians, and the Ontzatfi. The first and most honourable class, is that of the Rhoandrians. People of this class have assumed to themselves the privilege of killing animals. Among savages, and people who subsist by hunting, the trade of a butcher is almost always held in great distinction. The Rhoandrians are the nobility of the country; and it is always from this class that the sovereign is chosen.

The Anacandrians are descended from the Rhoandrians, and a woman of an inferior class. For this reason, they share with the Rhoandrians the honour and advantage of killing, for the other islanders, such animals as are necessary to their subsistence.

The Ontzatfi are the last class of the Ontampassemaca; but they enjoy no particular marks of distinction. They are generally brave soldiers, skilled in the art of war, who can throw a stone or an assagay with great dexterity, and who spend their time in dancing, sleeping, and amusing themselves. They learn from their earliest infancy some songs, containing lessons of morality, or fables respecting their origin.

The native blacks are divided into four classes: the Voadziri, the Lohavohits, the Ontzoa, and the Ondeves.

The

The Voadziri, we are assured, are the descendants of the ancient sovereigns of the island. They are generally pretty rich in slaves and flocks; and they are allowed to possess several villages. These people must be held in great consideration among the islanders of Madagascar, for they have preserved, notwithstanding the despotism of the Arabs, who conquered the province of Anossi, the right of killing, when they are not in the presence of a Rhoandrian or an Anacandrian, such animals as belong to their subjects. The Lohavohits are much less powerful than the Voadziri. They can never possess more than one village; and, however rich they may be in flocks, they must always send for a Rhoandrian or an Anacandrian, to kill those animals which they and their subjects use as food.

The caste of the Ontzoa comes immediately after that of the Lohavohits, to whom they are nearly related; but they have no kind of authority or privilege. The Ondeves are slaves by extraction: in the Malegache language, that word signifies *a left man*.

The Malegaches preserve, respecting their origin, a fable which corresponds extremely well with the subdivision I have given of these different castes.

Such of these islanders as have any erudition, relate, that the Creator of heaven and earth formed, from the body of the first man whilst he was asleep, seven women. These were the mothers of the different castes.

The caste of the Rhoandrians are the offspring of the first man, and the woman formed from his brain. The mother of the Anacandrians, and that of the Ontzatzi, had not so noble an origin. The one was formed from his neck; and the other from the left shoulder.

The caste of the Voadziri proceed from the first man, and the woman formed out of his right side.

The mother of the Lohavohits and the Ontzoa came from the thigh and the calf of the leg; but the extraction of the Ondeves is still meaner. They are said to be descended from the soles of the feet.

It is doubtless a subject of melancholy reflection to find amongst the people who inhabit the large province of Anossi so ridiculous fables respecting the inequality of their condition. What a deplorable absurdity for savages to refuse being brethren, and to disdain a common origin! The explanation of this kind of phenomenon can be found only in the conquest which the Arabs, the ancestors of the Rhoandrians, made of Madagascar. This foreign race have left, wherever they were dispersed, the most lamentable traces of superstition. The Rhoandrians are reduced at present to a family of about twenty persons. None of them are to be found but in the province of Anossi; and there is reason to hope that the island will at length be delivered from the government and yoke of these conquerors, who have laid it waste, and infected it with Mahometan practices.

The Malegaches submit to the Rhoandrians only as free subjects. They change their chiefs at pleasure; and they can attach themselves to any one whom they think capable of securing to them happiness and tranquillity. These islanders are too brave to crouch under a burthensome yoke; but their extreme credulity is, without doubt, very prejudicial to their liberty, and to the success of their enterprises.

How is it possible that these people, involved in the darkness of ignorance, can defend themselves against the deception of the Ombiaffes, when the most enlightened nations are still every day dupes to quacks and impostors? It would appear as if it were necessary that man should suffer himself to be subjected by chimeras. Reason is seldom ever so powerful as to preserve him entirely from that fondness for the mar-

vellous

vellous which often hurries him into the most ridiculous illusions; and if in civilized nations he sometimes artfully conceals this fatal propensity, it is only because he is ashamed of his weakness.

The Malegaches of the province of Anossi are lively, sensible, and grateful: they are far from being destitute of intelligence or capacity. These islanders are passionately fond of women; and when in their company never appear sad, or dejected. Their principal attention is to please the fair sex, who, in this country more than in any other, meet with that respect and deference which are so necessary to the happiness of society. Man here never commands as a despot; nor does the woman ever obey as a slave. The balance of power inclines even in favour of the women. Their empire is that of beauty, mildness, and the graces: for, colour excepted, the Malegache women are handsome. Their persons are slender and genteel; they have pleasing and delicate features; a soft smooth skin; teeth remarkably white; and fine blue eyes, the pupils of which are brown and sparkling.

A plurality of wives is not uncommon here among the chiefs, and those who are rich; but they never espouse more than one legally; the rest are considered as concubines. This practice is not attended with disagreeable consequences in Madagascar; for all these women live in harmony together. Besides, a divorce may take place as often as the conjugal union displeases either the husband or the wife. When they part, however, by mutual consent, they restore to each other the property they possessed before marriage. In Madagascar adultery is looked upon as a robbery, and as such is punished. These people, therefore, pay the utmost respect to marriage; they forewarn strangers to behave with decency to their wives; but they offer them their daughters, and think themselves much honored when they have children by them. Married women may be known by their hair, which is separated into tresses, and bound up in the form of a nosegay on the top of the head. Young women suffer it to fall carelessly over their shoulders. Husbands are always in high spirits when with their wives; their presence inspires them with joy; as soon as they perceive them, they begin to dance and to sing; and they continually repeat that they sooth the cares of life. The Malegache women appear to be happy, and are generally in good humour. Their lively, cheerful and equal temper is peculiarly pleasing to the Europeans.

While the Malegaches are at war, their women sing and dance incessantly, throughout the whole day, and even during a part of the night. They imagine that these continual dances animate their husbands, and increase their vigour and courage. They scarcely allow themselves time to enjoy their meals. When the war is ended, they assemble, at sun-set, and renew their singing and dancing, which always begin with much noise, and the sound of various instruments. Their songs are either panegyrics or satires; and appeared to me to interest the spectators very much. Such sports are a kind of useful lessons, in which glorious deeds are celebrated, and contemptible actions ridiculed. As soon as a woman perceives that her health betrays any signs of having had familiar intercourse with the Europeans, she absents herself from those joyful assemblies, in order to avoid the cutting raillery of her companions, and to put herself under the care of the physicians, or Ombiaffes. This custom prevents the venereal disease from spreading so much in this island as it has spread in Europe. Besides, the Ombiaffes have found out a remedy for this disorder, which is said to be extremely efficacious. I do not recollect the name of the plant which they use; but I know that its leaves resemble those of the phyllyrea. These physicians order the patient to chew and swallow it, lying alternately on the back and belly, in a horizontal position. The patient must not be loaded with clothes; and, in order that perspiration may not be

impeded, she must be surrounded, on all sides, with a strong brisk fire, during the whole time that the remedy acts. The virus of the disease generally accumulates in the soles of the feet; and the abscess there formed is seldom attended with disagreeable consequences. Great care is taken that the heat of the fire may not be too disagreeable to the patient. These savage people thus know how to deliver themselves happily, and in less time than we, from that scourge which we introduced amongst them, and which in Europe occasions so much devastation.

Most travellers, instead of lamenting that the savages ever became acquainted with the Europeans, seem to take delight in throwing out every kind of invective against them. It is thus that they have almost always rewarded them for the hospitality which they so generously and disinterestedly shewed towards us. If you read Flacourt*, you will imagine that the Malegaches are the most perverse, the most deceitful, and the most fawning of mankind. He does not hesitate to assert, that among these islanders treachery and revenge are accounted virtues; compassion and gratitude weaknesses. Such absurd declamation, however, can impose only on those who have not studied, with Rousseau, man in his primitive state.

I have studied with some care the character and customs of the islanders of Madagascar; I have several times assisted at their assemblies when they were deliberating upon important affairs; I have followed them in their dances, their sports and their amusements; and I have always found among them that prudent reserve which secures them from those fatal excesses, and those vices, so common among polished nations. I was indeed, then so young that my observations cannot have much weight; but, if my experience is not sufficient to inspire confidence, I beg the reader to study the nature of things, more than the relations of ignorant and unprincipled men, who think they have a right to exercise the most despotic sway over the inhabitants of a foreign land.

If the Malegaches have sometimes employed treachery, they were forced to it by the tyranny of the Europeans. The weak have no other arms to protect them from the attacks of the strong. Can these people defend themselves by any other means against our bayonets and artillery? They are destitute of knowledge and resources; yet we take advantage of their weakness to make them yield to our caprices: they receive the most rigorous treatment in return for the hospitality which they have so generously shewn to us; and we call them traitors and cowards, when we force them to break the yoke with which it has pleased us to load them.

These melancholy truths are too well proved, by the ruin of the different establishments which the Europeans have attempted to form in Madagascar.

In 1642, Captain Picault obtained for himself and associates the exclusive privilege of trading to Madagascar; and at the same epoch a grant of the island was given to a powerful company, by letters patent from the crown.

One Pronis therefore was commissioned to take possession of Madagascar in the name of the king, with orders to form an establishment in some fertile spot, which might be susceptible of defence, and of an easy and safe access. In consequence of these orders, he made choice of the village of Manghesia, which is situated at the extremity of the province of Carcanossi, in the latitude of $24^{\circ} 30'$. This place appeared

* He was director-general of the French East-India Company, and in 1648 had the management of an expedition in the island of Madagascar, which, like all the preceding, proved unsuccessful. This expedition, however, procured a very minute account of the island, which Flacourt was enabled to give, from having resided in it ten years. It was printed at Paris, in one volume quarto, with figures designed and engraved by the author, and was dedicated to the subintendant Fouquet, who had the principal share in the company then formed for carrying on a trade to the East Indies. T.

to him as likely to answer the proposed end in every respect. The numerous herds of horned cattle which frequented this part of the country, and its rich fields of rice and potatoes, suffered no uneasiness to remain in his mind respecting provisions. A navigable river, which takes its rise at the bottom of mount Siliva, waters meadows of an immense extent in the neighbourhood: timber of all kinds fit for building houses, or constructing ships, may be found in abundance close to commodious docks; and the harbour is perfectly sheltered from the sea winds by the small island of St. Lucia.

Scarcely had Pronis established himself at Manghesia, when Captain Rafimon brought him seventy people from France, to reinforce his small colony. But the unwholesomeness of the climate in the space of a month destroyed one third of the whole. Pronis being then obliged to abandon this first establishment, notwithstanding its advantageous situation, retired precipitately with the remains of his colony to the peninsula of Tholangar, the air of which is more salubrious.

This peninsula, which is situated in the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, increases insensibly in breadth, and might easily be secured from any attack of the islanders by redoubts and palisades. The fort built here, the elevation of which above the sea is an hundred and fifty feet, commands the harbour, so that an enemy at anchor would not long be able to withstand the fire of its batteries. A bold shore surrounded with breakers renders it very difficult to land here; and access to the fort would be impracticable, were it strengthened by some additional works. This fort, called Fort Dauphin, is of an oblong figure, and is surrounded with good walls built of lime and sand, covered with strong cement: it was thought needless to enclose it on the side towards the harbour. The anchoring ground is excellent: a ship here would sooner break her cables than drive on her anchors: but the sea winds, and above all the frequent and strong north-east breezes, are very troublesome to ships moored in this port, the entrance of which is bounded on the south by Cape Ravenate, and on the north by the point of Itapera. The beautiful river of Fanshere, which has its source at the bottom of the mountains of Manghabey, runs into the sea two leagues from Fort Dauphin, and very near to Cape Ravenate. This river supplies water to a large lake, which the islanders call the lake of Amboule. It is ten thousand fathoms in circumference, and its mean depth is about forty feet.

The lake of Amboule would form an excellent harbour, were not the channel by which it communicates with the sea often shut up by shifting sands.

There are certain times when large vessels might easily be carried into this basin: but such opportunities are rare. Before these occasions can happen, the river, by a sudden swell, must have washed away the bar of sand which the winds and the waves are every day accumulating at its mouth, and which is formed in that spot where the current of the water is in equilibrio with the force of the tide. It is not, however, impossible to open that passage, and to clear away the sand-bank which prevents ships from entering this excellent harbour.

To effect this, the hulls of some old vessels laden with ballast ought to be sunk at certain distances, and in a direction which local observations made with great care could alone point out. These incumbrances would serve as so many foundations to a new sand-bank, which would be formed from the quantities daily washed in by the sea. After this preliminary operation was finished, it would be necessary to wait some time, until the sand-bank was pretty well consolidated to withstand the force of the river, which, when increased in strength and quantity, might produce the effect of a large sluice. The bank employed to withstand the current being constructed in such a

manner as to break of itself, the violence of the stream would not fail to cleanse the mouth of the river, and to render the entrance of the lake practicable.

Every method employed to make moles in the sea might be attended with advantage in accomplishing the object here proposed. If I have given the preference to that of using the hulls of old ships, it is because it appears to me to be the most commodious, the most expeditious, and the least expensive. Besides, an experiment of this nature could not fail of being useful and instructive, whatever might be its success. Vessels, when sunk, are masses so enormous and solid, on account of the care taken to bind all their parts together, that I do not think it possible to substitute for them, in moles, and works destined to withstand the fury of the sea, any other bodies more capable of resisting the violence of the waves. The river Fanthere is navigable for boats to the distance of from fifteen to twenty leagues from its mouth. The labour necessary to bring the navigation of this river to perfection would be very inconsiderable.

The point of Itapera, which is to the north of Fort Dauphin, encloses, on the southern side, the great bay of Loucar. The island of St. Clair shelters it from the sea winds, and prevents the small river of Itapera from being choked up with sand, like that of Fanthere.

The port is on the leeward side of the island; but the anchoring ground here is little frequented by navigators, because the bay of Loucar abounds with shoals and quicksands.

The peninsula of Tholagar was so much the more favourable to the establishment of Pronis, as the rich and fertile valley of Amboule, and the proximity of several navigable rivers, freed him from all uneasiness respecting the means of subsisting. Mines of iron and steel of an excellent quality, hemp, resinous gums, pitch and tar, and timber fit for building houses, or constructing ships, all found here in abundance, were advantages which a wise and enlightened administration would not have suffered themselves to neglect. Pronis, however, was a man destitute of talents and industry. The indolence in which he lived, as well as the Frenchmen under his command, involved the colony in all those disorders which an imprudent conduct usually produces. Licentiousness was succeeded by a spirit of revolt; and those who owed submission and obedience to their chief soon put him in irons. In this state of captivity, he continued six months. When released from his imprisonment by a vessel which had arrived from France, with such provisions as he stood most in need of, he rendered himself guilty of a new crime, by publicly felling to Vander Meester, the governor of Mauritius, at present called the Isle of France, all the unfortunate Malegaches who were in the service of the establishment. What raised the indignation of the islanders to the highest pitch upon this occasion was, that there were amongst these slaves sixteen women of the race of the Lohavohits.

When the company were informed of this shameful conduct, they deprived Pronis of his commission. Flacourt was chosen to succeed him; but he did not arrive at Fort Dauphin till towards the end of December 1648. As he has published a minute account of every thing which took place under his administration, I shall not here trace out a picture of the cruelty, injustice, and oppression, which that governor exercised towards the unfortunate islanders. In 1661 he sent forty Frenchmen, followed by a body of armed blacks, to burn and ravage the fertile country of Fanthere. The manner in which Flacourt violated that hospitality which had been so generously shewn to him, cannot be defended in an enlightened age. I am inclined to believe, that every

every man, hereafter, who has the least regard for virtue or humanity, will fly from foreign lands, and renounce every commercial advantage, rather than imitate the barbarous conduct of this governor. Instead of making savage nations wear our chains, let us impart to them our sciences, and our knowledge. People sunk in the darkness of ignorance, and intimidated by the superiority of our arms, cannot certainly avoid the yoke which we are pleased to lay upon them: but what right is more iniquitous than that of force? And how dare we at present accuse savage nations of treachery, when, harrassed by our tyranny, they have only attempted to avenge themselves for our severity? If Flacourt knew better than Pronis how to enforce obedience from the French under his command, he did not, however, shew that he was much better acquainted with the principles of the laws of nature: he was unjust and cruel towards a people, who being the proprietors of the country, ought to have given laws to him, instead of receiving them. But let us leave *Flacourt's History* to those who may have courage to read it; and let us see whether his successors were less inhuman.

Fort Dauphin was burnt in 1655, and was not rebuilt till the year 1663. Chamargou, who was then governor, sent La Cafe to explore that part of the island which lies to the north of the country of the Matanes. This commission La Cafe executed with much intelligence. It may not be here improper to give some account of the character of this man, whose memory is still celebrated among these people. La Cafe was only a fictitious name; that of his family was Le Vacher; and he was born at Rochelle. On his arrival at Fort Dauphin, the French were held in no kind of estimation among the islanders. After great expences, that establishment was in a state of the most deplorable decline. La Cafe, however, undertook to revive the consequence of the French nation; and in this he succeeded. By a great number of victories he acquired the surname of *Dian Pouffe*; and no greater honour could have been conferred upon him by the Malegaches: for *Dian Pouffe* is the name of a chief who formerly conquered the island, and who is even yet held in great veneration among these people.

The French, alone, withheld from La Cafe that justice which was due to his valour and good conduct. The governor of Fort Dauphin, jealous of the glory he had acquired, by executing, in an able manner, those difficult commissions which had been assigned to him, refused either to reward or to promote him. The sovereign of the province of Amboule, named Dian-Rassitate, took advantage of the just resentment of La Cafe, and invited him to enter into his service. Five Frenchmen accompanied him, and abandoned Fort Dauphin. Dian-Nong, Dian-Rassitate's daughter, having conceived a violent affection for La Cafe, offered him her hand with the consent of her father; and this chief, tottering on the brink of the grave through age and infirmities, had the consolation of securing the happiness of his subjects, by rendering his son-in-law absolute master of the rich and fertile province of Amboule. When La Cafe married Dian-Nong, he refused the title and honours which, in that country, are attached to the sovereign power. He wished only to be considered as the first subject of his wife, who was declared sovereign after the death of her father. La Cafe, beloved by Dian-Nong, who, to a charming countenance, added great courage, and the rarest qualities, esteemed and respected by his family, and the Amboulese, to whom he was a father, could only offer up ineffectual vows for the prosperity of the French establishment at Fort Dauphin.

He was not suffered to go to the relief of his countrymen, whom he knew to be in the utmost distress. Chamargou had set a price upon his head, as well as upon those of the five Frenchmen who had followed him to Amboule. The chiefs, who resided
in

In the neighbourhood of the fort, highly irritated to find that an attempt should be made against the life of a man for whom they entertained the highest veneration, unanimously refused to supply the colony with provisions. An absolute famine, therefore, was now added to increase the desolation occasioned by fevers and other distempers, which had reduced the number of the French to eighty men.

The establishment at Fort Dauphin was on the point of being totally ruined, when the arrival of a vessel, commanded by Kercadio, a gentleman of Brittany, suspended for some time the evils with which the colony was afflicted.

Disorder and confusion had never ceased to prevail among the French from the time that they first formed a settlement in Madagascar. The islanders detested, and even began to despise them. They were incensed at our tyranny; and our intestine divisions had weakened that sentiment of terror, with which the superiority of our arms had at first inspired them. Captain Kercadio saw, therefore, that the assistance he had brought with him from France could not be of long duration. That brave officer, who was free from the prejudices of his station, and the harshness peculiar to his profession, judged it necessary to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between Chamargou and La Cafe. He represented to the former, that he could no longer consider, as his subaltern, a man, who, by his marriage with Dian-Nong, had become not only absolute master of the province of Amboule, but sovereign also of the whole island of Madagascar. No madness, indeed, could have been attended with more fatal consequences to the French, than that of the head of a languishing colony obstinately persisting to treat as a rebel, a person as powerful as he was respected, and who, by a single word, might have occasioned his destruction. Despairing that his reasoning would have any effect on the prejudiced and inflamed mind of Chamargou, Kercadio applied to an intelligent counsellor, who, through a very singular accident, had embarked in his vessel, and earnestly begged him as his friend, to employ his abilities, in endeavouring to convince the governor what were his real interests, and those of the colony entrusted to his care.

If the counsellor succeeded in this difficult enterprize, he was less indebted for the accomplishment of his wishes, to his eloquence, than to the honour of being known to and protected by the marshal de la Meilleraye. As soon as he informed Chamargou that he should be indispensably obliged to give an account to the marshal of the cause of the misfortunes, and perhaps of the entire loss of Fort Dauphin, the governor, who had been hitherto so haughty and intractable, who braved famine and death, and who was on the point of sacrificing to his desire of revenge the melancholy remains of the colony under his command, became timorous and submissive. The name of the marshal alone struck him with terror. He sent to beg that Kercadio would forgive his obstinacy; and did every thing in his power to induce that officer to bring about a reconciliation between him and La Cafe; offering, at the same time, to make every reparation that might be required. Kercadio set out, therefore, for Amboule, accompanied by the counsellor. The negotiation with which he was charged, experienced neither difficulty nor delay. La Cafe despised the vain efforts of his enemies. This respectable character had no stronger desire than that of being useful to his countrymen. He hastened to their assistance, as soon as he had permission; peace and abundance followed him to Fort Dauphin; and during the time that he directed it by his counsel, disorder and want ceased to afflict that establishment.

Dian-Nong behaved with no less generosity than La Cafe; and such is the force of virtue, that there was not a single Frenchman who was not sensibly affected by the heroic courage of this woman, who had sufficient command over herself to banish all remembrance

remembrance of the injuries done to her husband. She gave way to that sweet impulse or rather innate desire, which inclines man to assist his fellow-creatures, when he sees them in distress.

The counsellor shared with his friend Kercadio the happiness of having brought back peace and plenty to Fort Dauphin; but without forgetting the detestable stratagem by which he had been torn from his business, and his favourite pursuits. He had been wandering for several years on the stormy ocean, without any particular object in view; and was traversing distant countries, contrary to his interest and inclination. His wishes, directed solely to his native soil, could not be accomplished without experiencing new distresses. The bitter remembrance of the manner in which his confidence had been abused, in order to give him up to despair, still aggravated the severity of his fate. Ye, who are so often dupes to the false appearances and deceitful looks of those impostors who found their fortunes on your credulity, may this relation be useful to you, and preserve you from the misfortune of heedlessly trusting yourselves into the hands of those worthless men, who do not flatter and caress you but because they know you, and through motives which your vanity does not permit you to perceive. This counsellor, commissioned to execute an order which his family had solicited and obtained for transporting his brother to Madagascar, on account of his profligacy, was so imprudent as to entrust himself, at Nantz, to one of those officious men who have the perfidious talent of inspiring strangers with confidence, and of profiting by their simplicity. This wretch thought it a harmless joke to kidnap the counsellor, in the room of his brother whom he suffered to escape, and by this double fraud he stripped both of them of their money.

But to return to my subject. La Cafe remained no longer at Fort Dauphin than the time absolutely necessary for re-establishing in it abundance and peace. His wife, Dian-Nong, was much disgusted with the place; and her own private affairs recalled her to Amboule. Besides, Chamargou, more jealous of La Cafe's success than grateful for his services, would not have failed to do every thing in his power to render his life uncomfortable. Of this La Cafe could entertain the less doubt, as the governor did not deign to join his entreaties to those of the rest of the colony, in order to induce him to remain at the fort. At the moment, however, when the French, to the number of two hundred, were levying considerable taxes from the fertile province of Carcanossi, and giving law to the islanders, a cruel war again broke out to deluge that fine country in blood, and to render the assistance of La Cafe necessary. This war, more fatal to the French than the Malegaches, was occasioned by the inconsiderate zeal of a missionary. Dian Manangue, sovereign of the province of Mandrarey, a powerful, bold, and spirited chief, and a faithful ally to the French, had received in his *donac*, with every mark of distinction, one Father Stephen, a Lazarist, and superior of the mission of Madagascar.

This father, charmed with the excellent qualities of the chief, imagined that it would be an easy matter to convert him. When Dian Manangue perceived his intention, he thought it a mark of respect due to the friendship which he had vowed to the French, and above all, to the recommendation of La Cafe; to inform the zealous missionary that all his efforts would be fruitless. These people are fond of making orations, and of haranguing in public. Dian Manangue, therefore, assembled his women and family, in order that he might declare publicly that nothing was capable of making him renounce his ancient customs. "I pity," said he, "your folly, in wishing, that at my age
" I should sacrifice my happiness and the pleasures which surround me in my *donac* to
" your will. I pity you for being deprived of that which soothes the cares of life. You
" permit

“ permit me to live with one woman : but, if the possession of one woman be a good, why is the possession of a numerous seraglio an evil, when peace and harmony prevail among those who compose it? Do you observe among us any symptoms of jealousy, or seeds of hatred?—No—All my women are good—they all endeavour to render me happy ; and I am more their slave than their master.

“ But if your maxims are so useful and necessary, why do not your countrymen at the fort follow them?—They ought to know much better than I the merit and value of your words. Believe me, my friend, I will not deceive you ; it is impossible for me to change my customs ; I will never quit them but with my life. I, however, give you leave to exercise your zeal on the people who are subject to my authority ; and I give you the same power over my family and my children. But this permission will be of very little avail, unless you can suit your precepts to our manners and usages.”

Father Stephen made no other reply to this speech than to order the chief, in a peremptory tone, to dismiss all his women, except one. This missionary even so far lost sight of moderation, that he had the temerity to threaten that he would cause the French to carry away all his women, if he delayed for a moment, to put his order in execution. It may be readily imagined, that a behaviour so violent and unexpected must have occasioned a general indignation and revolt in the *donac*. The women fell upon the missionary ; loaded him with reproaches and blows ; and in their fury they would have undoubtedly strangled him, had not Dian Manangue, notwithstanding the agitation he was under, come speedily to his assistance. The chief was obliged to make use of all his authority before he was permitted to remain alone a single moment with this father, whom he dismissed after giving him a rich present. Besides, he asked of the missionary a respite of fifteen days to determine on the grand affair of his conversion : but this delay, solicited with so much earnestness by the chief, and with difficulty granted by the missionary, was intended to answer a very different purpose. Dian Manangue wished to gain time, in order to quit the province of Mandrarey, without dread of being pursued by the French ; and, when he thought he could do this in safety, he departed with his women and slaves, to seek shelter in the country of the Machicores, which is twenty-five leagues distant from Fort Dauphin.

His departure, however, was not so private as to escape the knowledge of Father Stephen, for he had spies even in the *donac* of the chief. In vain, therefore, did Chamargou endeavour to retain him. The missionary, consulting only his zeal, formed the rash resolution of following Dian Manangue to the country of the Machicores. A brother of St. Lazarus, and another Frenchman, with six servants or domestics, loaded with sacerdotal habits, accompanied him in this dangerous expedition.

In the first week of Lent, 1664, Father Stephen joined Dian Manangue, after experiencing much fatigue and a multitude of disasters. The chief, more astonished than alarmed at the courage of the missionary, behaved to him with the most profound reverence, and received him in a manner which he had no title to expect. In vain did he beg him to renounce the project which he had formed of converting him ; observing that his manners and usages were an insuperable obstacle to such a change. Father Stephen, instead of making any reply, snatched from him his *oli* and his amulets, threw them into the fire, and declared open war against him. It need be no matter of surprise that this violent conduct of the missionary should occasion his destruction, as well as that of those who attended him. Dian Manangue caused them all to be instantly butchered ; and, at the same time, swore, that he would entirely extirpate the French from the island. In order that he might execute this fatal vow with more certainty,

the chief sent his son, who had been baptised, to La Vatangue, his brother-in-law, to acquaint him with the motives which had induced him to free himself from the tyranny of the French, whose insidious designs aimed at nothing less than to abolish the manners, usages, and religion of the country; adding, that his *oli* (a kind of amulet consulted by these islanders) had commanded him to defend them, even at the hazard of his life; and he assured La Vatangue, that the French had rendered themselves incapable of conquering, since they had dared to proceed to such criminal excesses. The irritated chief gave notice to his brother-in-law, also, that Chamargou had sent forty Frenchmen to the eastern coast, and that he might easily surprise and massacre them. "I send you my son," continued he at the end of the letter, "to be at the head of the army which you dispatch to attack and destroy the French: it is my *oli* that inspires me; and you are well acquainted with the misfortunes which come upon us when we do not faithfully obey its mandates. My son will give you a particular account of every thing that has passed; and you will, no doubt, be filled with indignation when you know the perfidious behaviour of these strangers towards their most faithful ally." La Vatangue was extremely happy on receiving this intelligence of the expedition of the forty Frenchmen; but he had only time to be upon his guard; for two days after the arrival of his nephew, his spies brought him word, that the French were encamped at the distance of a league from his village.

This chief sent them a present of rice, honey, and four oxen, begging them to inform him what was the intention of their journey, because he had never seen such a numerous body of Europeans in the interior parts of the island. La Forge, who commanded this detachment, returned for answer, that he had orders to subject his country to the dominion of Fort Dauphin. The chief, alarmed at so unexpected an enterprise, requested peace; offered to give him four hundred oxen; and observed that his country of Haye-Fontchy was at too great a distance from the fort to excite the hatred or jealousy of the French. La Forge rejected with disdain the proposals of the chief, and had the madness to ask twenty thousand oxen as the price of a peace. To so extravagant a demand La Vatangue made no reply; but whilst these adventurers were ranging through a field of sugar canes, he caused them all to be slaughtered.

The particulars of the disaster which befel these forty adventurers, sent out by Chamargou, were known by a Portuguese, who was the only person that escaped, by taking shelter in a large marsh covered with reeds and stagnated water. In this place he remained two days, concealed up to the neck in mud. The islanders, who pursued him, fearing that they would sink in the earth, which was soft and spongy, set fire to the reeds, in order that they might oblige the Portuguese to come forth; but under cover of the thick smoke, occasioned by this conflagration, he had the good fortune to escape. The islanders wished much to destroy this man, that Chamargou might not receive intelligence of the fate of his companions, and come to attack them before the arrival of Dian Manangue, who was still with his army in the country of the Machicores.

The Portuguese, related that their expedition had been attended with success till they fell in with La Vatangue. Their number spread terror and consternation throughout all the villages where they passed: the chiefs paid, without hesitation, the contributions which were exacted; and they were on the point of reaping the fruit of a long and fatiguing journey, when the insatiable rapacity of their commander occasioned their ruin, and the loss of their rich booty.

Chamargou, in this relation, ought to have perceived the just punishment of these unfortunate plunderers, who were going to ravage countries over which they had no

kind of authority: but this governor, instead of profiting by the lesson given him, formed the fatal resolution of carrying fire and the sword amongst the Malegaches. He set out, therefore, at the head of thirty Frenchmen, followed by a small army of Manamboulefe; slaughtered without distinction both women and children; set fire to all the villages which he found in the course of his march; and took possession of the *donac* of Dian Manangue. Father Mannier, the only missionary who remained, carried his standard during this bloody and inhuman expedition, on the particulars of which I shall not farther enlarge. An eye-witness, who was afterwards provincial commissary of artillery, published an account of it in 1722, in a work entitled, *A Voyage to Madagascar*, by M. V.

The manuscripts which furnished me with materials for this relation, do not agree in every point with that author; but it appears that Chamargou was obliged, by an absolute scarcity of provisions, to make an attempt to regain Fort Dauphin. When he arrived at the great river Mandrarey, and was endeavouring to cross it, Dian Manangue, who had watched his motions, appeared on the opposite bank with an army of six thousand men to oppose his passage. This chief, bearing the surplice and square cap of the missionary Stephen at the head of his forces, braved the French, who were on the point of perishing by famine. In the mean time La Cafe arrived, accompanied by ten Frenchmen, and three thousand Androfes, who were his subjects, or rather the subjects of his wife, Dian-Nong. As soon as this brave man came up he rushed into the water, ordered his people to fire upon the enemy, and by the terror of his name, rather than the superiority of his arms, forced them to quit the borders of the river, and to betake themselves to flight. Though the approach of night ought to have prevented him, he then set forward to pursue them. Having discovered Dian Manangue, amidst a numerous body of the islanders, he wished to throw himself upon him: but Rabazé, a friend and favourite of the chief, had the courage to stop him, and to sacrifice his life to save that of his sovereign. The darkness of night only put an end to the carnage: but on the conclusion of this bloody war Fort Dauphin was again reduced to the most deplorable state of distress. The chiefs ceased to send in provisions, and even intercepted those which the garrison endeavoured to procure from distant parts. Dian Manangue, who pretended to be sovereign lord of a great part of the island, threatened our establishment with a formidable army; and his presence alone would have occasioned a famine, had it not been for five thousand cattle, which La Cafe found means to convey into the fort. All the expeditions of this extraordinary man were attended with the most complete success. With thirteen Frenchmen, and two thousand Androfes, he defeated Dian Ravaras, who was at the head of an army of eighteen thousand men, and took from him twenty-five thousand oxen, and five thousand slaves. The great celebrity of La Cafe made the council of the company, at length, see the necessity of employing and rewarding a man, who had rendered them such signal services, and who was still capable of rendering them much greater.

They, therefore, sent him a lieutenant's commission; made him at the same time a present of a sword, and congratulated him on his success.

La Cafe charged M. de Rennefort, who was returning to France, to thank the company for the new marks of favour conferred on him, and to inform them, that he would undertake the conquest of the island with two hundred Frenchmen, and realize the other advantageous projects, which he had already had the honour of proposing, if they would agree that he should be accountable to them only for his conduct. It does not, however, appear that the company adopted this plan, which was

more that of a brave foldier than of an enlightened governor; for an honest man respects the laws of hospitality, and laments to see the principles of justice and humanity violated for the sordid interests of commerce.

In 1666, the marquis of Mondevergue was appointed by the king to the general command of all the French establishments situated on the other side of the equinoctial; and Caron and La Faye had, at the same time, the management of all the commerce of the Indies. The marquis of Mondevergue arrived at Fort Dauphin on the 10th of March 1667, in a vessel of thirty-six guns, and was followed by a small fleet of nine ships, on board which were two directors of the Indies, an attorney general, four companies of infantry, ten chiefs of colonies, eight merchants, and thirty-two women.

As soon as Mondevergue arrived, he caused himself to be proclaimed admiral, and governor-general of the French colonies in the East. He was, however, obliged to have recourse to La Cafe, in order to procure provisions for his fleet. La Cafe, ever ready to serve his country, provided for the whole; and besides this, brought about a reconciliation between the French and Dian Manangue, whose bravery and intelligence were not to be despised. This chief, who at the fort was styled the prince of Mandrany, swore obedience and fidelity to the governor general.

Caron, who was a Dutchman, did not remain long at Fort Dauphin. He set out for Surat, with a great part of the fleet, in order to take the management of that settlement.

La Faye, however, continued at Fort Dauphin; and in the month of November 1670, another fleet of ten ships arrived, commanded by M. de la Haye, captain of the Navarre, a vessel of fifty-six guns. All these ships belonged to the king, and were equipped with the war complement of arms and men. La Haye assumed the quality of general and admiral, with the authority of viceroy, and made Chamargou second in command, and La Cafe major of the island. At this period, the company had given up to the king the sovereignty of Madagascar.

The Marquis of Mondevergue, to whose option it had been left either to remain governor of the island, or to return to France, chose the latter course, and embarked in a ship called the Mary, in the month of February 1671. On his arrival at Port Louis, he found a commissary, who had orders to make him give an account of his administration. The company were much incensed against him; for La Haye, with whom he had quarrelled, had aspersed his character, and accused him of several misdemeanors. Though the public voice was in his favour, this brave officer, who had governed the island with prudence, and re-established peace in it, was obliged to yield to the superior influence of his adversary, and died a prisoner in the castle of Saumur.

La Haye, whose authority was unlimited, now resolved to deliver himself from those chiefs who gave him offence; and, accordingly, proposed to Chamargou and La Cafe to declare war against Dian Ramoufaye who had come to render him homage. This chief, who resided nearest to Fort Dauphin, was summoned to send immediately to the fort all the arms which he had received from the French. It may be readily conjectured, that this demand was followed by an absolute refusal. La Haye, therefore, ordered Chamargou and La Cafe to besiege Dian Ramoufaye in his village. They had under their command seven hundred Frenchmen, and six hundred Malegaches: but their attack was not attended with success; for Dian Ramoufaye made so vigorous a defence, that the French were obliged to retire. This check did not appear natural; and it was believed that Chamargou, discontented at being only second in command, in a country where he had always been first, had contributed not a little to the failure of an enterprize, the injustice of which they had not even deigned to conceal. How-

ever this may be, La Haye was so much dejected by the miscarriage of his first expedition, that he resolved to abandon Fort Dauphin, and to carry his forces to Surat, after having visited the island of Mascarenhas, since called the Isle of Bourbon.

The pride of this governor was very much hurt, to think that the whole extent of his authority was not sufficient to prevent Chamargou, who had the superiority over him in point of local knowledge, from being able, by secret machinations, to counteract, at his pleasure, the operations which he wished to carry into effect.

La Haye's departure was followed by the death of the brave La Cafe; and it was not difficult to foresee, that the loss of this celebrated man would infallibly occasion that of the colony.

At this period, it was well known, that the islanders breathed nothing but vengeance against us, and eagerly sought an opportunity of retaliating for our injustice and oppression. Our yoke was become odious and insupportable to them. Historians, for the honour of civilized nations, ought to bury in oblivion every detail of the atrocious cruelties exercised against those people, whom they brand with the odious epithets of barbarians, traitors, and thieves, because they have revolted against some European adventurers, whose least crime was a violation of the sacred rights of hospitality.

If the establishment at Fort Dauphin subsisted so long, notwithstanding the detestable administration of these rulers; it was the name alone of La Cafe which kept the Malegaches under subjection to so vicious a constitution. The memory of that truly extraordinary man is still held in great veneration among these islanders. His bravery, joined to more valuable qualities, and above all, the alliance he contracted by his marriage with Dian-Nong, inspired them with so much respect, that it was only after his death, that all these chiefs united against the wretched remains of the French adventurers, whose temporary successes were always followed by memorable disasters.

La Cafe, without doubt, was of too warlike a disposition, and this is a stain upon his memory: but all people, almost, have a secret propensity to this destructive scourge, which desolates the most beautiful countries in the world, and occasions a thousand times more evils to mankind than all the other scourges united. What man is there whom a passion for glory does not, sometimes, so far intoxicate as to make him forget every sentiment of justice and humanity? It is very difficult for a brave soldier to make his conduct, in every respect, that of a philosopher; and, under this point of view, it would, perhaps, be unjust to pass a severe censure upon all the actions of him who in Madagascar did most honour to his nation.

Chamargou survived La Cafe only a short time, and was succeeded by La Bretesche, in the command of the settlement. La Bretesche was La Cafe's son-in-law; but he possessed neither the talents nor the influence of his predecessor. Finding that it was impossible for him to preserve his authority, amidst the division and disorder which prevailed between the French and the natives, he took advantage of a ship which had touched at the island, and which was going to Surat, to embark for that colony with his whole family. Several missionaries, and some Frenchmen, followed his example; but scarcely had the vessel set sail, when a signal of distress appeared hoisted on the fort. The captain of the vessel immediately ordered his boats to be launched, and proceeded towards the shore; but he arrived only time enough to pick up, below the walls, a few miserable wretches who had escaped a general massacre of the garrison, which had been effected in consequence of orders given, for that purpose, by Dian-Ramoufaye, and other chiefs in the neighbourhood. Such was the dismal end of a colony

colony which might have become flourishing and useful to commerce, had not those who directed it taken every method they could to render the French name odious to these people, naturally mild, hospitable, and humane.

Among the different memoirs which I have consulted in compiling this historical account of the first establishments of the French in the southern part of Madagascar, I must make honourable mention of a manuscript given me by M. de Maleherbe. That minister, dear to the sciences and to letters, whose venerable name is never pronounced but accompanied with that tribute of homage and respect which are due to knowledge united with virtue, had the goodness to add to it a large map of Madagascar, accurately delineated, and executed with great care. That map, which he permitted me to have reduced and engraved, is prefixed to this work.

The manuscript and the map which accompanied it were the production of M. Robert, who, in 1725, dedicated them to the duke de Chaulnes, whose protection he then solicited, in order to form a new establishment in the northern part of Madagascar.

M. Robert had been taken by the pirates, and conducted to that island, where he remained several years, which he employed usefully in traversing its principal provinces, and making himself acquainted with their productions. The object of his plan for an establishment there was, to collect the riches which the pirates had dispersed throughout the northern part of the country, while it served them as a place of refuge; but this project, the advantages of which would, perhaps, never have compensated for the expence, was not carried into execution. At present there are no considerable establishments in Madagascar but one, formed, of late years, in the southern part, by M. de Modave, a man of spirit and a brave officer, and another, in the northern part, by count Benyowski. I was at the Isle of France in 1768, when M. de Modave came, in the name of the king, to take possession of the government of Fort Dauphin. The duke de Praslin was then minister of the marine, and had approved the plan presented to him by M. de Modave.

If the result of this new enterprize did not correspond with the hopes which the minister had entertained, it was because every colony, not founded on the happiness and instruction of those people among whom an attempt is made to establish it, will always have temporary success only. It is not soldiers but artisans, farmers, and well-informed and laborious men, that ought to be established among such people. We ought never to forget that the treaties of savages with the Europeans are, in every respect, like those which children would make with philosophers; and since the treaties hitherto formed with the Malegaches are evidently in that situation, it would be highly unjust to take advantage of them contrary to the interests of these islanders. There are none but stupid or dishonest men who can affix a value to contracts so ridiculously illusory. You have obtained by cunning, you have by force extorted concessions from the credulous inhabitants of foreign lands; and because they foresee not the danger to which they expose themselves, by receiving you amongst them with friendship and generosity, you wish even to turn their kindness against them, and to make a right of them in order to oppress them, and subject them to your dominion.

If great commercial advantages invite you to Madagascar, adopt principles more just and humane.

For forming your establishments, choose farmers and mechanics. Those who know the character of the Malegaches, entertain no doubt respecting the reception which these islanders will give to men whose frugal and active lives banish vice, and introduce abundance.

Cultivating the earth by the plough, and a number of other useful practices, will inspire these people with sentiments of gratitude and veneration. India will supply you with a multitude of ingenious artificers and weavers, who know how to manufacture cotton stuffs, and to give them those brilliant and durable colours which cause them to be so much sought for in commercial countries.

Colouring substances, extracted from vegetables, have not, in our frozen climates, the same splendour and the same strength, as in the scorching climates of the torrid zone.

The fruits of our gardens, which grow on wall trees, never assume a ruddy colour, but on that side which is exposed to the rays of the sun.

We have no acid that fixes colours on cotton cloth, in so lasting and unalterable a manner, as the juice extracted from Adam's fig-tree, which we call *Bananier*.

The Indians excel also in manufacturing silk stuffs. Several provinces of Madagascar would furnish a great abundance of that valuable substance. So important a branch of commerce ought the less to be neglected, as the Malegaches, in the southern part of the island, are acquainted with the method of preparing and weaving it, in order to make vestments.

In the neighbourhood of the Bay of Antongil, I discovered four kinds of cods, which produce silk of an excellent quality.

The Malegaches distinguish them by the four following denominations.

The *andevè* is a cod almost like that which, in the southern provinces of France, furnishes the best silk.

The *ande-vontauqua*, another cod, smaller than the preceding, furnishes a silk much finer than that which comes from China, and equally beautiful.

The tree called *anacau* is covered, during a certain season of the year, with small cods, which being suspended by filaments hang from the leaves and branches. The silk procured from these cods is remarkable for its strength and fineness; but to divide it properly, and to render it useful, the cods must be preserved from the filth and dust that fall from the tree. These cods are known under the Name of *andeanacau*.

The fourth kind of silk is not susceptible of being divided. The Malegaches call it *andefaraba*. It is found in a kind of bag, which contains several hundreds of small cods.

The wool of Madagascar is beautiful; but the islanders derive no benefit from it. The Indians, however, would easily teach them to prepare it, and we should soon be indebted to them for a new and highly important branch of commerce. There are few oriental travellers who are not acquainted with those fine woollen stuffs known in Bengal by the name of *shawls*, which the Mahometans use for turbans. This stuff costs no less than an hundred pistoles the yard, when the superfine wool of the Cache-mirian sheep has been employed in manufacturing it.

So exorbitant a price must surprise those who know the cheapness of labour in India, and at what a low rate raw materials may be procured in that country. It is, however, with very rude instruments that the Indian, more dextrous and more patient than the European, is enabled to weave these valuable stuffs.

Should France wish, in the course of time, to share with India and China, the advantageous trade which they carry on in woollen and silk stuffs, and printed cottons, I think, and many intelligent men are of the same opinion, that this might be accomplished, by forming at Madagascar, upon proper principles, a colony of Indian weavers, who should be under the protection of the Isles of France and Bourbon. It would, however, be necessary to introduce there, at the same time, those celebrated machines used at Manchester, for carding and spinning both coarse and fine cotton and wool;

wool; for the art of manufacturing cloth would be confined then merely to the weaver; and, certainly, the Indian weavers have a decided superiority over those of Europe. Such an assertion does not tend to depreciate our industry. I am perfectly sensible that it would be highly absurd to put the villages on the banks of the Ganges in competition with our large manufactories. This would be comparing the productions of patience and skill with those of genius.

The industry of the Indian is not confined merely to the trade of weaving. He understands the art of cultivating the earth equally well, and knows how to prepare sugar and indigo. Under his hand clay assumes a variety of singular forms; and the earthen-ware of India is even sought for and esteemed in Europe.

The Indian is no less expert than the Chinese in the lapidary art. To cut and pierce the hardest stones, he makes use of adamantine spar pulverised, and moistened with oil. He employs this substance, which is of very little value in India, for the same purposes as diamond powder is employed in Europe. The Indian knows, also, how to render the bamboo useful in manufactures. He makes paper of it, and likewise furniture, palanquins, and vessels for holding water. This tree is a species of large reed, from the joints of which there distils a kind of sugar, much esteemed by the orientals. This reed rises sometimes to the height of an hundred feet; and the hardness and lightness of its wood cause it to be employed for a variety of uses.

The sugar-cane is a species of reed which rises to the height of ten feet. It is usually about three inches in circumference; and is covered with a kind of bark, which contains a spongy substance. It is divided into joints by knots placed at the distance of five inches from each other; and on the top it bears a number of leaves, somewhat like those of the common water-flag.

This plant is cultivated in several countries of Asia and Africa. Every kind of soil is not equally proper for it: that where the earth is deep and light, seems to be the best.

Plantations of the sugar-cane do not require very severe labour. It is sufficient to form furrows in the ground, at the distance of three feet from each other: they ought to be no more than a foot in breadth, and six inches in depth. In these furrows the canes are laid lengthwise, and covered with earth. From each knot they send forth young shoots, but they do not come to maturity, so as to be fit for cutting, till the end of eighteen months. A month after the shoots begin to appear, all the weeds around them must be pulled up: but this care is not necessary when the cane is perfectly formed.

After the canes have been cut, new shoots spring up from the old roots, which at the end of fifteen months afford a second crop, but their produce is only one half of the first. Nothing but want of hands to replant, can induce a proprietor to seek more than two crops from his plantation.

When the canes are cut, the next business is to squeeze them immediately in the mill. This operation requires tedious labour during the night; for if the juice remains more than twenty-four hours in the cistern from which it is conveyed to the first boiler, it becomes sour. From the first boiler, it is successively removed into others, till it is converted into sugar. It is purified from that gummy substance which prevents it from becoming white and solid, by throwing into the last boiler a strong lixivium of wood-ashes and quick-lime. It may be readily perceived, that what contributes most to the relief of the slaves, depends principally on the produce of the mill. The speedier the juice is extracted, the sooner will they be freed from night labour, so prejudicial to their health. Nothing, therefore, should be neglected that can give
sugar.

sugar-mills every possible degree of power and activity; and it is, certainly, neither by mules nor weak falls of water that so salutary an end can be attained. Views of interest unite here with the principles of humanity, to engage the planters to introduce in their mills the use of the steam-engine.

The woody part of the sugar cane, known under the name of *trajb**, is more than sufficient for keeping up ebullition in the boiler of a steam-engine, as well as in all the boilers employed in making sugar.

The fertility of Madagascar, and the valuable productions contained in the bosom of that important island, cannot fail of affording industry the means of establishing a great and extensive trade. It is under this point of view, according to my ideas, that we ought in future to consider such settlements as we may wish to form at Madagascar. Though M. de Modave approached nearer to the accomplishment of this object than any of his predecessors, his views were not founded upon a basis sufficiently solid, and capable of rendering the establishment which he was commissioned to form, long, flourishing and happy. This was the opinion of M. Poivre. That truly celebrated man had conducted, with prudence, for several years, the French establishments beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and had resided a long time at Madagascar, in order to make himself acquainted with its most useful productions. He was intendant of the Isles of France and Bourbon, at the time when M. de Modave began his settlement; and it may be readily imagined of what weight the opinion of that gentleman, distinguished by his virtues and knowledge, must have been. It is to his indefatigable zeal that France will soon be indebted for the advantage of sharing with Holland in the rich commerce of spices. He considered it as one of the first duties of an administrator, to exercise and excite the emulation of all those in whom he perceived talents which he thought might be cultivated with advantage. He profited, above all, by those of the celebrated Commerson. That learned naturalist had accompanied M. de Bougainville in his voyage round the world, and had formed an immense collection of plants, and of every object of natural history to be found in the countries which he had visited. The relation of his voyage, therefore, was likely to afford a variety of interesting observations; and he was well assured that if he went immediately to France, his useful labours would not remain unrewarded. He however renounced all these advantages as soon as he knew that M. Poivre wished to employ him in procuring new information. After acquiring a thorough knowledge of the natural history of the Isles of France and Bourbon, he proceeded to Madagascar in the year 1769, and M. de Modave, who was then governor of Fort Dauphin, gave him every assistance in his power to enable him to render farther services to science. It is much to be regretted that the accounts of these important discoveries should have been lost or dispersed after the death of this indefatigable man, who was carried off when he was just on the point of enjoying the fruits of his useful researches. The only dissertation of his now remaining that is any way interesting, concerns the Kimos, which I shall here transcribe, and add to it a short memoir of M. de Modave on the same subject.

“ Those who are fond of the marvellous, and who no doubt must be displeased with me for having reduced the pretended gigantic stature of the Patagonians to six feet, will accept, perhaps, by way of indemnification, an account of a race of pigmies who fall into the opposite extreme. I here speak of those dwarfs, in the interior parts of the large island of Madagascar, who form a considerable nation, called in

* The French call the woody part of the sugar cane, after the juice has been extracted, *bagasse*; but the English planters in the West Indies call it *trajb*. T.

“ the Madecasse language, *Quimos* or *Kimos*. The distinguishing characteristics of
 “ these small people are, that they are whiter or at least paler in colour, than all the
 “ negroes hitherto known; that their arms are so long that they can stretch their
 “ hands below their knees without stooping; and that the women have scarcely any
 “ breasts, except when they suckle; and even then, we are assured, the greater part
 “ of them are obliged to make use of cow's milk in order to nourish their young.
 “ With regard to intellectual faculties, these *Kimos* are not inferior to the other in-
 “ habitants of Madagascar, who are known to be very lively and ingenious, though
 “ they abandon themselves to the utmost indolence; but we are told that the *Kimos*,
 “ as they are much more active, are also much more warlike, so that their courage
 “ being, if we may use the expression, in the double ratio of their stature, they have
 “ never yet been overcome by their neighbours, who have often made attempts for
 “ that purpose. Though attacked with superior strength and weapons, for they are
 “ not acquainted with the use of gunpowder and fire-arms, like their enemies, they
 “ have always fought with courage, and retained liberty amidst their rocks, which,
 “ as they are extremely difficult of access, certainly contribute very much to their
 “ safety. They live there upon rice, various kinds of fruits, roots and vegetables,
 “ and rear a great number of oxen and sheep with large tails, which form also a part
 “ of their subsistence. They hold no communication with the different castes by
 “ whom they are surrounded, either for the sake of commerce or on any account
 “ whatever, as they procure all their necessaries from the lands which they possess.
 “ As the object of all the petty wars between them and the other inhabitants of the
 “ island, is to carry away on either side a few cattle or slaves, the diminutive size of
 “ the *Kimos* saves them from the latter injury. With regard to the former, they are
 “ so fond of peace that they resolve to endure it to a certain degree; that is to say,
 “ till they see from the tops of their mountains a formidable body advancing, with
 “ every hostile preparation, in the plains below. They then carry the superfluity of
 “ their flocks to the entrance of the defiles, where they leave them; and, as they
 “ say themselves, make a voluntary sacrifice of them to the indigence of their elder
 “ brethren; but at the same time denouncing with the severest threats to attack them
 “ without mercy should they endeavour to penetrate farther into their territories: a
 “ proof that it is neither from weakness nor cowardice, that they purchase tranquillity
 “ by presents. Their weapons are assegays and darts, which they use with the utmost
 “ dexterity. It is pretended, if they could, according to their ardent wishes, hold
 “ any intercourse with the Europeans, and procure from them fire-arms and ammu-
 “ nition, they would act on the offensive as well as the defensive against their
 “ neighbours, who would then perhaps think themselves very happy to preserve peace.
 “ At the distance of two or three days journey from Fort Dauphin, the inhabitants
 “ of that part of the country shew a number of small barrows or earthen hillocks, in
 “ the form of graves, which, as is said, owe their origin to a great massacre of the
 “ *Kimos*, who were defeated in the field by their ancestors*. However this may be,
 “ a tradition generally believed in that district, as well as in the whole island of Ma-
 “ dagascar, of the actual existence of the *Kimos*, leaves us no room to doubt that a
 “ part at least of what we are told respecting these people is true. It is astonishing that
 “ every thing which we know of this nation is collected from their neighbours; that
 “ no one has yet made observations on the spot where they reside; and that neither

* I am surprised that M. de Commerçon did not endeavour to ascertain the truth of this fact, by digging up the earth of some of these barrows.

“ the governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon, nor the commanders at the different settlements which the French possessed on the coast of Madagascar, ever attempted to penetrate into the interior parts of the country, with a view of adding this discovery to many others which they might have made at the same time.

“ To return to the Kimos, I can declare, as being an eye-witness, that in the voyage which I made to Fort Dauphin, about the end of the year 1770, the Count de Modave, the last governor, who had already communicated to me part of his observations, at length afforded me the satisfaction of seeing among his slaves a Kimos woman, aged about thirty, and three feet seven inches in height. Her complexion was indeed the fairest I had seen among the inhabitants of the island; and I remarked that she was well limbed though so low of stature, and far from being ill proportioned; that her arms were exceedingly long, and could reach without bending the body as far as the knee; that her hair was short and woolly; that her features, which were agreeable, approached nearer to those of an European than to an inhabitant of Madagascar; and that she had naturally a pleasant look, and was good-humoured, sensible, and obliging, as far as could be judged from her behaviour. With regard to breasts, I saw no appearance of them except the nipples: but this single observation is not at all sufficient to establish a variation from the common laws of nature.

“ A little before our departure from Madagascar, a desire of recovering her liberty, as much as a dread of being carried away from her native country, induced this little slave to make her escape into the woods.

“ Every thing considered, I am inclined firmly to believe in this new variety of the human species, who have their characteristic marks as well as their peculiar manners, and who inhabit mountains from sixteen to eighteen hundred fathoms high above the level of the sea.

“ Diminution of stature, in respect to that of the Laplanders, is almost graduated as from the Laplander to the Kimos. Both inhabit the coldest regions and the highest mountains in the world. Those of Madagascar, where the Kimos live, are, as I have already observed, sixteen or eighteen hundred fathoms high above the level of the sea. The vegetable productions which grow on these elevated places appear to be stunted, such as the pine, the birch, and a great many others, which from the class of trees descend to that of humble shrubs, merely because they have become alpicoles, that is to say, inhabitants of the highest mountains.”

To this extract from Mr. Commerson's Memoir on the Kimos, I shall add a few observations by M. de Modave on the same subject.

“ When I arrived,” says he, “ at Fort Dauphin, in 1768, an ill-written memoir was transmitted to me, which contained some particulars concerning a singular people called in the language of Madagascar the Kimos, who inhabit the middle of the island, about the twenty-second degree of latitude. I had heard mention of them several times before, but in so confused a manner that I scarcely paid any attention to a fact which deserves to be cleared up, and which relates to a nation of dwarfs, who live in society, governed by a chief, and protected by civil laws.

“ I had found in the relation of Flacourt a passage respecting this nation; but it made no impression on my mind, because Flacourt rejects the history of these pigmy people as a fable, invented by the players on the *herraou*, a kind of buffoons, or rather impostors, who spend their time in reciting absurd tales and romances.

“ Flacourt calls these dwarfish people pigmies, and mixes their history with that of a pretended race of giants, who, as the ancient tradition of Madagascar assures us,

“ occasioned formerly great ravage in the island. Flacourt relates, after these players on the *herraou*, that the pigmies some time ago invaded the country of Anossi, from which they were driven by the Etanos, who are the original inhabitants of that district. The Etanos surrounded the pigmies on the banks of the river Itapera, and having massacred them all, afterwards heaped together in that spot a multitude of stones, to cover the bodies of their enemies, and to serve as monuments of the victory which they had gained over them.

“ After procuring at Fort Dauphin and the neighbourhood all the information possible, I resolved to send a detachment to discover the country of these pigmies. The detail of this expedition is consigned to my journal; but, either on account of the infidelity of the guides, or their want of courage, it was not attended with success. I had, however, the pleasure to ascertain the existence of a nation of dwarfs, who inhabit a certain district of the island.

“ These people are called *Quimos* or *Kimos*. The ordinary height of the men is three feet five inches, and that of the women a few inches less. The men wear their beards long, and cut in a round form. The Kimos are thick and squat; the colour of their skin is lighter than that of the other islanders; and their hair is short and woolly. They manufacture iron and steel, of which they make lances and assegays. These are the only arms which they employ to defend themselves from their enemies, who attempt to carry off their cattle. When they perceive bands of travellers preparing to traverse their country, they tie their oxen to trees on the frontiers, and leave other provisions, in order that these strangers may find the means of subsisting. When the strangers, however, are so imprudent as to molest them, by behaving in a hostile manner, and are not contented with the presents usual in the like circumstances, the dwarfish Kimos know how to defend themselves bravely, and repel by force those who have the temerity to attempt to penetrate into the valley where they reside, and to which access is extremely difficult.

“ Remouzai, who, in quality of captain, followed the father of the Chief Maimbou, in the two unfortunate expeditions which he undertook against these people, in order to carry away a part of their flocks, and afterwards fell them at Fort Dauphin, told me, that he owed his safety merely to the knowledge he had of the high and steep mountains by which their valley is surrounded. Remouzai had been several times among the Kimos, and was employed as a guide by Maimbou's father, when he ventured to attack them. The first incursion had no success, but the second was much more fatal: Maimbou's brother was killed; his small army was put to flight; and the number of those who escaped these pigmies was very inconsiderable. Notwithstanding all my researches, I could never find any person except Remouzai, who was able to give me any certain accounts respecting these two incursions.

“ Maimbou, with whom I had a good deal of intercourse, for the purpose of procuring provisions to Fort Dauphin, was not old enough to accompany his father in this expedition; but he had conceived such an aversion to the Kimos, that he fell into a violent passion whenever I mentioned them in his presence; and he wished me to exterminate that race of Apes, for such was the injurious appellation which he always bestowed upon them.

“ A chief of the Mahaffalles, a people residing near the Bay of St. Augustine, who came from a chief in the neighbourhood of the fort, with a view of exchanging silk and other merchandize for oxen, said, in the hearing of one of my officers, that he had been several times in the country of the Kimos, and that he had even carried on war against them. This chief added, that for some years, these people had been

harassed

“ harassed by their neighbours, who had burnt several of their villages. He boasted, also, of having in his possession a man and a woman of that race, who he said were about the age of twenty, or twenty-five.

“ From the accounts of this chief and Remouzai, I am inclined to think, that the valley of the Kimos is abundant in cattle and provisions of every kind. These little people are industrious, and apply with much skill and labour to the cultivation of the earth. Their chief enjoys a much more absolute authority, and is more respected, than any of the other chiefs in the different districts of Madagascar. I was not able to learn the extent of the valley which they inhabit. I know only that it is surrounded by very high mountains; that it is situated at the distance of sixty leagues to the north-west of Fort Dauphin; and that it is bounded on the west by the country of the Matatanes. Their villages are built on the summits of small steep mounts, which are so much the more difficult to be ascended, as they have multiplied those obstacles that render approach to them almost impracticable. The chief of the Mahaffalles and Remouzai did not agree respecting two points which are particularly worthy of being ascertained. The general opinion of the people of Madagascar is, that the Kimos women have no breasts, and that they nourish their children with cows milk. It is asserted, also, that they have no menstrual flux; but that at those periods when other women are subject to this evacuation, the skin of their body becomes of a blood-red colour. Remouzai assured me that this opinion was well founded; but the chief of the Mahaffalles contradicted it. We must, therefore, suspend our judgment on this head; and be cautious in giving credit to phenomena which appear to deviate so much from general rules, and to extend to a certain number of individuals only.

“ I procured a Kimos woman, who was taken in war, some years ago, by a chief of the province of Mandrarey. This woman is rather of a tall stature, considering the general measure allowed to the females of her nation; yet her height does not exceed three feet seven inches. She is between thirty and thirty-two years of age; her arms are very long; her hands have a great resemblance to the paws of an ape; and her bosom is as flat as that of the leanest man, without the least appearance of breasts. My little Kimos was remarkably thin and meagre when she arrived at Fort Dauphin; but when she was able to gratify her voracious appetite, she became extremely lusty; and I am of opinion, that when she is in her natural state, her features will be well worth a careful observation. The chief who sold me this Kimos woman told me, that he had a Kimos man at home, and that he would endeavour to send him to me.

“ Had the enterprise I undertook a few months ago succeeded better, I should certainly have embraced the opportunity of sending to France a male and female of these pigmies; but I hope to be more fortunate in future. It is certainly nothing wonderful to meet with dwarfs in a country so vast and extensive as the island of Madagascar, the surface of which contains various climates, and abounds with a multitude of different productions; but a real race of pigmies, living in society, is a phenomenon that cannot well be passed over in silence.”

To these accounts of M. de Modave, and M. de Commerçon, might be added that of an officer who procured a Kimos, whom, as he told me, he wished to carry to France; but M. de Surville, who commanded the vessel in which he had taken his passage, would not permit him.

OF THE NORTH-EAST PART OF MADAGASCAR.

THE north-east part of the island of Madagascar is a rich magazine for the colonies in the Isles of France and Bourbon. The most frequented ports in this part, are Foulpointe, St. Mary, and the Bay of Antongil. It is in these three places that the French have attempted to form all their establishments. A soldier in the service of the East-India Company, whose name was Bigorne, gave me some interesting information respecting the settlements of the pirates in these districts. This man had gained the affection of the islanders, and by a long residence amongst them had acquired a kind of influence over these people, from which the directors of the Isles of France and Bourbon, for a long time, derived great advantages. It was from this man that I procured the greater part of my knowledge respecting the productions, as well as the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the north-east part of Madagascar.

The inhabitants of this coast are still better, and more humane than those of the province of Carcanoffi. These harmless people use neither locks nor bolts, and shut the doors of their houses with nothing else than thorns, or the branches of trees. Were they even filled with riches, they would leave them in the same manner, nor entertain any dread of their being robbed. Their houses, however, are constructed only of leaves and mats, which might be broke through without much difficulty.

The pirates, who carried on their depredations in the Indian seas, alarmed at the great preparations which were making to put an end to their robbery, took refuge on the north-east coast of Madagascar. It appears that they formed their establishment at the isle of Nossy-Hibrahim, named by the French St. Mary. One of the extremities of this island reaches within eleven leagues of Foulpointe, and the other extends to the Bay of Antongil.

By contracting alliances with the islanders, the pirates gained their confidence and friendship. It may, perhaps, appear surprising that men who followed so infamous a profession should not have been more detested. This foreign land became to them and their children a new country: they assumed its manners, and adopted its customs. In fertile and rich regions, abounding in every thing necessary for subsistence, it is almost impossible to find any advantage by attacking the property of another; since the only riches of the inhabitants are those of the soil, and the soil belongs in common to all. It is not astonishing, therefore, that pirates returning continually to this place of shelter to repair and re-victual their ships, should be favourably received by the Malegaches, since they shared in their opulence, without knowing how they acquired it. They compared the conduct of these wretches with that of the crews of several European vessels, and the comparison was by no means favourable to the latter, who had more than once procured refreshments by force, and who had exercised the most barbarous cruelties against the natives, burning their villages, or destroying them with their cannon, when they did not bring them oxen, fowls, and rice, as expeditiously as they required. The people of Foulpointe have not yet forgotten, and often relate, that at the beginning of this century, the crew of an European vessel invited a multitude of the islanders into a large tent, and the moment it was filled, the timber-work fell down, so that by this stratagem the Europeans were able to seize a great number of them, whom they made slaves. Were I disposed to pass over such crimes in silence, I should think it useful to make mention of them, in order to shew how many evils and atrocities our European predecessors have left us to repair.

The

The pirates continued their depredations with success till the year 1722; but, at this period, several nations, alarmed by the enormous losses which their commerce sustained, united together to deliver the Indian seas from the oppression of these formidable tyrants, who had seized a large Portuguese vessel, in which were count de Receira and the archbishop of Goa, and the same day another vessel which carried thirty-two guns. Both these valuable prizes were captured before the Isle of Bourbon.

The pirates, accustomed to war, and elated with their success, made a long and desperate resistance. Before they were extirpated it was necessary to bring a considerable force against them; to terrify them by the severest punishment, and to pursue them through the most imminent dangers, even to the place of their retreat, where they were obliged to set fire to their vessels:—such were the severe means employed to clear the Indian seas of these plunderers, who had infested them from the time that Vasco de Gama opened a passage to India, by the Cape of Good Hope. The entire destruction of their maritime forces prevented the pirates from interrupting commerce any more, and compelled them to quit the wretched establishment which they had formed at St. Mary, an island in the neighbourhood of Madagascar.

These banditti, however, being thus forced to renounce their former wandering kind of life, began to think of signalizing themselves by new acts of atrocity. As they could no longer exercise with advantage their infamous employment, in fertile countries where all property is confounded, and being too inferior in number to subdue the islanders, one would have thought that no other means of doing mischief were left for them than to attempt to promote discord among the inhabitants: but had they confined themselves merely to the exciting of quarrels and war among the Malegaches, this flame probably would have been soon extinguished; and when tranquillity had enabled these islanders to see their real interests, they would certainly not have failed to attack the pirates, and to be revenged on them for their perfidy. It was necessary, therefore, for the success of their pernicious designs, that they should render war advantageous to these people; and the sale of prisoners, that is to say, a trade in slaves, answered two ends to them, that of fomenting and perpetuating divisions among the Malegaches, and that of procuring a new mode of enriching themselves, and of causing them to be courted and protected by European nations, who favoured this detestable traffic. By this new crime the pirates terminated their course of robbery—a crime which depopulates and still desolates the island of Madagascar. This destructive scourge, since the moment of its birth, has not ceased a moment to acquire new degrees of vigour and activity. It would be as difficult to foretell the period when it will end, as to estimate the ravages to which it has given rise. Of all the evils and all the disorders occasioned by the pirates, the greatest, without doubt, is that of having introduced the slave-trade into Madagascar; and yet I should think I disgraced my pen, did I allow myself to trace out the picture of the atrocious cruelties they exercised, and the infamous stratagems they practised. The slave-trade is an institution so much the more abominable, as the evils which it produces are scarcely felt by those who derive profit from them: It would seem as if it required long study and meditation to discover that liberty is connected with the essence and dignity of man; and that it is the height of injustice to have converted it, if I may use the expression, into a saleable commodity. If this truth does not make that impression which it ought on enlightened nations, and force them to proscribe slavery, how can they flatter themselves that it will be perceived by savages involved in the darkness of ignorance? We cannot, therefore, be surprized that the Malegaches, struck with the advantages which they continually derive from the sale of slaves, still entertain a grateful remembrance

of these infamous men, to whom they think they are indebted for the greater part of their riches.

Before these banditti established themselves in the island, cattle and sheep were of no value. Rice and various kinds of provisions had no other price than that which was affixed on them by navigators; and it even appears, that during the time of their piracy, they spent in drunkenness and debauchery, on their return from every expedition, the fruits of their long voyages.

Want of foresight is not uncommon among men accustomed to a wandering and dissipated life. The extreme profusion of these profligates is, therefore, no matter of surprise; but being more deceitful than prodigal, it is no wonder that they always carefully endeavoured to conceal from these islanders the impure source from which they derived their riches. This, perhaps, is the only point on which they were forced to be prudent, under pain of incurring the hatred of these people, whose friendship it was their interest to preserve.

A recital of their shameful and detestable robberies would have carried terror and alarm into those countries, where the least of these crimes was punished with death. It is not to be doubted that the Malegaches would have exterminated such dangerous guests had they been fully acquainted with their vicious inclinations: but since their memory is not execrated, and has not left in the minds of these people any traces of their infamy, they must have seduced them by a profound dissimulation, and a deceitful appearance of confidence and affection. And how could savages possess sufficient knowledge of mankind to be able to unmask villains, exercised from their infancy in falsehood and cunning, and whose interest it was to conceal, or disguise the greater part of their vices?

I confess that this explanation alone can afford satisfaction, after the vain efforts which I made on the spot, with a view to discover the true cause of that kind of respect, or rather veneration, which the Malegaches entertain for the memory of these infamous plunderers.

It was not at the time when the pirates were employed solely in ravaging the Indian seas that they were able to occasion great disorder at Madagascar; their stay in that island was always very short, and being obliged to repair their vessels speedily, and to procure provisions, they could not think of sowing division among these people, who might have revenged themselves during their absence on their women and children, and have entirely ruined their establishments; and it was only at certain periods that they could give themselves up to all the excesses of drunkenness and debauchery. But when they were forced to renounce their infamous profession, they followed a plan of life entirely different. Their views then were directed towards the means of recovering a part of those riches which they had imprudently dissipated, and to secure the protection of the Europeans by opening to them a branch of commerce, with the extent and importance of which they were well acquainted. These profligates, therefore, were the first who introduced the slave-trade into the north-east part of Madagascar. This we are told by all the traditions of the country, and it was confirmed to me by La Bigorne. It was not, however, without causing much trouble and disorder that they were able, about the year 1722, to overcome the aversion which the Malegaches had for that horrid traffic. Before this epoch several European ships had made vain efforts to induce them to sell their prisoners and malefactors. Their negotiations for this purpose, instead of being attended with success, were rejected with indignation, and sometimes punished in an exemplary manner, when they ventured to employ stratagem or force. The pirates were too well acquainted with the
intrepid

intrepid spirit of the Malegaches to use these means ; and they were sensible that they were too few in number to subdue them, or to dictate to them concerning a trade which they detested. The least violence, in this respect, would have occasioned their destruction ; and with still more certainty that of their wives and children. The surest way of accomplishing their end, therefore, was to kindle up amongst these people the flames of discord ; and, taking advantage of their intestine wars, to prevail on them to dispose of their prisoners, who, on account of their number, could not fail of being a burthen to them. But it was of the utmost importance to the success of their views, in the midst of these disorders, to be on a good footing with both parties, and to assume in appearance the office of mediators. It was requisite, also, that they should wait for a favourable opportunity, or at least a plausible pretext for putting their odious plot in execution, and this was not long wanting.

The Bethalimenes, a people in the interior part of the country, had quitted their villages, and had flocked in great numbers towards the place where the pirates lived, with a view of procuring different articles of commerce, which they considered either as useful or convenient. They particularly sought for the beautiful stuffs of India, Masulipatam handkerchiefs, muslins, and some other kinds of goods of less value. The inhabitants on the sea-coast, known under the name of Antavarres and Manivoulese, beheld these strangers amongst them with great pleasure ; and they would have thought themselves deficient both in that hospitality and affection which they owed to the pirates, had they in the least interrupted their commerce, or prevented them from procuring such cattle and provisions as were necessary for victualling their ships.

The Bethalimenes, who are a more economical and courageous people than the Antavarres and the Manivoulese, when they saw that the source of the wealth of the pirates was exhausted, by the absolute destruction of their marine, began to prepare for returning to their villages with their riches. The Antavarres and the Manivoulese would not have opposed their departure, had not the pirates used their utmost endeavours to excite them to plunder, by representing to them, that these valuable effects which ought to be the reward of their labour and attachment, would be forever lost to them, if they suffered them to be carried away, and dispersed in the interior parts of the country. After a long resistance, founded solely on that respect which is due to hospitality, the Antavarres and the Manivoulese suffered themselves to be overcome, and hurried into an unjust war. This cruel war gave rise to all those which afterwards deluged the north-east part of Madagascar with blood. Before that period these people lived in peace, and those petty divisions of little importance which are inseparable from all societies, never were of long duration, and left behind them no traces of animosity. The pirates were artful enough never to be seen in the armies of the Antavarres and the Manivoulese, without assuming the appearance of the strictest neutrality. They, however, sold at a very high price to these people, who were their friends, arms and warlike ammunition ; but while they refused the like assistance to the Bethalimenes, they secretly advised them, in the most treacherous manner, to exchange with an European vessel, newly arrived at Foullepoincte, their prisoners for fire-arms and ammunition. The Bethalimenes, highly irritated at the excesses committed by the Antavarres and the Manivoulese against them, eagerly followed this advice. By making a brave defence they had taken a great number of prisoners ; and as these prisoners were a burthen to them, they saw it would be advantageous to sell them, in order to procure fire-arms, which were necessary to repel the attacks of their enemies.

The Bethalimenes were extremely thankful to the pirates for having taught them how to make the Antavarres and the Manivoulese repent of their injustice, by enabling them to procure arms and ammunition, sufficient to intimidate these disturbers of their tranquillity. They even found themselves much better provided with these articles than their enemies, who were now no longer in a condition to throw any obstacles in the way of their departure. These same islanders, therefore, who had always shewn the most invincible repugnance to sell their prisoners, suddenly changed their principles on this point; and yet these people consider us as cannibals. The efforts which the Europeans had incessantly made to procure slaves, either by force or stratagem, contributed not a little to confirm them in this unfavourable opinion. The enemies of the whites, whose number was very considerable, took a pleasure in giving strength to this odious calumny; and I may venture to assert, that it has been perpetuated in such a manner, from generation to generation, that it still subsists. If any method can be devised of destroying so degrading an accusation, it certainly must be by carefully educating amongst us some young Medecasses, and afterwards sending them back to their own country. When they have become acquainted with our manners, our arts, and our industry, we may easily inspire them with quite contrary sentiments. However little we reflect on the salutary consequences that would ensue from such a plan, it will appear astonishing that it has been so long neglected.

If I have allowed myself to pass over in silence the long series of war which from that epoch never ceased to desolate the northern part of Madagascar, I cannot help observing, that the pirates alone kindled up amongst these islanders the flames of discord; and, at the same time, conciliated the affections of the Antavarres and the Manivoulese, as well as that of the Bethalimenes.

After this, the Europeans no longer disdained to seek their protection. The public sale of prisoners served to foment the flames of their hatred and vengeance; and these two scourges united set no other bounds to their ravages than the entire depopulation of an island, celebrated by its extent and prodigious fertility. What a number of victims sacrificed to the insatiable avarice of a few plunderers!

Ye just and compassionate, behold what it has cost, in blood and crimes, to bring your colonies to that kind of prosperity, the greater part of the advantages of which you daily hear exaggerated; as if that prosperity, always precarious, were not more apparent than real; since the opulence of a few is founded only on the misery and slavery of the multitude.

The slave-trade, after having served to establish the power of the pirates, was of no utility to their children.

Tamfimalo, son to the daughter of a powerful chief, by an old pirate, celebrated for his cunning and depredations, seized the sovereign power after the death of his father. His reign was signalized by no extraordinary event, but his memory is still venerated amongst these people; and his respected ashes repose at St. Mary, where they were deposited in the year 1745, which was the period of his death.

Tamfimalo was succeeded by his son John Harre; but his power was very limited; and his misconduct rendered him despicable in the eyes of his subjects. He made choice of Foulepointe for the place of his residence, and left the government of St. Mary to his mother and his sister, the latter of whom was known under the name of Betie. A little time after the death of Tamfimalo, the East-India Company formed an establishment at St. Mary, and M. Goffe was ordered to take possession of that island in the name of the company. In this ceremony, M. Goffe was accompanied by Betie, the daughter of Tamfimalo, and the widow of John Harre, though this honour, ac-

cording to the usages of the country, belonged to the widow of Tamfimalo, whose sovereignty was acknowledged. This haughty and imperious woman, highly offended at that kind of disdain and neglect with which Goffe seemed to treat her, swore that she would be revenged on him for so open an insult offered to her dignity. For a long time Goffe despised her anger and threats: but this conduct was far from being prudent; and might have brought great misfortunes upon the establishment entrusted to his care. Obstinate fevers, and epidemical diseases, soon after weakened the colony, and reduced it to a very languishing condition during the latter end of autumn. The directors of the Isle of France were obliged, therefore, to send new recruits annually, to repair the losses which were occasioned by the insalubrity of the island. The mortality became so great towards the conclusion of the year, that it was then called the *Grave of the French*. The greatest care, it is true, was taken to send no persons thither to settle except such as could occasion little hurt to society, if they perished.

If Goffe was deficient in attention to the widow of Tamfimalo, he neglected, as we are assured, no means of pleasing Betie. This charming young woman to an agreeable figure added a pleasant disposition; and the islanders entertained a much stronger affection for her than for her mother. Betie was not insensible to the attachment of Goffe; and she more than once disconcerted the fatal projects of her mother against the French: but bounds were at length set to her zeal, over which it was impossible for her to pass.

Tanfimalo's widow accused Goffe of having dared to disturb the ashes of her husband, and of carrying away the riches shut up in his tomb. This accusation, whether just or unjust, excited such a fermentation that the destruction of the French was from that moment irrevocably decreed. The islanders fell upon their establishment, set fire to it, and made a general massacre of its inhabitants. As soon as this fatal event, which took place on Christmas eve 1754, was known at the Isle of France, an armed vessel received orders to proceed to the entrance of port St. Mary, and to punish the islanders with the utmost severity. The punishment inflicted on them was indeed terrible; a number of villages were burnt, and several large piroguas filled with the natives were sunk. That in which the widow of Tanfimalo embarked, made strong efforts to gain the Bay of Antongil, and to escape from the boats sent in pursuit of her: but in spite of every exertion they got near enough to fire upon it. Tanfimalo's widow was killed; several of those who accompanied her shared the same fate; and the rest, among whom was her daughter Betie, were taken prisoners. When Betie was carried to the Isle of France, she justified herself before the supreme council, by proving that her mother alone had been the cause of the massacre of the French. She shewed, at the same time, that her connection with Goffe had endangered her life; and that she could no longer be in safety at St. Mary, as she had lost, by her attachment to the French, and the efforts which she had made to save them, the confidence and affection of the islanders. The supreme council of the Isle of France, convinced of the innocence of this young woman, sent her to her brother John Harre, at Foulepointe, with considerable presents, requesting her to employ every means possible to re-establish peace and concord between the natives of that district and the French. These people, terrified by the ravages exercised at St. Mary, had retired to the interior parts of the country; all commerce was suspended; and the wants of the Isle of France required that every method should be pursued to revive it. Betie, by the great ascendancy she had over her brother, being the properest person to accomplish this salutary end, she united, for that purpose, with Bigorne, an intelligent and active man, who had been a soldier in the service of the East-India company.

In a little time, Bigorne learned the Malegache language ; and by an open and steady conduct won the affection of the islanders. To his care and activity the colony was indebted for the re-establishment of its commerce. Among all the honourable testimonies of gratitude which were rendered to him for this service, the most distinguished is that of M. Poivre, who, in 1758, was an eye-witness to the good conduct of this brave foldier. That celebrated administrator, whose suffrages cannot be suspected of prejudice or partiality, has often, in my presence, paid the highest compliments to this man, whose memory is still respected among the islanders of Madagascar. The influence which he had over the minds of these people, was however more owing to the goodness of his character than to his eloquence.

The speeches which he made to these people, in their grand assemblies called *palabres*, were not to be compared to those of the Malegache orators. M. Poivre, who assisted at several of these assemblies, often told me, that the natural eloquence of the Malegaches was truly astonishing. He took delight in relating even the most minute particulars of a grand *palabre*, at which all the neighbouring chiefs, and an immense multitude of people, were present, in order to form a treaty of commerce with the commissaries of the French East-India company.

The following is, in a few words, the account of it which he gave me :

The orator, after saluting all the chiefs, advanced towards the French ; made a profound bow to them, and addressing himself to Bigorne, said : “ You know, Bigorne, that for more than eight years the white men have come hither to trade with the Malegaches ; and can you say that a white man was ever killed by any of our nation ?

“ We have always received you, not only as brothers, but even as the lords of the country.

“ When the French asked from us oxen and rice, did we ever refuse them ?

“ When they wished to raise palisades, and to construct houses, have we not gone to the forests to procure timber necessary for that purpose ?

“ Have those who came hither before you, Bigorne, or those who are here now, ever had any cause of complaint against us ? Have they not drawn water from our fountains ? Have they not cut down the trees of our forests, without any man at Foulepointe asking them—why do you so ? The people in the south, as well as those in the north, and more recently still those of St. Mary, massacred the French, and made war upon them : but those of Foulepointe never attacked any of them ; on the contrary they have given them every assistance in their power, and they have at all times testified their kindness and friendship towards them.

“ Are the chiefs at Foulepointe then less powerful than their neighbours ?

“ La Bigorne, they are more so.—Do they fear to carry on war against the whites ?

“ —No.—Who dare make war on John Harre, the illustrious son of Tamfimalo, our sovereign and our father ?

“ What are the white men who would be rash enough to attack those formidable and invincible chiefs, here present, *Marouat*, *Ramish*, and *Ramatao* ?

“ Would we not shed even the last drop of our blood in their support ?

“ It is to our friendship, therefore, and to our goodness of heart alone, that the French are indebted for the kind treatment which they have experienced at Foulepointe, since they first frequented that port.

“ Let us now examine the conduct of the French towards us.

“ Why, Bigorne, hast thou erected a palisade of large stakes, much more extensive and stronger than that which was erected formerly, without having deigned to ask permission

“ permission of John Harre and the other chiefs? In this haſt thou followed the ancient uſage? Speak—Anſwer—Haſt thou offered them the ſmalleft preſent?—But you obſerve ſilence—You bluſh—You are conſcious of your guilt—You look towards them—You beg forgiveness—Here, in thy name, I aſk John Harre, our ſovereign, who preſides over this illuſtrious aſſembly, and theſe generous and invincible chiefs, to pardon thy imprudence. We love thee, Bigorne; but never in future, abuſe our affection—Swear that thou wilt never commit the like faults—Such errors will for ever alienate from thee, without hopes of return, the hearts of the inhabitants of Foulepointe; and to preſerve them, take an oath that our intereſts and yours ſhall be hereafter the ſame. Aſk, then, of your chiefs here aſſembled, why, ſince the arrival of the laſt ſeven ſhips, the captains have ſtill neglected to make the uſual preſents, which ſerve to promote a good underſtanding in thoſe exchanges which the whites wiſh to make with the Malegaches? Why have not theſe veſſels brought effects to pay the debts contracted above a year ago by the French?

“ We have ſold them, on credit, according to the rules of fair dealing, provisions of every kind, without any other ſecurity than ſmall bits of paper, which contained, as you aſſured us, a promiſe of being paid in three moons. Why has this ſolemn promiſe remained till the preſent day undiſcharged? This certainly is compelling us to give up all commerce with the whites, or at leaſt to entirely withdraw that confidence which we had in their words and oaths.

“ A large veſſel which touched here laſt year was in the moſt urgent want of provisions, without having effects neceſſary to purchaſe them. The merchants of Foulepointe, however, ſupplied the crew with oxen and rice, and at the ſame price at which they could have bought them for ready money.

“ They promiſed to ſend us payment by the firſt veſſel which ſhould come from the Iſle of France. Since that period twelve have arrived; but they all reſuſed to pay this juſt debt.

“ Will you now ſay, Bigorne, that the people of Foulepointe have behaved diſhonestly to the French?

“ Will you ſay alſo, that, in giving a trade-muſket in exchange for an ox, you pay too dear?

“ Will you ſay that two yards of blue cloth is the juſt value of a meaſure of rice, weighing fifty pounds? You either think us very ignorant of the price of provisions at the Iſle of France, or you have formed the mad project of giving laws to us inſtead of receiving them.

“ Is it not true,” continued the orator, addreſſing himſelf to the Aſſembly, “ that you wiſh to deal with theſe ſtrangers hereafter on juſter and more equitable terms?”

The aſſembly teſtified by a general and tumultuous acclamation, that this was their deſire.

Bigorne then wiſhed to elevate his voice; but the orator commanded him to be ſilent; and reſumed his diſcourſe, by the order of John Harre and the other chiefs.

“ The following,” ſaid he, “ are the conditions preſcribed by the merchants of Foulepointe: The meaſure of rice ſhall be diminſhed, when, in meaſuring it, the whites endeavour to heap up the rice, by knocking on the bottom of the meaſure, in order to increaſe its contents: they will not ſuffer the meaſure to be heaped as heretofore.”

This obſervation made the aſſembly ſmile.

“ An ox ſhall no longer be given in exchange for a paltry trade-ſuſee: a good ſoldier’s muſket ſhall be the price of an ox.”

“ A

"A piece of blue cloth shall contain two yards, according to the ancient measure.

"The bambou of powder shall be increased in such a manner, that three bambous shall contain an hundred charges for a musket.

"The people of Foulepointe, who serve the whites in quality of *scullions*, or domestics, shall receive a trade-fusée as wages for thirty days service."

After this the orator, addressing the chiefs and the assembly, said, "Are not these your latest wishes?"—The cry of "Yes" then resounded from all quarters, intermixed with shouts of praise and approbation.

When this noise had subsided, the orator cried out with a voice like thunder, "You hear, Bigorne, the wish of the *Palabre*; it is the law of the chiefs, it is the desire of the people who trade with the whites. Explain fully to your masters what I have just now proposed.—If they accept these conditions, we shall confirm the treaty by a solemn sacrifice. If they will not accept it, they may depart. We have no provisions to give them."

Bigorne translated word for word to M. Poivre the speech which I have here related; and the latter was obliged to interpose his authority, in order to prevent him from reproaching the orator for his vehemence. Bigorne was not accustomed to be treated with so little ceremony by these people; and this lesson seemed to hurt him the more, as it was given before officers honoured with the confidence of the East-India Company.

M. Poivre, on the contrary, beheld the energy of these savages with pleasure. He was struck with the force and solidity of their reasoning; but, being intrusted with the interests of the company, it was not in his power to make any alteration in the usual price of provisions. He ordered Bigorne to communicate this to the assembly; and to assure them, at the same time, that the merchants of Foulepointe would be immediately and generously paid for all the commodities with which they had supplied the French. He likewise granted an augmentation of salary to those domestics who were in the service of the whites; and accompanied all his promises with the most polite expressions, and such as were likely to awaken the sensibility of the chiefs. Whilst he thus treated them as friends and brothers, he recommended peace and concord to them, in the strongest terms; and gave them to understand, that the conduct of all those whites who should not entertain the same sentiments and respect for them, would be generally disapproved. The speech of M. Poivre, delivered in the Malegache language by Bigorne, seemed to make more impression on the orator than on the assembly; and it was only in consequence of the advice given by the former, that the treaty was agreed upon by a general acclamation.

The conclusion of this treaty was a matter of the utmost importance. The wants of the vessels were urgent: for, as they contained six hundred men, three oxen a day, with a proportionable quantity of rice, were necessary to supply them with provisions.

This treaty was ratified with the utmost solemnity. The orator slaughtered a victim; received the blood in an earthen vessel; and mixed with it sea-water, pimento, gunflints broken, and bruised very fine, and a small quantity of earth and gunpowder, moistened with *tafia*, or spirit made from the sugar-cane. Two leaden bullets served him to pound these different ingredients, in order to form a kind of beverage; which he wished the devil might convert into poison for all those who, having drunk of it, should not adhere to their oath. He then took two lances, or *assagays*, and dipped the points of them in the liquor, while John Harre sprinkled a few drops of it upon the ground.

The orator, afterwards, taking a knife in his right hand, and first invoking the God of the whites, and then that of the blacks, begged them with a loud voice to inspire into the hearts of both, peace, amity, concord, and sincerity.

Then striking with his knife the points of the two assagays, which he had dipped into the liquor, he denounced the most horrid maledictions and imprecations against those who should infringe the treaty.

“ If the whites,” said he, “ break their oath, may this beverage become poison to them; may those hurricanes which rush with fury from the four quarters of the heavens, fall upon their vessels; may they be swallowed up by the waves; and may the bodies of these wicked men be torn by the formidable monsters which inhabit the abysses of the sea.

“ Hear, John Harre—listen to the voice of the powerful genius who inspires me: Should the people of Foulepointe be so base and so worthless as to violate this solemn treaty, may they perish by the sword of the enemy; may their bellies burst; and may their filthy carcases become food for the crocodiles.

“ Must not the invisible spirit who presides at this assembly be avenged? Must he not punish the perjured, since he receives their oaths? All men, whether white or black, are before him; all are subjected to his supreme will; and he requires from us all, under the pain of incurring punishments equally terrible and severe, the same fidelity, and the same sincerity.”

Rabefin (this was the name of the orator) pronounced these horrid imprecations three times; and with so much vehemence in his speech and gestures, that they made an impression upon the assembly, of which it would be impossible to convey an idea by words.

Whilst the assembly were in this state of fear and terror, John Harre and the other chiefs with a trembling hand put about a spoonful of their disgusting liquor into a leaf of *raven*, and swallowed it, with the most horrid grimaces. Their example was followed by the greater part of those who assisted at the ceremony: but some of the Frenchmen contented themselves with only feigning to do it, notwithstanding the pressing invitation of Bigorne, who, without doubt, believed this ridiculous and disagreeable farce necessary, if not to the success, at least to the solidity of the treaty.

Rabefin then proceeded to sacrifice the victims; and a grand feast, accompanied with dancing, music, and sports, terminated, rather in a noisy but joyful manner, this celebrated *palabre*. I have described the ceremonies practised at this assembly in preference to any of those at which I assisted, merely because it related to affairs of the utmost importance; and by doing so I have, I think, attained the end which I ought to have had in view, that of tracing out a slight sketch of the character and extraordinary customs of these people.

The morning after the conclusion of the treaty, the market at Foulepointe was stored with every thing in abundance: the vessels, therefore, made haste to take in their quantity of provisions; which they did soon, and at a very small expence.

When M. Poivre arrived in France, he gave a favourable account of La Bigorne's conduct to the East-India Company. La Bigorne was then only interpreter at Foulepointe; but on the recommendation of M. Poivre, he received a commission to manage, in the whole island of Madagascar, under the orders of the administration of the Isle of France, all affairs relating to trade and the victualling of ships. The Company had every reason to be satisfied with their choice; for La Bigorne conducted himself with equal prudence and ability, till the year 1762, when he was recalled to the Isle of France because he had made war on John Harre. We are assured that he exerted his

utmost endeavours to preserve peace at Foulepointe; but that he was, at length, obliged openly to support several chiefs, allies of the French, who had cause to complain of the violence and depredations of John Harre, whose propensity to vice and debauchery increased every day.

The chiefs who were enemies to John Harre united together, in order to prevail on Bigorne to take the command of their armies. This brave foldier did not, however, yield to their entreaties, but on conditions which must have appeared very strange to the savages. He openly declared, that if he assumed the command of their troops, he would take the prudent precaution not to expose himself to the enemies fire; because his death would infallibly occasion the destruction of those warriors who fought under his standards. A general, who, following only the impulse of his courage, suffers himself to be hurried into the thickest of the battle, is no longer able to dispose his forces in the most advantageous manner; the army is then absolutely without a chief; the combatants are consequently thrown into disorder; and chance only decides the victory.

I do not know whether the Medecasses were struck with La Bigorne's reasons. People without discipline, and who have no idea of the advantages which always result from good order and perfect harmony, must have believed that General Bigorne had more abilities than courage. However, after shewing some marks of astonishment and surprise, they ranged themselves under his banners. La Bigorne then made them go through some very simple manœuvres; and finding them submissive, and resolved to execute his orders punctually, he led them towards the enemy. When the two armies were in sight of each other, he renewed his prohibition of beginning the combat until he had given the signal.

The army of John Harre was more numerous and much stronger than that of La Bigorne; but the position of the latter seemed to promise him the most complete victory, should John Harre venture to attack him. John Harre, not having sufficient abilities to judge of his disadvantageous situation, charged the enemy with vigour; but he was repulsed in so terrible a manner that he was obliged to seek safety by flight. This chief, therefore, who had hitherto been accounted invincible, was overcome merely by the skilful disposition of a man, who did not appear in the engagement, and who was even at some distance from the field of battle.

John Harre, having afterwards learned that La Bigorne directed the movements of the army which had defeated him, observed, "How could I defend myself against the invisible spirit of a white man who attacked me? But, in order to be revenged, I will quit Foulepointe, and retire to the bay of Antongil. My removal from that port will alarm the merchants of Foulepointe; the markets will no longer be supplied; commerce will in the mean time suffer; and La Bigorne's chiefs will recall him to the Isle of France. My departure from Foulepointe, therefore, seems to promise me a speedy deliverance from my most formidable enemy."

What John Harre had predicted soon afterwards took place. His defeat had occasioned great sorrow at Foulepointe; and his departure put an entire stop to commerce. Some of the chiefs, friends to Bigorne, made vain efforts to bring provisions to the markets; for the merchants at Foulepointe opposed them as much as they could. The French vessels, which had come to that port for refreshments, after endeavouring, without effect, to restore peace and concord among these people, were obliged to repair to the Isle of France, in a very deplorable state, and in the utmost want of the most common necessaries. On their united complaints La Bigorne was recalled and disgraced: yet we are assured that he was not guilty; and that few men in his place

place would have suffered so long the oppressive and insolent behaviour of John Harre. I should be glad that I could believe this to be the case: but his conduct will always appear reprehensible to those who think they have no right to prescribe rules and to give laws in a foreign country.

However this may be, La Bigorne's departure brought back John Harre to Foulepointe. On his arrival he met with a much better reception than he had any title to expect; and commerce soon began to resume its wonted activity: but matters did not long remain in this tranquil situation. The flames of discord were not yet extinguished; hatred and animosity still continued to foment them; but, at length, after a tedious war, the island of Madagascar was delivered from this turbulent and formidable tyrant, who could live in peace neither with his allies nor his subjects. He was killed in 1767 by the Manivoulese; and his spoils served to enrich the enemy, and to augment their power.

His son *Yavi* inherited only a small part of his father's possessions, as he was too young not to be satisfied with what was given him. Of the reign of this prince I shall say nothing, though I had an opportunity of being particularly acquainted with him; for, as he had neither spirit nor abilities, he never performed any action of sufficient importance to merit a place here.

At the time when John Harre died, the Isles of France and Bourbon were not under the direction of the East India Company. The king had resumed the management of them, and had appointed M. Poivre to be intendant of that colony. Bigorne then no longer found any obstacle to prevent his returning to Foulepointe, where his presence, on account of certain circumstances, was become highly necessary. On his arrival he received from the inhabitants the most flattering testimonies of friendship and esteem. The strong idea which the islanders had before entertained of his talents and integrity, caused him to be chosen arbiter of all their differences. He re-established peace in the northern part of Madagascar; and M. Poivre had nothing to bestow upon him but praises for his good conduct. I was particularly acquainted with him, when I visited Madagascar in 1768, and I can fully certify that he deserved them. M. Poivre, who honoured me with his friendship and confidence, being desirous of procuring for his celebrated garden at *Montplaisir*, known at present by the name of *the King's Botanical Garden in the Isle of France*, the rarest and most useful plants of that island, cast his eyes upon me as a person proper for making that valuable collection. He, indeed, could not have given a richer present to the colony entrusted to his care. This able administrator never suffered a vessel to depart without requesting the captain, or some intelligent officer, to bring him the various productions of the countries which they were going to visit; and this demand was always accompanied with proper instructions. The garden of *Montplaisir* thus became, in his hands, one of the richest nurseries known, since it contains the most valuable plants of the four quarters of the world.

On my arrival at Foulepointe I did not find La Bigorne; and this disappointment gave me the more uneasiness, as he was particularly enjoined to afford me every assistance in his power to accomplish the object of my mission. However, after examining the whole environs of Foulepointe, I set out to join him at Mananharre, a village situated at the entrance of the bay of Antongil. In my way thither I traversed the island of St. Mary, where I remained as long as was necessary for studying its different productions: and I did not reach Mananharre till the eighth day after my departure from Foulepointe.

La Bigorne received me with every mark of attention, and gave me a variety of information, of which I have been here able to insert only a few short extracts. With him

him I visited the most interesting places in the neighbourhood of the great bay of Antongil, and with him I saw those astonishing quarries of rock crystal, the masses of which are so enormous as almost to surpass belief. But let me not lose sight of my object, and proceed to give an account of the establishments formed by the French in the northern part of Madagascar.

I shall terminate what appeared to me most remarkable on this subject by an account of that of Benyowski. This large establishment, which was formed under the administration of M. de Boynes, cost an immense sum of money; had no success; and ended in a very tragical manner.

Benyowski has been so much celebrated that it may not be here improper to give a short account of his principal adventures: but that I may not venture to say any thing without good authority, I shall transcribe the memoir which he delivered to the gentlemen intrusted with the management of the Isle of France. This memoir was dispersed so much throughout the colony, that it was easy for me to procure a copy of it. I have not made the least correction in it; because I thought it a matter of importance to exhibit in every point of view this audacious man, whose scandalous behaviour cost millions to France, and brought new calamities on Madagascar.

LETTER OF BARON D'ALADAR, KNOWN AT PRESENT UNDER THE NAME OF BENYOWSKI, TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE ISLE OF FRANCE.

" IT is with the utmost pleasure and eagerness, inspired by my zeal and the desire
" I have of serving you, that I proceed to satisfy you respecting what you require
" of me.

" Born a Hungarian, of the illustrious family of the barons de Benyowski, I served
" in quality of general in the armies of the empress our sovereign. My father was of
" the house of Aladar XIII. and my mother of that of the counts de Rerary: I am
" consequently a Pole by extraction.

" In 1765, the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, being dead, and his kingdom
" invaded, I went to Warsaw, to support the interests of a prince in the midst of
" trouble, and of the subversion of celebrated statutes, and of the first members of the
" state. The grandees of the Kingdom had been arrested by a secret order; and as I
" was of the party of the prince bishop of Cracaw, and other magnates, a request was
" made that I might be arrested by prince Reprin, the Russian minister. Informed of
" this design, and not knowing what to do, I repaired, as speedily as I could, to a friend
" of prince Radziwil, whose protection I solicited. Here I staid till the general con-
" federation of Bar was declared, to which being invited by marshal Pulawsky, I im-
" mediately entered into that of Cracaw, under the command of Marshal de Czarnowsky.
" Being admitted as an officer into the regiment of Castres, I was made a prisoner by
" the Muscovites, who had taken Cracaw. I, however, ransomed myself for the sum
" of two thousand ducats, and afterwards entered into the confederation of Bar, where
" having obtained the rank of colonel and general, I served against the Muscovites,
" under the command of Fortality-Svaniecz, and combated the enemy, as is proved in
" the acts of the confederation. The enemy being expelled, I received orders to go
" to Turkey with M. Pulawsky. The bacha of Natolia and Chotyn received me with
" friendship, and gave me assistance of troops and money, with which immediately
" entering the kingdom of Poland, I sustained a combat against the Russians, near
" Pruth, where I was wounded and taken. I was then carried to Rievia, where I

“ found marshal Czarnosky, count Potosky, and young Pularsky, with three thousand men.

“ Being afterwards removed to Cazan, I passed Nezin and Tuta; and, by means of a German surgeon, I transmitted to his eminence the prince bishop of Cracaw, who was at Kaluga, a letter, in which I informed him of my misfortune. The governor of Cazan, M. Guafnin Samarini, suffered me, like the rest of the prisoners, to enjoy my liberty in the City.

“ On the 15th of August 1769, I was visited by a Russian officer, who privately gave me letters from the captive princes, with orders to carry them to Kaluga. After conferring with the principals, and taking their advice on this subject, I escaped to Cazan, by pretending to the governor that I had an ardent desire to visit the copper mines, and arrived without any accident at Kaluga, assisted by colonel Bachemetriew, the governor of Fortality, who was of the party of the prisoners.

“ I had been appointed to treat personally with the princes and magnates; and it was agreed, that, confining myself to a few expeditions, I should set out for Peterburgh. I even repaired without delay to Quorsum; and, taking up my quarters in the house of colonel Soackek, I finished the expedition according to my engagement. When on the point of returning to Cazan, I was arrested by orders of the empress of Russia; and as nothing certain was known respecting my private flight, I was sent prisoner to Kaluga, to which I had been dispatched by the princes.

“ Having formed a friendship with the governor, we entered into a treaty, by which, with the assistance of Tuga, we engaged to retire into Poland; and the governor had disposed every thing to facilitate our escape, when, on the 18th of October 1769, an officer of the guards arrived from Petersburg with orders to arrest the governor; but the governor prevented him by putting him to death; and, seeking safety by flight, left us all prisoners. That very day we were loaded with chains, and conducted to Petersburg, where it was impossible for me to hear any farther news of my companions in adversity.

“ I was shut up in the private prison of Fortality; and, on the fourth day after being obliged to appear before Orlow and Czernichew, I was interrogated respecting several points. As they could draw nothing from my answers, even by threats, they promised me a pardon, in the name of the empress, if I would swear fidelity to her Majesty, and discover those secrets with which I had been entrusted. On my refusing to comply with these terms, I was remanded to prison, from which, by means of an officer, I wrote to prince Lobkowitz, her Majesty's lieutenant; but I received no answer. Some days after, having appeared before the commission, I was compelled to sign the following paper:

“ *I, the undersigned, acknowledge that I not only wished to break my chains, but that I committed an assassination, and have been guilty of treason against her Imperial Majesty; and if her Majesty, through her natural goodness, shall be pleased to soften the rigour of my sentence, I hereby engage, after recovering my liberty, never to set a foot again in the dominions of her Majesty, much less to bear arms against her.*

“ Baron Maurice Augustus Aladar de Benyowski,
General of the first Confederation.”

“ Petersburg, Nov. 22d 1769:
“ After signing this paper, I was sent back to confinement; and on the 24th of November, at midnight, an officer appeared, at the head of twenty-eight men, who having put irons on my legs, hurried me into a carriage, and proceeded towards Moscow. I had as my companion in misfortune major Vynblat; and, deprived of
“ all

“ all nourishment except bread and water, we passed through Nizney, Kuzinodem, Janikoy, and Solichanszky, where the officer who was entrusted with the care of conducting us, fell ill, which obliged us to remain there some days.

“ On the 28th of December the same year, one of the soldiers came and told me that a body of guards, who were conducting some prisoners, had stopped at a place not far distant. As they were in our neighbourhood, they wished very much to see people who were unfortunate like themselves; and prevailed on their officer to conduct them to us in the night-time. When they arrived, I immediately perceived his serene highness the prince bishop of Cracaw, whose tears prevented him from speaking; but we were not long permitted to see each other. Having separated, we pursued our journey, in company, but in different carriages, as far as Tobolsk, the capital of Siberia. After a very short stay there, we crossed the deserts of Tartary, drawn by dogs, without hearing anything of the rest. We suffered much from hunger; and, after traversing Siberia, we found some exiled officers of different nations.

“ At length, on the 20th of May, 1770, we reached the Port of Ochozk, where we were kindly received by Plenistere, the governor. Soon after two Russian officers arrived, who said they belonged to the guards of their highnesses the princes detained at Kaluga, and with whom I formed an intimate friendship.

“ On the 3d of September the same year, we were put on board a ship, and conveyed to the port of Bolfao. On the 24th of December I received a letter from the bishop of Cracaw, by a merchant, who transmitted it to me. It informed me that the princes were removed to the northern part of Tartary, towards Anadyo; and that a troop of Russian soldiers were preparing to revolt, in order to release them. I immediately wrote to major Vynblat, to inform him what he should do to procure us our liberty also. For my part I rendered myself the friend of the officer Gurefinim, who never quitted me; and he not only facilitated the means of my escaping, but even opened his purse to me.

“ Our affairs were in this situation when we were joined by two exiled Russian officers, who told me, that near us there was a prisoner closely guarded, who was supposed to be a person of great distinction, and who had been kept in irons seven years. No person could give us any satisfactory account of him: we were only told that he was ten or eleven years of age, and that he was entrusted to the care of an old officer, who wished very much for his deliverance. I conceived then a project of gaining the friendship of this officer, who willingly listened to my proposals. He revealed to me the name of the prisoner; who was indeed of an illustrious birth; and we concerted together a plan for his escape, taking each of us an oath that we would exert ourselves to the utmost to make it succeed.

“ It was on the 25th of May, that, with the assistance of God, we intended to procure our liberty at the price of our blood. As I was the only person who understood how to work a ship, I was appointed the chief of the enterprise. The conspiracy, however, being discovered on the 21st of April, the governor ordered me to be carried away in the night, for the second time, with an intention of conveying me to some other place. My brethren in distress, frightened at this blow, came to me on the 26th, and begged me to relieve them. The affair was easy. The lieutenant, who was on guard over me, having caused arms to be carried privately to his habitation, supplied me and all my companions, at the head of whom I took possession of the fort on the night of the 27th. In this action the governor and some others were killed in the commencement of the attack, while a few of my people only were slightly wounded.

“ Next

“ Next morning the foldiers and Coffacks wifhed to enter fword in hand into the
 “ town of Bolfao, the inhabitants of which, terrified, after the fecond and third dif-
 “ charge of our mufketry, furrendered on the 29th of April. I entered triumphantly
 “ into the town of Kamschatka, and no one appeared to oppofe me. I immediately
 “ fent people to feize the veffels which were in the harbour; and went myfelf
 “ with fome others to Zamicka, where I arrefted the fecretary of the fenate, who had
 “ arrived from Peterfburgh, and obliged him to deliver up all the letters of the
 “ chancery. After taking every thing that belonged to me and two hundred in-
 “ habitants of Kamschatka, I went down to the harbour, where I feized on three fhips,
 “ chofe for myfelf the ftrongeft, and left the reft diftafted.

“ Having freed this veffel, which was called the St. Peter, from the ice, I embarked
 “ with every thing neceffary, and fet fail on the 12th of May 1771. I had fixty feven
 “ perfons with me on board, viz. eight officers, eight married women, and a
 “ young woman known by the title of the Princefs: the reft confifted of the crew.
 “ In this manner I departed from Kamschatka, and paffing the latitude of $52^{\circ} 52'$,
 “ entered the channel of the Kurile ifles, commonly called *Jedſo*.

“ Purfuing my courfe towards the north-eaft, I landed on the ifland of Bernighiana,
 “ fituated to the eaft, under the fifty-fifth degree of latitude, and the ninth meridian
 “ from the port which I had left. Here I found M. Ochotyn, with eighty men.
 “ This Polish officer, according to what he related, had faved himfelf in the fame
 “ manner as I, and had eftablifhed himfelf with his crew in thofe American iflands
 “ called *Alentis*. He had formed an alliance with the inhabitants of the country;
 “ and his people had contracted marriages amongft them. In this ifland I left three
 “ of my men; and he gave me letters to fhew wherever I might judge it neceffary to
 “ do ſo.

“ On the 26th of May, ſteering away a confiderable diftance from that ifland, I
 “ found the fea covered with ice, which obliged me on the 2d of June to land at
 “ the ifland of Aladar, fituated under the fixty-firft degree of latitude, and the
 “ twenty-fecond meridian from Kamschatka. On the 9th of June I again put to fea,
 “ and directing my route towards the fouth-eaft, fell in, according to my reckoning,
 “ with the point of the American continent, under the fixtieth degree of latitude, and
 “ the twenty-fifth meridian from Kamschatka. Sailing then towards the fifty-firft
 “ degree of latitude, on account of the violence of the wind, I afterwards changed
 “ my courfe towards the fouth-weft; and on the 20th of June arrived at an ifland
 “ known to the Ruffians by the name of *Urum-Sir*, or the ifland of *Xti*, fituated
 “ under the latitude of $53^{\circ} 45'$, and diftant $15^{\circ} 58'$ of longitude from Kamschatka.

“ Here I formed a friendship with the Americans, which induced me to remain
 “ ſome days amongft them; but on the 27th of June I fet fail, ſteering fouth-weft,
 “ and kept at fea till the 30th, when I difcovered, in the latitude of $46^{\circ} 6'$, and ten
 “ degrees of longitude from Kamschatka, a land inhabited likewise by Ruffians; but I
 “ could not go on ſhore on account of contrary winds, which, notwithstanding all my
 “ efforts, carried me to a great diftance from it. Having, therefore, formed a deſign
 “ of reſuming my ancient route, after fuffering a long time from the inconfancy of
 “ the winds, and finding that our water was exhausted, ſo that we were obliged to
 “ drink fea-water, rendered potable with flour and whale oil, I landed, on the 15th
 “ of July, on an ifland, which lies in the latitude of $32^{\circ} 45'$, and in longitude
 “ $334^{\circ} 45'$ from Kamschatka. This ifland was inhabited, and the beauty of its
 “ fituation, added to other attractions, induced me to give it the name of *Liquoris*.
 “ I quitted it on the 22d, and directing my courfe weftward, arrived, on the 28th,
 “ at *Kilingur*, a Japaneſe port, fituated in latitude 34° and longitude 343° from Kamf-
 “ chatka.

“chatka. This port is close to a town and citadel, where we were kindly received by the inhabitants, who gave us a supply of provisions.

“On the 1st of August I quitted this port, and on the 3d landed at *Meaco*, where I was insulted by the Japanese, whom I found very untractable. Desirous of proceeding thence to the Philippines, I continued my route towards the south, and, coasting along some other islands for several days, landed in the isle of *Usona*, in latitude $27^{\circ} 28'$, and longitude 335° .

“Being perfectly well received by the people of this island, I spent some days amongst them: they supplied me with abundance of provisions; and after a mutual treaty I sailed for the island of *Formosa*. Having entered a port in latitude $23^{\circ} 15'$, and longitude 223° , I found myself attacked by the inhabitants, who killed three of my men. After avenging their death, the winds always contrary obliged me to make for the continent of China, coasting along some small islands known under the name of *Piscatoria*; and want of water compelled me to enter by open force into *Tanafoa*, and to attack the Chinese, who endeavoured to prevent me from procuring a supply. I then sailed for *Macao*, a city belonging to her most Faithful Majesty, where I arrived on the 22d of September 1771.

“In this place I was received with every mark of friendship, by the *Sieur Salema de Saldanha*, the governor, and obtained permission for me and my crew to land; but we left our arms in the ship, in order that we might excite no suspicion. Here I learned that there was a league of friendship between our august sovereigns; and being desirous of keeping a secret, in which they were interested, I asked permission to hoist the flag of his most Christian Majesty, which I obtained.

“What can I say more to your excellency, that your own people are not able to inform you of? Having transported my baggage to the house of *M. de Robien*, the president of the council now in China, I embarked on the 17th of January, with my crew, in two trading vessels, and arrived safe and sound in the Isle of France, where I have drawn up the present relation: I beg, therefore, that you would be pleased to order me a speedy passage to Europe.

“I shall every where acknowledge this favour received from your friendship, and shall be eternally devoted to your service.

Isle of France, “I am your Excellency's most humble Servant,

March 21, 1772.

“*Baron Maurice Augustus d'Aladar de Benyowski.*

“General of the First Confederation.”

ONE cannot help feeling some emotions of surprize on seeing that *Benyowski* has omitted every thing that might have tended to direct navigators in the route from *Kamtschatka* to China, by the way of Japan. Nothing is necessary but the elements of the nautical science to enable one to remark soundings and anchorage; to point out the strength and direction of the winds; to determine the variations of the needle; to fix the situation of the principal capes and quicksands; and, in short, to give, if not the longitude, at least the latitude of the most remarkable places.

The journal of the pilot entrusted with the care of the vessel, ought certainly to have informed him respecting all these particulars.

A traveller of abilities, or only animated with a desire of rendering himself useful, when he visited distant countries, and traversed passages little frequented by European ships, would not have neglected details indispensably necessary to the safety and improvement of navigation. *Benyowski*, however, boasted of the extent of his knowledge, and

and of having discovered a new route for going from Kamfchatka to China: but the journal of his voyage, while it proves that he was ignorant even of the most common and technical terms used in navigation, leaves no document, or certain traces of the course which he says he pursued.

This accusation is not made without sufficient reason. I appeal for the justness of it to all those who, like me, saw him arrive from Canton at the Isle of France. They will all certify, that, with a view to render the account of his adventures more romantic, he publicly declared, that in a small vessel badly equipped, and almost destitute of provisions, or rather having nothing to subsist on but dried fish, he quitted, on his departure from Kamfchatka, the Asiatic coast in order to go to America. Over and above, this intrepid adventurer was not afraid to affirm before experienced seamen, that he went on shore on some unknown land, situated to the north of California. This strange assertion gives rise to a multitude of objections. The distressed situation of his vessel rendered his narration very improbable: besides, the short journal which he had the imprudence to publish, made no mention of that land situated to the north of California, and much less of its productions. On the last article, above all, Benyowski appeared to be exceedingly embarrassed; and he could find no means of delivering himself from importunate questions, but by saying that he reserved for his court alone, the honour of being made acquainted with the particulars of his important discoveries.

This evasion was not attended with success. A general map of the world was presented to him, and he was desired to trace out the Course of his voyage, after being assured that such a slight sketch could not expose him; but Benyowski refused. M. Poivre, then intendant of the Isle of France, was extremely glad that these efforts were made in his presence, to detect the impudent imposture of this stranger. That enlightened administrator prudently avoided taking any part in them; but he made use of this close attack to inspire M. de Boynes with a just and salutary suspicion of the pretended discoveries of Benyowski. If, as we shall see hereafter, this information did not produce the intended effect, it would certainly be highly illiberal to throw out even the slightest reproaches against him, on that account. However, the relation given by Benyowski, of his romantic adventures, was sufficient to ruin, in the opinion of the public, this man, who was not ashamed to produce before a generous people a scandalous declaration, in which he owned himself guilty of an execrable crime. This stranger, said they, is not a madman; and yet he wishes to persuade us that force and rigorous means were used to deprive him of his innocence, and to cause him to sign a deed, which, while it disgraces and debases him, renders him odious and suspected. What expression in our language is strong enough to characterise the unparalleled impudence of this stranger, who thus allowed himself to spread an accusation more degrading to himself than to his enemies?

Is there a country in the world where the open acknowledgment of an assassination is the means of recovering liberty? What could have been the end of this scandalous declaration?—Is it not possible to discover the motive of it?

Whilst I express my sentiments in this manner, I am only the faithful interpreter of that universal sentiment of indignation with which the people of the Isle of France were inspired, when they read Benyowski's improbable relation. It was an object of censure to every person of sense; and if I have transcribed it literally, it was merely because I thought it proper that the moral character of this adventurer should be known. I hope I shall be pardoned for so often bestowing upon him that degrading appellation. Benyowski is not condemned by his writings alone; there are still greater charges against him.

Escaped

Escaped from the prisons of Kamtschatka, Benyowski proceeded to China with twenty or thirty prisoners. Scarcely had this stranger arrived at Canton, when he found among the French there some individuals, who were sensibly affected by his misfortunes; and he obtained from the factors and officers of the East India Company considerable assistance for himself, as well as for the people whom he pretended to have under his command. They even did more for him: they engaged M. de St. Hylaire to take him on board his ship, and to convey him with all his suite to the Isle of France. M. de St. Hylaire, having a rich cargo under his care belonging to private merchants, made at first some hesitation: he was afraid of admitting into his vessel such a number of strangers who had broke from the prisons of Kamtschatka; but compassion got the better of every other sensation. When he had, however, proceeded to sea, his uneasiness began to be revived with more strength; and very justly, for these people had given him some cause to repent of his imprudent generosity. These adventurers, at the time when they embarked, had carefully concealed their arms. M. de St. Hylaire, therefore, when informed of this deception, was exceedingly sorry to have men in his ship who were perhaps in a situation of giving laws to him instead of receiving them. Thirty or forty prisoners, armed in a formidable manner, were, certainly, sufficient to alarm him respecting the fate of his valuable cargo. In so delicate and difficult a situation what course could he pursue? Ought he to have made use of his authority to disarm these strangers? But his ship was weak, and badly equipped—ought he in such a case to have risked the property of his employers, and to have exposed his life and his liberty against robust, resolute, and enterprising men, who had every thing to gain and nothing to lose? The slightest pretence might have given rise to a quarrel, and produced an insurrection which it was prudent to avoid. M. de St. Hylaire weighed all these matters in his mind, like a wise man; and, foreseeing his danger, resolved, after mature deliberation, to watch privately all the motions of his passengers. He even did more: he pretended to pay great honour, and to shew much deference and respect to Count Benyowski. This adventurer then acted the man of importance; exhausted all the resources of the most impudent imposture to give himself a still greater air of consequence; and by the most ridiculous bravadoes imposed even on his companions in misfortune. He openly declared himself to be their chief; his orders were punctually executed: he ever afterwards commanded as a master, and they behaved to him with the obsequiousness of slaves. None but those who were gentlemen durst speak to him. This is a certain fact. I was told it by M. de St. Hylaire and his officers.

The honours so prudently paid to Benyowski, while they flattered his pride, preserved tranquillity and good order in the ship. Subordination, so necessary for the safety of navigators, was not interrupted by this dangerous man; and, at length, after a short and favourable passage, they arrived at the Isle of France. Much praise is certainly due to the wise and cautious conduct of M. de St. Hylaire; for it evidently appears that he extricated himself, with great ability, from a very difficult and dangerous situation.

Benyowski, surrounded by a numerous suite, repaired immediately on his landing to the governor of the colony. He no longer appeared as an unfortunate prisoner, but as the general of an army decorated with several insignia, and followed by an aid-de-camp whose rich uniforms announced an officer of superior distinction. What an astonishing metamorphosis, or rather what a ridiculous farce! Had I not been an eye-witness of it, I should scarcely have ventured to relate it. When the real history of these adventurers was known at the Isle of France, the general and his brilliant attendants became a subject of laughter to every sensible man in the colony. Seamen are seldom enthusiasts. Such people require coolness to subdue the elements, and knowledge to conduct, from

one extremity of the earth to the other, those large floating castles, which secure and protect the commerce of polished nations. The lives of sailors, and the safety of a ship or squadron, ought not to be entrusted to men too susceptible of passion, or whose imaginations being lively and irregular are apt to be hurried into fits of delirium. Men of this kind, who are fond of, and admire, whatever is fabulous or romantic, are common only among idle and frivolous nations, or in large capitals, where their fatal influence occasions still greater disorders than that of profligates. Such enthusiastic characters are rare in the colonies, and are always destitute of credit and authority.

Benyowski felt the truth of this assertion in all its bitterness. He saw, at the same time, of how much importance to him it was to immediately quit a country where his adventures and travels excited no enthusiasm. The more he prolonged his stay, the less respect was paid to him. On his departure for France he threw aside the name of Baron d'Aladar, under which he had hitherto appeared, and assumed that of Count de Benyowski: but what is highly worthy of remark is, that, at this epoch, he publicly announced that he was going to solicit in France the general government of the island of Madagascar.

This new gasconade occasioned much amusement, and excited no alarm. One must have had a foresight more than human to dread that a hope, in all appearance so chimerical, should one day be realised. I can, therefore, safely assert, that words are not sufficient to express those sensations of uneasiness and surprise which filled the minds of the whole colony, when they learned that Benyowski had been appointed to the important station of governor of Madagascar. I am entirely unacquainted with the seducing arts which this adventurer employed to accomplish his ends: but M. Poivre, when he heard this intelligence, said to me: "We have seen swarms of locusts devour, in an instant, abundant crops; we have seen two terrible hurricanes threaten the Isle of France with entire destruction: Madagascar served to repair the evils caused by these formidable scourges; but, in future, the Isle of France will have no resource. It must sink under its misfortunes, and perish if afflicted with such disasters. Under Benyowski's government, Madagascar will not supply this colony with provisions: we can no longer have in our distresses but distant and precarious succours. I have been much accustomed to see the success of impostors and adventurers; but that of Benyowski astonishes me; especially after the letter which I wrote respecting him to M. de Boynes. I am well aware that every thing eccentric pleases and amuses the multitude, and leads them into every excess of credulity; but who could have imagined, that a stranger, lately escaped from the prisons of Kamtschatka, and whose character was blasted by his own writings, would have obtained an important situation without my consent? Connected closely by my office with the prosperity of the colony, I ought to have inspired him, when he first spoke to me of Madagascar, with a desire of dethroning the Great Mogul. His request, without doubt, would have been granted; and we should have been delivered."

Benyowski, however, was permitted to raise a company of volunteers; and he wished that this troop might be dressed and armed in such a manner as to spread fear and terror among the Malegaches; but by this he proved how little he was acquainted with the character of these people. He then chose the Bay of Antongil for the place of his principal establishment, though that part of the country is ravaged and desolated by pestilential fevers, from the month of October to the beginning of May. Navigators call that fatal season the winter. No doubt can be entertained that the noxious vapours which arise from the woods and marshes, are the real cause of these epidemical diseases.

The inflammable air and putrid exhalations, which proceed in abundance from water in

in a state of stagnation, and corrupted by the remains of vegetables, change the good quality of the atmospheric air, during calm weather or great heats. On such occasions the air is seldom renewed by the sea breezes; the north winds carry these exhalations along the coasts; and drought and tranquillity render their effects more fatal. The Malegaches know, in a small degree, how to preserve themselves by remaining in their huts, or houses, amidst a thick smoke; yet the sobriest and most robust of these islanders cannot always withstand the malignancy of the disorder. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Europeans, who are obliged to reside on that coast, should fall victims to distempers, which attack even those who are seasoned to the climate.

I was witness to the entire destruction of a small French establishment at Foulpointe about the end of the year 1768. Though assistance of every kind was speedily given to the unfortunate people who belonged to it, not one of them could be saved. The robust as well as the weak all fell victims to disease in the course of a very short time. If I beheld this calamity without sharing the fate of the rest, it was because the salubrious sea air with which our vessel was surrounded, corrected, in some degree, the fatal effects of the putrid exhalations. Besides, as soon as the first symptoms of the disease appeared in the village, all communication with the land, except what was indispensably necessary, was rigorously forbidden. The crew were no longer allowed to have any intercourse with the islanders: nor were their piroguas suffered to approach our vessel. Without this precaution the infection might have been introduced into the ship; and no means could have been devised to check its progress. Those who intend to frequent this dangerous coast ought not to despise these observations, the justness of which is confirmed by a multitude of examples. In a word, one must either perish or fly from that unwholesome climate when the infection breaks out. No part in the northern quarter of Madagascar is free from putrid and malignant fevers; but these cruel diseases do not every year occasion the same ravages. Their violence and duration seem to depend more particularly on the direction of the wind. When it blows long from the north, the evil is at its height. There are few men robust and strong enough to resist the influence of this dangerous wind, which prevails only from the end of October till the beginning of May.

Benyowski certainly could not have had very just notions, or accurate accounts, respecting the unhealthfulness of Madagascar. Yet it cannot be presumed that the badness of its climate was entirely unknown to him, as he had resided some time at the Isle of France. It was observed even then that he had formed a design of soliciting the government of it: but this man, accustomed to brave every kind of danger, must not have thought such an obstacle capable of opposing the success of a permanent establishment.

However this may be, Benyowski arrived at the Bay of Antongil, surrounded by a body of troops sufficient to overawe the islanders. His soldiers were furnished with enormous sabres; they wore pistols in their girdles; and it appeared as if their arms, their helmets, and their uniforms had been invented to spread fear and terror amongst the natives of Madagascar. As soon as he had landed, he took formal possession of the island, and made himself be proclaimed governor-general. He then traced out the plans of several fortresses, with a view of rendering himself formidable to the Malegaches, whom he wished to conquer and subdue. His projects, however, were neither founded on justice, nor directed by a local knowledge of the country. He made war upon the Malegaches; exercised every kind of cruelty against them; and was soon execrated as the tyrant of the country. The natives, frightened, fled into the interior

parts of the island; all commerce was suspended; and Benyowski deserted was known throughout all Madagascar by the name of the *wicked white man*.

It was, doubtless, very easy to foresee that Benyowski's establishment would not be attended with success: but such a beginning would certainly appear surprising, were not the immorality and misconduct of this adventurer well known. The reception Benyowski met with in France, and his being vested with unlimited power, must indeed astonish every person of sense. We live in an enlightened age, and, on that account, it is more difficult to account for the French nation thus confiding in, and employing, a stranger whose actions were more than suspicious. Several millions were thus sacrificed to a false and imprudent speculation, from which nothing could result but great evils to the Isle of France, and still greater to Madagascar.

A simple recital of facts conveys the most severe censure upon the imprudent confidence reposed in this adventurer. M. Poivre certainly is free from all blame on that account; for he did every thing in his power to guard his country against the danger of being deluded by him.

But let us hear the account of an officer of distinction, who has every title to the highest celebrity. I am not allowed to mention his name; because, being now absent, I had not an opportunity of asking his permission. This officer accompanied M. de Belcombe and M. Chevreau when they inspected Benyowski's establishments at Madagascar.

"When I arrived," says he, "at Foulpointe, on the 17th of September 1776, the population of the villages in the neighbourhood of the fort had decreased one half; bloody wars had desolated the whole country; the crops were entirely destroyed; and agriculture was so much neglected that we could hardly procure three hundred pounds of rice. A scarcity of other provisions was equally felt. My surprise, on this account, was very great; for, when I was in the same spot three years before, I observed commerce and agriculture flourishing; the markets were abundantly supplied; and ten large vessels found a sufficiency of rice to load them, without any increase taking place in the value of that necessary commodity. This large quantity of provision was solely destined for the Isle of France, which three successive hurricanes had reduced to a most alarming state of distress. All the crops were lost; a dreadful famine, the inevitable consequence of these scourges, threatened the colony with ruin; and the severity of it began even to be felt, when the speedy arrival of these ten vessels, loaded with rice, quieted the uneasiness of the inhabitants, in the first moments of their distress. If, on this occasion as on many others, Foulpointe saved the Isle of France, we could no longer hope for the same assistance. The fields were uncultivated, and commerce entirely annihilated. The despotism of Benyowski had spread a general alarm throughout the island. The Malegaches in consternation fled from the borders of the sea, and retired to the interior parts of the country.

"M. de Belcombe having assembled Yavi, the sovereign of Foulpointe, and the other chiefs of the neighbourhood, asked them if they had any reason to complain of the French, and above all of the fifteen soldiers of Benyowski's legion who guarded the harbour of Foulpointe. Their answer to this question was not explicit: they were, doubtless, afraid that their complaints would serve as a pretence for new persecutions; and confined themselves merely to the requesting of a free trade. M. de Belcombe assured Yavi and the rest of the chiefs, that the French soldiers were kept at Madagascar only to protect and secure the liberty of the Malegaches;

“ gaches ; and he exhorted them to cultivate their lands, and to live in peace with
 “ their neighbours. M. Chevreau took an inventory of the stores belonging to the
 “ king ; and M. de Belcombe, before his departure for the Bay of Antongil, gave
 “ the strictest and most precise orders to the officer who commanded the detachment,
 “ to maintain discipline among his troops, and to put a speedy end to the uneasiness
 “ and alarms of these people.

“ M. de Belcombe and M. Chevreau made but a very short stay at Foulepointe. As
 “ the principal object of their mission respected Benyowski's establishment at the Bay
 “ of Antongil, they proceeded thither ; and M. de Belcombe appeared at the head of
 “ the troops, as inspector of the French settlements in Madagascar.

“ I accompanied M. de Belcombe and M. Chevreau, being ordered by the governor
 “ of the Isle of France to attend them on this service.

“ Benyowski's audacity astonished me so much that words can scarcely express
 “ what I felt. He at first received M. Chevreau with haughtiness, and I may even
 “ say impudence.

“ M. de Belcombe appeared satisfied with the military position of the spot chosen
 “ by Benyowski for forming his principal establishment, to which he had given the name
 “ of *Louisburgh* : but though this place may be easily defended, I know none more
 “ marshy and unhealthful.

“ Louisburgh is situated on a tongue of land which advances three hundred fathoms
 “ into the sea. The ground upon which the magazines and houses are built is scarcely
 “ four feet above the level of the water, in the time of high tides ; and even this ele-
 “ vation has been formed by embankments. All the neighbouring land is a marsh,
 “ which the sea covers at certain periods. The fort constructed for the defence and
 “ protection of Louisburgh, consists of three bastions, each of which is mounted with
 “ one cannon. This fort is of wood, and is built upon stakes driven into the earth.
 “ I dare venture to affirm that both it and the houses are already in need of being
 “ rebuilt ; for all the wood was in a state of rotteness, occasioned by the moisture.
 “ The tongue of land upon which Louisburgh stands is connected on one side with
 “ Port Choiseul, an excellent harbour, and capable of receiving several large vessels.
 “ A spacious and beautiful river, called by the Malegaches *Linguebate*, gives this
 “ tongue of land the form of a peninsula. The river *Linguebate* is an hundred and
 “ eighty fathoms in breadth ; it is navigable ; and I followed its course in a boat
 “ for the space of seven leagues. At this distance it is an hundred and fifty fathoms in
 “ breadth.

“ On the banks of this river Benyowski has constructed several forts, the most con-
 “ siderable of which is, at least, equal in strength to that built for the defence of Loui-
 “ burgh. The banks of *Linguebate* river are only four feet high at its mouth : but
 “ the nearer you approach to its source the more this height increases. In following
 “ its source I was much delighted with the beauty of the neighbouring fields, which
 “ present a spectacle highly interesting.

“ I at length arrived with M. de Belcombe and M. Chevreau at a place called, by
 “ Benyowski, the *Plain of Health*. Between this place and Louisburgh we visited
 “ several small forts, and fifteen villages. Benyowski had boasted much to us of the
 “ happy situation of this place, which was truly rural ; but we found that its denomi-
 “ nation was altogether improper. The *Plain of Health* appeared to us to be a very
 “ unhealthful spot, surrounded by mountains, the great height of which attracts the
 “ clouds, and condenses them into rain. M. de Belcombe remarked to Benyowski the
 “ disadvantages of this post : but though they were obvious, he obstinately refused to

“ acknowledge them. In vain was he shewn the defiles in the mountains, which it
 “ was impossible to guard : he still persisted that this post was less susceptible of an
 “ attack than that of Louisburgh. He maintained that a small battery, which he called
 “ Fort Augustus, situated on a peaked mount in the middle of the *Plain of Health*,
 “ would protect and defend his establishment in such a manner as to repel an enemy,
 “ however numerous. I ascended to this fine fortress by a paltry stair, consisting of an
 “ hundred and fifty steps, and found it a square of eight fathoms, surrounded by
 “ palisades absolutely rotten. Four three-pounders were the formidable artillery,
 “ which, on the one hand, were to protect the navigation of the river Linguebate, and
 “ on the other to defend the grand establishment which he proposed to form at the
 “ bottom of the fort, and to which he had already given the name of the *Town of the*
 “ *Plain of Health*.

“ This town consisted, when we saw it, of a magazine fifty feet in length, and
 “ thirty in breadth ; and of two other smaller edifices, one of which was intended for
 “ an hospital, and the other for barracks. M. de Belcombe, in my presence, asked
 “ Benyowski, if he had nothing more to shew him. Benyowski, without being in
 “ the least disconcerted, replied, My forts protect the navigation of the important
 “ river Linguebate, and the free navigation of this river renders me absolute master
 “ of the adjacent country. Have I not in this rendered a very essential service to
 “ France ? Could any thing more be expected from the forces and funds which were
 “ at my disposal ? Would another in my place have done more ?—Would he have
 “ done as much ? M. de Belcombe smiled, and said, You sent word, governor, to the
 “ minister of the marine, that you had laid the foundation of a large town, which
 “ you called the *Plain of Health*. Where is that town ?—What has become of it ?—
 “ Has it disappeared ? for I see nothing here but a few miserable huts.

“ To this embarrassing question Benyowski replied, that his funds had failed. My
 “ citadel, added he, has cost more than I expected. It was necessary that I should
 “ first pay attention to the safety of the town, the plan of which I will now shew you :
 “ this project is not a chimera ; it will be carried into execution as soon as I can pro-
 “ cure funds sufficient to undertake it.

“ But your citadel, said M. de Belcombe, is a small pitiful battery, commanded on
 “ all sides by the high mountains which surround it : this battery of four three-pounders,
 “ placed on the summit of a small mount, can never answer the end you propose.
 “ Besides, I here come from France, by orders of the minister, to inspect your labours,
 “ and I cannot avoid making you acquainted with my reflections. Permit me to ask
 “ you another question, no less interesting—Where is that grand highway from Louis-
 “ burgh to Bombetoc ? Enable me, I pray, to give an account of it to the minister.
 “ You have explained the advantages of it to him in the minutest manner. You have
 “ told him that this communication of the eastern with the western side of the island
 “ must make you sovereign, as one may say, of the African coast, because the port
 “ of Bombetoc is separated from Africa only by the channel of Mozambique. That
 “ this wild country, intersected by high mountains, forests, and rivers, should not
 “ have thrown obstacles in the way of your project, is to me a matter of astonishment
 “ and surprise.

“ That route, said Benyowski, is traced out : this is a fact that cannot be contested.
 “ I shall shew you an itinerary, and directions to be pursued for traversing that chain
 “ of mountains which separates the eastern from the western coast. You must leave
 “ on the south the high mountain of Vigagora, and follow, a few deviations ex-
 “ cepted, the road frequented by the islanders, when they come from the coast of
 “ Bombetoc.

“ Bombetoc to the Bay of Antongil. Some labour will be, doubtless, necessary to
 “ render this road more practicable; but the present season, and my situation with
 “ regard to the islanders, will not permit me, for some time, to engage in that un-
 “ dertaking. If you wish, however, to explore this route, I will accompany you;
 “ and you will then see what difficulties I must experience, before I can overcome
 “ those obstacles which are to be surmounted.

“ M. de Belcombe had neither leisure nor inclination to undertake a long and dif-
 “ ficult journey across the island of Madagascar, and he rightly conjectured that
 “ Benyowski had not made the proposal but from a certainty of being refused. M.
 “ de Belcombe thought it his duty to observe, that he was commissioned to inspect
 “ works executed, and not works projected. Proceeding then to a new question,
 “ he asked him why he had ceased to send rice and oxen to the Isle of France. The
 “ wars which I have had to carry on against the islanders, said Benyowski, have de-
 “ prived, and still deprive me, of the provisions necessary for my own people. In
 “ such a situation, how could I send supplies to the Isle of France? You must readily
 “ see that it was impossible. I can with equal ease justify the wars I have undertaken.
 “ I assemble a *palabre*, and propose to the islanders plans calculated to promote their
 “ advantage. They, however, not only reject them, but the chiefs have the insolence
 “ to threaten me. They even do more: a signal is given for destroying me; several
 “ muskets are discharged at once; and I escape, almost miraculously, from this immi-
 “ nent danger. Being vigorously supported by my soldiers, I disperse the multitude,
 “ and frighten them by some cannon shots which I order to be discharged from the
 “ fort. I insist on having the heads of those chiefs who made an attempt on my life,
 “ in the middle of a solemn assembly; but this is refused. I then call to my assist-
 “ ance the Sambarives, a people who live on the banks of the river Manaharre:
 “ five hundred of their warriors range themselves under my standards, and enable me to
 “ punish and subdue my dangerous neighbours. Being compelled to sue for peace,
 “ the articles of a treaty were formally agreed on and sanctioned in a grand *cabar* or
 “ *palabre*; the usual ceremonies were observed; I rewarded the Sambarives when I
 “ dismissed them; I promised to protect and defend them against the enterprises of
 “ their enemies; and I exhorted them to cultivate their lands, as the speediest mode
 “ of remedying those evils which had been occasioned by our dissensions. These evils
 “ are undoubtedly great; the country is laid waste; the principal part of the villages
 “ present nothing to the sight but heaps of ashes; the lands are left uncultivated;
 “ and a famine has been the necessary consequence of all these disorders. Peace and
 “ tranquillity, however, are about to be restored: the islanders, more timorous and
 “ submissive, will apply to agriculture; and will repair those misfortunes, which they
 “ have brought upon themselves by their odious and criminal plot against a man who
 “ knows how to make himself be feared and respected. The authority with which I
 “ am invested shall never lose its force in my hands; I will never suffer it to be de-
 “ spised; I will enforce obedience. Every military man must approve my conduct,
 “ and adopt my principles. The whites ought never to trust to the friendship of the
 “ blacks; they ought not even to demean themselves so far as to seek for it. I am
 “ a foreigner, and on that account ought to exert myself the more in order to pro-
 “ cure respect to the French flag. My administration will restore to it that degree of
 “ weight which the weakness of my predecessors made it lose.—Such almost was
 “ the substance of Benyowski's conversation. He added invectives of every kind
 “ against the islanders, whose character he delineated under the blackest and falsest
 “ colours.

“ We judged that an absolute want of provisions was the only motive which had determined him to preserve peace. The hatred and resentment of this revengeful man had given way only to the most urgent necessity. M. Belcombe, being much alarmed on this account, endeavoured to inspire Benyowski with juster and more humane ideas; and though he was convinced of the inutility of his exhortations and efforts to render the peace durable, he resolved, on his return to Louisburgh, to make a new treaty, in order to convince the inhabitants of Madagascar that he entertained sentiments truly pacific.

“ Benyowski violently opposed this plan, which M. de Belcombe had formed, of again assembling the islanders, for the purpose of confirming the peace; and he endeavoured to prove, that the holding of a new *palabre* would be attended with great inconveniences. His remonstrances however were of no avail; the assembly was held on the second of October 1776; but it was not numerous, and consisted only of an hundred and fifty of the natives. M. de Belcombe, on this occasion, renewed the treaty; exhorted these people to cultivate their lands; to avoid all cause of discord among themselves; and assured them that the French establishment at the Bay of Antongil had no other object in view than that of securing to them happiness and tranquillity. Well, said he, what provisions you can spare to the French, and they will protect you. Your enemies will then no longer dare to attack you; and you may, in future, apply to commerce and agriculture with the greatest safety. It is but doing justice to M. de Belcombe to observe, that he neglected no means which were likely to re-establish concord and confidence among the islanders; but every hope of prosperity was chimerical, as long as the French settlements were under the direction of Benyowski. The islanders remained motionless, and seemed to be insensible to all the testimonies of friendship and assurances of goodwill which were given to them. Benyowski appeared to me very much chagrined at the insinuations thrown out against his conduct. This was very evident; for M. de Belcombe wished that his sentiments might not be misunderstood, though he always behaved to the Governor with that deference and respect which are necessary for preserving subordination. Before our departure from Madagascar, I had a conversation with Benyowski, on the little advantage which France was likely to derive from the establishment at the Bay of Antongil. You are right, said he, in your opinion; but a lesson which has cost two millions of livres, is not too dear to teach your nation, that it ought to have allowed me a squadron of ships, with two millions of livres for my annual expenditure. Had it then sent six hundred recruits every year, I should have raised in the course of twenty years a flourishing and formidable colony. I observed to him that the country was unhealthful; and that five in six of the people sent thither fell victims to the insalubrity of the climate. In answer to this, Benyowski replied, that by clearing considerable tracts of land, during the favourable season, diseases might be prevented, and that the *Plain of Health* was a healthful spot, whatever M. de Belcombe might say to the contrary. If I have lost a great many people, continued he; and if the eighty who remain, are either sick or in a state of convalescence, this deplorable situation, in which you find me, is to be ascribed to the war I was obliged to undertake against the islanders, and still more to my residing at Louisburgh. Besides, it is always much easier to conquer a colony belonging to an enemy, than to establish one. I agreed with him in this idea; and quitted him, much astonished at the confidence reposed by the French ministry in the projects of this foreigner.

“ On

“ On our arrival at the Isle of France, that colony began to be in want of provisions. The resources of Madagascar had absolutely failed. It was necessary, therefore, to send ships to the Cape of Good Hope; and heavy complaints proceeded from every quarter, in order to open the eyes of the ministry respecting the misconduct of Benyowski.”

The journal from which the above account is extracted proves, that the establishment formed at the Bay of Antongil was not susceptible of being preserved.

At the time when it was inspected by M. de Belcombe, M. de Boyntes was not minister of the marine. M. Turgot had succeeded to that office; and under the administration of this prudent minister such an establishment could not be supported. Vain efforts were made to avert the storm, for impostors every where find protectors; but sentence was pronounced; and if it was not put in execution till the administration of his successor, it was because M. Turgot did not remain long enough in office to pay particular attention to this part of his duty. This illustrious man, whose eminent talents raised him far above the generality of his contemporaries, knew from M. Poivre, that Benyowski was a dangerous adventurer, who had rendered himself the tyrant and scourge of the natives of Madagascar. Having just then returned to Europe, I learned that Benyowski had made a conquest of the island of Madagascar; and I heard his courage and abilities every where extolled. I was assured that he had built towns and fortresses; that he had constructed a grand road from Louisburgh to Bombetoc; and all these reveries seriously propagated were so much believed, as to become a subject of wonder and conversation in the city. One was scarcely allowed to doubt the truth of these ridiculous fables; and M. Poivre himself was obliged to undertake the task of refuting them. In the mean time Benyowski, disgraced, arrived in Paris, where he endeavoured to confirm the reports which had been spread of his brilliant exploits in Madagascar. He complained loudly of the injustice of the administration of the Isle of France; and was at length able, if not to justify himself, at least to obtain new rewards. He then insinuated himself into favour with Dr. Franklin: this fact is incontestable, as I was an eye-witness of it; but I cannot reproach myself with having suffered that celebrated man to be ignorant of what I knew respecting this adventurer. Benyowski, however, went to America, where he had scarcely arrived when he again formed a project of getting possession of Madagascar; and with that view proceeded to the Bay of Antongil, in an American vessel. I am not acquainted with the object of this expedition; but I know that M. de Souillac, the governor of the Isle of France, sent, on the 9th of May 1786, a vessel, called the *Louisa*, commanded by Viscount de la Croix, to oppose Benyowski's enterprises; and caused a detachment of sixty men from the regiment of Pondicherry, under the orders of M. Larcher, a captain of infantry, to accompany him. M. Mayeur, also, the principal factor, embarked in the same vessel, in order to give M. Larcher every information necessary to counteract the views of Benyowski; for it was known, that he had seized a magazine belonging to the king at Angoncy, a village situated to the north of the Bay of Antongil.

The *Louisa* cast anchor at Foulpointe on the 17th of the same month; and Count de la Croix, after procuring such provisions as he stood in need of, quitted that port and proceeded to Angoncy. He arrived there on the 23d; but instead of anchoring in the bay, the entrance of which is difficult, and the situation badly laid down in charts, he chose rather to anchor at the distance of half a league from the shore, in the bay of the eastern cape near to that of Angoncy. When the vessel was safely moored, M. Larcher prepared to make good a landing; and some boats well manned, and having each two pieces of cannon in their bows, advanced towards a part of the coast where no obstacle appeared to interrupt them: but when the people were just ready to go on shore, a
volley

volley from Benyowski's troops left them in no doubt respecting the hostile intentions of that adventurer. A few cannon shots, however, dispersed the enemy, who were seen retreating into the woods; and after they had disappeared, a descent was effected without impediment or disorder. M. Larcher, at the head of his men, wished to march directly towards Benyowski's settlement; but he was unwilling to entangle himself in the thick woods, where it would have been impossible for him to make use of his artillery. The islanders therefore, who served him as guides, conducted him by a more open route, which would, however, have presented insurmountable obstacles had it been guarded and defended.

M. Larcher had five marshes, and a bad bridge, ninety feet long, to cross, before he could arrive at Benyowski's settlement. It may be readily supposed that he would not have pursued this route had he been acquainted with the danger of it: but Benyowski was so little afraid that any one could march by so difficult a road, that he had neglected to cut down the bridge which rendered it passable. This negligence is inconceivable in a man who expected an attack: for it was afterwards known, that he openly said, "The people of Foulepointe will soon come to ask restitution of the magazine I have seized: I am glad of it; for they will save me the trouble of going to attack them at Foulepointe."

When M. Larcher had passed the bridge with his artillery, he distinctly heard the noise of people at work. A little while after the advanced guard announced that he saw a red flag, which is the ordinary signal for engaging in this island. M. Larcher immediately ordered his men to inspect their arms, and to prepare for marching towards the enemy in order of battle. Fifty houses were then perceived, all regularly placed in a line, one of which, larger and higher than the rest, was judged to be that of Benyowski. They had not yet seen the fort, as the view of it was intercepted by a small grove of trees: but as soon as they distinguished it, they observed about an hundred men who were retiring to it with precipitation.

This fort, situated on an eminence, and surrounded by strong palisades, was defended by two four-pounders and a few swivels. As soon as Benyowski judged that the French were near enough, he ordered his men to fire the cannon. The first discharge was with bullets; the second with grape shot; and the third with small balls. These three discharges were supported by a brisk fire of musketry; but notwithstanding this defence, the French continued to advance in good order. When the commanding officer thought that he was at a proper distance from the enemy, he ordered them to return Benyowski's fire. This single volley proved decisive: Benyowski received a wound in the breast with a ball, which put an end to his existence, at the moment when he was just applying a match to a cannon loaded with grape-shot. Luckily the priming did not catch fire: had this cannon been discharged, it would certainly have occasioned great disorder among the French; and might have, perhaps, caused their expedition to miscarry. They were in a situation where it was necessary for them either to conquer or perish; they were deprived of every means of being supported; all communication with the coast was cut off; and they were inclosed in such a manner that it would have been impossible for them to regain their vessel. Immediately after Benyowski's death, the fort surrendered at discretion. The greater part of the islanders saved themselves over the palisades; and no attempt was made to stop them. The object of the expedition was accomplished; and M. Larcher had strict orders to treat the inhabitants of the country with humanity. Some of them, who joined the whites, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners; but they were the same moment released, and restored to their full liberty. This generous
behaviour

behaviour induced the chief of Angoncy to come to request peace, and to throw himself under the protection of the French. He presented to M. Larcher an old Portuguese woman, and the Baroness d'Adelsheims, the widow of an officer who had followed Benyowski to Madagascar. These two women had fled for shelter to the chief; and it was in compliance with their entreaties that he delivered them into the hands of the French. This chief complained bitterly of Benyowski's tyranny. He said he had reigned over that fertile part of the country where he was established with a rod of iron; that he plundered the inhabitants without mercy; and destroyed, through fear, the fruits of their industry. He was continually adding new taxes to the burthens which he thought proper to impose on them; and he violated, in an outrageous manner, the most respected usages and customs. Their vain remonstrances were rejected with harshness. In treating them as slaves, and subjecting them to the most galling yoke, he wished to make them lose even the hopes of recovering their liberty. These people were submissive to his caprices: his consummate audacity, his cunning, and still more the impetuosity of his character, had rendered him absolute master of Madagascar; and, at the time when he was killed, he was preparing to drive the French from the island and even to turn their kindnesses against themselves.

Generous nation, but too easy to be deluded, cease to give way to that enthusiasm which has involved you in so many evils. Remember that the Malegaches have still to reproach you for abandoning their country to pillage, and to the tyranny of an adventurer, who was in every respect unworthy of the reception with which you honoured him. You entrusted to this foreigner several millions of money, and objects of the utmost importance. You granted him rewards and marks of distinction reserved for your most zealous defenders; but what gratitude did he shew for them? He took up arms against you; he fired upon your troops; he plundered your magazines. Had not inconsistency and imprudence presided over all his actions, he would have found means to prevent you from carrying on commerce, or having any intercourse with Madagascar.

The Malegaches, exhausted by intestine wars, had lost, during the administration of Benyowski, almost all their good qualities: they were become base slaves, devoted to the caprices of a ferocious and intractable master. Under him the lands remained uncultivated; agriculture was neglected; and commerce interrupted had converted into a desert, a country once fertile and flourishing. This artful man had spread the seeds of hatred and discord among the islanders; and his haughty and disdainful gait united with his impudence and imposture to overawe the multitude. Through features which displayed pride and duplicity, one could still distinguish a ferocious aspect, capable of intimidating the most intrepid. The events of his life have been only a long series of crimes and villanies; and his death was a just punishment for his infamous treachery. It was necessary either to deliver Madagascar from the yoke of this tyrant, or to abandon the colonies of the isles of France and Bourbon.

These savage people had neither sufficient knowledge nor spirit to recover, by themselves, their lost liberty; and how could they avoid and escape from the snares with which Benyowski had artfully surrounded them? This common enemy found means by his duplicity to create division amongst them. As the French therefore, through their enthusiasm, were the authors of all the evils which they experienced, justice and equity would have obliged us to go to their assistance, even had not the interest of our commerce rendered it necessary. But I have already proved that the Isle of France depends in a great measure for its subsistence on the Island of Madagascar, and this dependence is absolute in the time of great calamities. The Cape of Good

Hope affords resources then which are distant, expensive, uncertain, and in every respect, insufficient. It is doubtless much to be wished that some fixed and permanent establishments could be formed in this part; but I have shewn that the insalubrity of the air is an obstacle which cannot be surmounted without sacrificing the lives of a great number of men. From the month of May, however, till the end of October, these shores may be frequented without danger. This is the period most favourable for commerce; it is likewise the time of harvest; and provisions of every kind may be then procured.

REFLECTIONS ON THE NORTHERN PART OF MADAGASCAR.

THE northern part of Madagascar is much more fertile in productions of every kind than the southern part. For this reason it is more frequented by European vessels; but the interior part of the country has never yet been visited. When at the Isle of France, I in vain endeavoured to procure such information as might enable me to write a description of it. On this subject, Bigorne could only give me some vague and uncertain ideas, which it was difficult to make any use of. It was, however, from what he told me that I drew out, at Manaharre, a short memoir, which afterwards served as a basis for Benyowski, to propose the forming of an establishment at the Bay of Antongil. This memoir contains the itinerary of the islanders, who go from Bombetoc to that bay; but nothing remarkable is to be found in it, except an account of the numerous difficulties which occur in that passage. If the Malegaches surmount these difficulties, it is merely because they are much nimbler, and more inured to fatigue, than the greater part of the Europeans. The high mountains of Vigagora, which must be traversed, present at every step obstacles capable of stopping men the most accustomed to brave dangers of every kind. Whoever may be obliged to undertake a journey by this rugged way, ought, if he is prudent, to furnish himself with ropes and poles to climb the steepest places. I know by experience how necessary such precautions are, for I have made use of these helps more than once when travelling in those mountains. When I found myself surrounded by rocks, a small cord held by my guides revived my courage, and facilitated an access to the highest precipices. Silk cords are preferable to those of hemp, because they are stronger and much lighter. Dr. Franklin proposes paper kites, to enable people to cross rivers, the currents of which may be rapid. This method might, doubtless, be of utility in certain circumstances to those who cannot swim well. Those, however, who are unacquainted with that useful art may, by means of bamboos fastened to a long rope, cross very rapid rivers when they have in their service vigorous islanders and good swimmers, who by this simple apparatus can draw them from the one bank to the other. With prudence and industry man may surmount great obstacles: there are few above his genius when he has learned early to attempt to overcome such difficulties.

In the forests the compass is his guide; and, every where else, mechanics furnishes him with the means of escaping from the most difficult situations. These means vary according to circumstances; but it would be improper here to enter into farther details on this subject. I must, however, observe, that a kind of hammock like those employed in the colonies for carrying women and children, would be of infinite utility to those who travel in these wild countries. This hammock must be light and water-proof; it should be made therefore of very strong canvas, covered with gum elastic dissolved in linseed-oil, a kind of varnish used for confining the inflammable air in balloons.

balloons. Such a hammock may be employed, not only as a bed, by suspending it between two trees; but, by means of a bamboo, it may be converted also, into a vehicle for transporting the traveller from one place to another when he finds himself fatigued: and because the canvas, on account of the varnish, is impenetrable to water, the hammock becomes a real pirogua, the advantages of which are so obvious that it is unnecessary to explain them.

The place most frequented by the Europeans in the northern part of Madagascar, is called Foulepointe; but the natives give it the name of *Voulou-Voulou*. The harbour is surrounded by a reef of rocks, which break the force of the waves, and shelter ships from heavy seas. The shores of it are very bold, and the least depth of the water is twenty-three feet at low tides.

The reef, which consists of coral rocks, is joined to the main land, and stretches N.N.E. whilst the coast stretches N.N.W.

The entrance of the harbour, which is on the north side, is about fifty fathoms in breadth. The depth of the basin is about fifty fathoms: it is capable of containing ten large vessels, which may anchor along-side of each other in from thirty to thirty-five feet of water. The ground is sure; but in the winter season, the entrance is shut by a shifting sand bank, which is dissipated when the south-east succeed the north winds or calm weather. The sea never rises or falls more than four or five feet at the time of spring or neap tides. During the latter the reef of rocks appears above the water; and abundance of natural productions may be then found on them, such as mosses, marine plants, black coral, valuable madrepores, sea stars, insects, and shells, which by the variety of their form, and the brilliancy of their colours serve to ornament the cabinets of the curious. The mouths of the rivers here are bordered with mangles which are loaded with oysters of an excellent taste. These oysters adhere to the branches, and form clusters of the most singular and remarkable figures. At a little distance from those parts which the sea covers, there are found veins of a kind of sand different from that of the shore, and which appears to have experienced a semi-vitrification. This sand is intermixed with stones of a soft friable nature, interspersed with an infinite number of small fragments of natural glass. Foulepointe, according to the observations which I made, lies in latitude $17^{\circ} 40' 20''$, and longitude $47^{\circ} 30'$. During my stay here, Reaumur's thermometer never rose above twenty-seven degrees, and never fell lower than fifteen. The barometer experienced very little variation, and always between twenty-eight inches two lines and twenty-eight inches five lines.

Ships can procure at Foulepointe provisions of every kind in abundance, and at a low price. The markets are well supplied when commerce experiences no check or restraint on the part of the Europeans. Some years ago the people of Foulepointe refused to sell hogs and pigs, because an old man who lived at the distance of four leagues from the port, and who was accounted a forcerer, had forbidden them. This Ombiaffe pretended that they would be threatened with great misfortunes if they did not endeavour to destroy the race of these filthy animals: but this prohibition does not prevent the Europeans from procuring them in the mountains, where they may be found in large herds. It would not perhaps be difficult to destroy this inconvenient superstition among these islanders. The villages in the neighbourhood of Foulepointe are not numerous; they are dispersed here and there on the declivities of little hills, and are defended only by palisades. They are agreeably shaded by a multitude of useful trees, such as the cocoa-nut tree, bamboos, orange and lemon trees, wild vines, and bananas, the fruit of which are so much esteemed by the Europeans: but the most remarkable is the *raven*, a kind of palm-tree known only in Madagascar.

This tree, the top part of which is prepared and eaten in the same manner as that of the cabbage-palm, rises to a great height. It is covered with a hard bark, and its wood, which is fibrous and hard, is employed for constructing houses. The walls and partitions of these houses are formed of the ribs of its leaves, which have the solidity of wood and the pliability of leather, and which are fastened together in a very ingenious manner. The leaves serve to cover them; and this covering, which lasts a long time, is preferable to our thatch.

It is of the leaves of the raven also that the Madecasses make their plates, dishes, and cups. These vessels are always clean, but they are never used more than once.

Under the membranous covering which incloses the flowers of this palm, is found a gummy substance of an exquisite taste, which one would take to be honey.

It is not surprising that the Madecasses endeavour to be surrounded by a tree so useful. They make very large planks of it by splitting it from the one end to the other. These planks, however, must be straightened the moment they are split.

The lands belonging to Foulpointe abound with rich pastures and cattle. When you go along the fertile banks of the beautiful river Ongley, you are surprised to see it disappear all of a sudden in the sands, at the distance of four miles from its mouth. This river, which is deep in some places and in others broad and shallow, produces plenty of fish, and is covered with water-fowl. Pirogues sail up it for more than twenty leagues. It is a pity that this river, like all the rest in Madagascar, should be filled with monstrous crocodiles. The sight of them often strikes a terror into the most intrepid islanders when travelling along its banks. Great precaution is necessary to avoid the danger of being surprised by these destructive amphibious animals. I one day saw an ox dragged away and devoured by one of these monsters.

What makes the rivers of Madagascar delightful, renders them also dangerous. The trees and shrubs which cover their banks, serve as an asylum and retreat to these formidable animals.

On advancing a few leagues from Foulpointe, towards the high mountains of *Ambatimene*, the land begins to rise, and the plains and the valleys are sheltered from the winds by little hills. The heat here is not incommodious, because the country is high and covered with wood: the low lands, which are less cultivated, are more wild and rural. The islanders in this part do not keep their cattle, but suffer them to wander about without a guide, and without shackles.

The meadows, which are situated at the bottom of the valleys, are watered by a multitude of streams and rivulets, the windings of which are so much the more agreeable as they are formed by the hand of nature. The flowers by which they are enamelled, have more splendour, and display a greater variety of colours than those with which our meads are ornamented. Tufts of trees scattered here and there without art or regularity, render the view of these rural spots delightful and interesting. Some leagues farther the scene changes, and the country becomes mountainous. A skilful painter would here be at a loss to fix upon the most picturesque scene. His imagination, bewildered and undetermined respecting a choice of objects, would not allow him the free exercise of his talent; he could not advance a single step without seeing a sudden and unexpected change produce new prospects, and the most interesting points of view. But without stopping to catch a general sketch of this beautiful country, if you employ yourself in studying its productions, an immense and truly useful field then opens before you; and a multitude of vegetables dispersed every where in profusion present themselves to your researches.

You will perceive six distinct kinds of rice; you will see barley of a superior beauty; and you will distinguish ten kinds of yams, some of which are as large as one's thigh, and all of them fit for supplying food to men as well as to cattle. But besides these roots, which require some care and cultivation, there are others absolutely wild, called by the islanders *fanghits*. This root, which is as large as a man's body, has a delicate taste, and is covered with a reddish coloured skin. We are assured that it both allays hunger and quenches thirst: it is diuretic, and easy of digestion.

You may procure also various kinds of turnips and beans, with pease of an exquisite taste.

The *varvattes* resembles the caper shrub, and flowers in the same manner. Each pod contains a small pea of the size of a lentil. This leguminous plant rises to the height of the cherry-tree: in some of the interior provinces its leaves are employed for feeding silk-worms.

When you quit the plains and meadows, to enter those immense forests which serve as a retreat for a variety of wild animals, your imagination is struck with beauties of another kind. Profound solitude, a coolness which surprises you in so warm a climate, shades inaccessible to the rays of the sun, and echoes which on all sides repeat the bellowing of the cattle, still afford you new enjoyments. But these enjoyments do not equally delight all: they seem to be suited in a peculiar manner to those who are of a serious and melancholy disposition: yet, however insensible people may be to the beauties of nature, they will always behold with a kind of enthusiasm that multitude of trees of a prodigious size and height, among which the *foterabe* is particularly distinguished.

Those who prefer the study of botany to that of mineralogy will find abundance of plants in the mountains of Ambotismene to gratify their curiosity. Enormous blocks of rock-crystal also may be seen there, some of which are crystallized, while others appear to have no regular form; some of them contain schorl and other foreign bodies. Those kinds of schorl in greatest request among naturalists, are common in these mountains, as well as indices of tin-mines, which the islanders call *voula-foutchefine*. Iron mines of an excellent quality are dispersed in great profusion all over the island, and very near to the surface of the earth. The Malegaches break and pound the ore, and place it between four stones lined with potter's clay; they then employ a double wooden pump, instead of a pair of bellows, to give the fire more strength; and in the space of an hour the mineral is in a state of fusion. The iron produced by this operation is soft and malleable: no better is known in the world. There are, doubtless, other mines in this island; but those who wish to search for them must not be afraid of difficulties and labour. Riches of this kind being inclosed in the bowels of the earth, much digging and tedious exertions are necessary to procure them: besides, access to the mountains of Ambotismene is impracticable, as the islanders say, to the Europeans; for their summits abound with steep rocks and precipices, which prevent them from being approached. The highest of these mountains is about eighteen hundred fathoms above the level of the sea. In its shape it has a great resemblance to the Table Mount described by every traveller who has visited the Cape of Good Hope.

I can only give this faint sketch of the mineralogical riches of Madagascar. The real riches, however, of this island are its numerous vegetable productions, varied almost without end by the nature and fertility of its soil. I shall here give a description of those which I brought to the Isle of France to M. Poivre.

DESCRIPTION OF TREES, SHRUBS, AND PLANTS, WHICH GROW IN THE NORTHERN PART OF MADAGASCAR, AND WHICH I CARRIED TO THE ISLE OF FRANCE, IN THE END OF THE YEAR 1768.

MALAO-MANGHIT, a large tree, the bark of which is brown, the trunk straight, and the wood white. Its sap, at first white and milky, becomes, when exposed to the air, as red as blood. The fruit is a kind of nutmeg. The Malegaches ascribe to this nut the same virtues as we ascribe to the real nutmeg.

Rarabe. This is a wild nutmeg-tree, larger and much more beautiful than the *malao-manghit*. It furnishes a nutmeg from which the Malegaches extract a very aromatic oil. This oil, with which they rub their bodies and hair, is efficacious in curing and dissipating cold humours. Taken internally it strengthens the stomach.

Bachi-bachi. The bachi-bachi resembles the rarabè; but its leaves and fruit are a little different. It grows in elevated places. Its fruit, as well as the covering which contains them, is aromatic.

Rbara-horac is a real wild nutmeg-tree, the trunk of which is large, and the branches bushy. It delights to grow in moist marshy places. The *founingo-mena-rabou*, a large pigeon of a blue colour, is very fond of the fruit of this tree. After digesting the mace, it lows the nuts throughout the whole island.

Ravend-fara. Of all the nutmeg-trees in the island of Madagascar the ravend-fara has principally engaged the attention of botanists. The odour of cloves, cinnamon and nutmegs is not much different from that of a kind of perfume extracted by distillation from the leaves of this tree. They yield an essential oil much more esteemed than that procured from cloves. The cooks in India employ this perfume for ragouts, in preference to any other kind of spicery. This valuable tree grows in moist places; but a dry soil is not absolutely contrary to its nature. It becomes very large and bushy; its top, which is of a pyramidal form, is well furnished with leaves; its wood is white, exceedingly hard as well as heavy, and destitute of smell, but the bark exhales a very strong odour. Its fruit is a real nut flattened at the two extremities. The perfume of the nut, and the husk in which it is inclosed, is not so strong as that of the leaves, but in my opinion it is much more delicate.

Harame. The harame is the largest and tallest kind of tree that grows in the neighbourhood of Foulepointe. The wood of the trunk appears whitish externally, and of a reddish colour in the heart. When it has attained its utmost size, it every year casts its outer bark, which is thick and grey. The trunk is smooth and without branches, except at the upper extremity; but its branches are well furnished with leaves, and the bush on its top has a very beautiful appearance.

The smallest incision made in this tree produces, in great abundance, a white resinous gum, which has a very strong aromatic smell. The Malegache women make it into a kind of paste with which they rub their faces, in order to preserve the freshness of the skin.

When this resinous gum is burnt, it exhales a perfume like that of incense. The fruit is a nut, the husk of which only is aromatic.

Laben. This tree grows in sandy places on the sea-shore, and rises to a very great height. Its wood, which is hard, and of a reddish colour, is proper for being employed in cabinet-work. The fruit of the Laben is of the shape and size of a large olive. The kernel it contains is white and oily, and has a delicate taste.

Fouraba.

Fouraha. The fouraha is one of the most beautiful and useful trees to be found in warm climates. The wood of it, next to that of *Tec*, is the best in India for constructing vessels. It may very properly be compared to the *Tacamaca* of the Isle of France. Like that tree it yields a balm of a green colour, which is excellent for curing wounds. This tree, which is large and bushy, is loaded with branches of a great size, and is remarkable for its prodigious height.

Tevartna. The tevartna exhibits, in the midst of the forests, all the symmetry of art. It seems to have been cut on purpose into a pyramid consisting of seven stories; and its bushy branches, placed horizontally around a smooth straight trunk, give it an appearance altogether singular. It is, perhaps, the most beautiful tree known for decoration.

Hintchy. This tree, the most common of all those found in the forests near Foulpointe, is exceedingly proper for forming avenues, as its top is well furnished with leaves. It resembles the plum-tree, and rises to the same height. The wood, which is of a red colour, may be used for cabinet work. Its bark is smooth and white; and the leaves are large, and of a beautiful green.

Foterfbè. The foterfbè is one of the largest trees in Madagascar; but its wood is fit only for fuel. Another kind of *foterfbè*, described by Flacourt under the name of *vouafoutra*, grows in the marshes.

Tanguem. This tree grows on the borders of the sea. Its wood, which is hard and variegated with veins, is proper for cabinet and inlaid work. The Malegaches make too much use of the fruit of this tree, to the dangerous qualities of which they are no strangers. It is a real manchineel, which, as is well known, produces one of the most formidable of poisons.

Antafara. The antafara is known in the Isle of France under the name of milk-wood. Its flowers have the same smell and shape as those of jasmine. If a slight incision be made in the trunk of this tree, it yields, in great abundance, a milky juice which is of a very caustic nature.

Affy. This tree, which is a beautiful kind of palm, rises to the height of ten feet. Its trunk is marked with the impression of its leaves, which are continually falling in succession. Its top is crowned with three or four rows of leaves, four or five feet in length, and an inch and a half in breadth. These leaves resemble those of the lily: they are as thick as one's hand, and form a beautiful umbrella.

Tafoumouna. The wood of this tree, which is large and bushy, is white, and its bark smooth. Its fruit is a real acorn, like that of the oak. The kernel has a taste somewhat aromatic, and smells like turpentine.

Hounits. The wood of the *hounits* is of a beautiful yellow colour. The bark is red, and when an incision is made in it, a juice red as coral issues from it. By the help of a common lye the Malegaches extract a fine red dye from the bark of the root. The *hounits* is large and beautiful.

Zavin-ravin. This tree rises to a moderate size, and is not bushy. The trunk is full of knots; the bark is grey, and the wood white. It grows in marshy places.

Lingo. The lingo is a woody creeping twig, which ascends to the summits of the highest trees. This twig is only two inches in diameter. Its wood is yellow, as well as the interior part of the bark.

The Malegaches employ the root and bark of the *lingo* to dye thread red and yellow.

Harongan. This tree, which is about fifteen feet in height, grows in a sandy soil. Its leaves are used to dye mats and baskets red. The gum extracted from it is a kind of dragon's blood.

Tancasson.

Tancaffon. The tancaffon is a kind of wild vine, the fruit of which is sour, and somewhat agreeable to the taste. This twig rises to the tops of the highest trees. Its root is diuretic. The islanders esteem the fruit of the *tancaffon*. Flacourt, who has described several kinds of wild vines, makes no mention of it.

Taco. A kind of wild vine like the *tancaffon*.

Voua-lomba. A kind of vine, the fruit of which the Europeans prefer to all others, and which they call *Madagascar grapes*. Their taste is somewhat sourish. This plant dies every year. Its root is a kind of yam.

Anakuey. A large sensitive plant.

Aresou. A species of elder.

Tougnounan. The flowers of this tree are shaped like a bell; and the wood of it is used for making assagays.

Tafoumounan. Small white flowers: fruit like an acorn.

Racoudrit. A green fruit that grow in clusters.

Uwang-biri. A parasite plant bearing large square pods, the seeds of which are anti-hemorrhoidal.

Tevarte. A pyramidal shrub, cut naturally into stories.

Azambou. Has a fruit which grows in the form of a red nosegay.

Uua-be-Taïtchou. Produces a fruit good to eat.

Sampan-leva. Has a fruit in the form of a yellow chaplet.

Tchingit. A kind of bastard fenna tree, with yellow flowers.

Lacca. Bears a small fruit like a grain of pepper. Its flowers grow in the form of the bezel of a ring.

Vognindosong.

Fanpechourou. A kind of lily in the form of a star. This flower announces the season for whale fishing.

Voua-hintchi.

Filao. *Equisetum arborescens*.

Vvantlifan. A prickly tree, bearing no leaves but on the top.

Tchuwivivi. A kind of ipecacuanha, *seriploca*.

Jacuan. A species of almond-tree, without leaves, which produces gum.

Timbalave. Shrub with white gondolated flowers.

Ampalt. Has round leaves which file iron.

Anghivi. Its fruit gives a bitter but agreeable taste to the liquors drunk by the Madecasses.

Azon-Ranou. A fresh-water mangle, the pods of which grow opposite to each other.

Farafer. A parasite plant, the flower of which is long and red, and shaped like a man's hand, or a fork with five prongs.

Vongo. A beautiful tree, the fruit of which is called *Vaas-sou-vara*. When an incision is made in its trunk, it produces a yellow gum.

Voua-mitsa voi. A species of aster, or starwort.

Tongouna-lein-tien. Kind of mint.

Sanaang-matan-nahanrou. Kind of creeping asparagus.

Ranga-zaa. Bulbous plant with a white flower.

Tchilotou. White tulip.

Fifoutche. Tree with leaves like those of mallow. Flowers grow around the trunk.

Schira. Palm-tree, the bark of which is burnt in order to extract a salt from it, used by the Malegaches with their food.

Raven-tongharts. Balsamic plant.

Tanroujou. Kind of benjamin, bearing a button-shaped fruit.

Azou-ranou. Shrub, the fruit of which is of a cinnamon colour.

Afatrahè. Shrub, the bark of which is odoriferous.

Vaing-bare. Parasite plant: its leaves are downy, and its flowers white.

Talate. Bears thick leaves, and berries like those of the holly.

Jang. A tree which produces large bunches of flowers.

Vua-tani. Has a flower like that of the lihoa of China.

Vua-montucung. Parasite plant, with leaves like those of the tamarind-tree. Its fruit resembles a bean.

Fua-toutouc. Shrub, with red fruit, which are eaten, and which taste like strawberries.

Moulton-rongou. Resembles the *rara*. Its leaves are small, and the fruit oblong and angular.

Vouang-titirang. Produces a kind of nut, the husk of which is downy, and of a yellow colour.

Voua-malim. Bears a pod like the apocynon.

Voua-rougni. Kind of fresh-water mangle.

Voua-fourindi. Large tree with small red flowers, disposed in clusters.

Ampali. Has long leaves, used for polishing wood, and freeing iron from rust.

Joudi-fafal. Semper vivens.

Voua-sevarantou.

Vouang-taè. *Malum cidonium*.

Voua-fatre. Kind of box. Its fruit, which are aromatic, are eaten.

Enghi-panza. Small species of indigo.

Enghi-be. Large indigo with big pods.

Vua-macoliang. Kind of tamarind, from which an oil is extracted.

Sacaviro-ambou. Hog-ginger. A kind of zedoary.

Vua-fao. Species of the sago palm.

Ouvi-rombè. Creeping twig, the leaves of which are small, and shaped like a sharp-pointed heart.

Chifonifui. Has small leaves disposed in pairs, like those of the lesser *baramè*. Its flowers consist of four green leaves inclosed in a calyx.

Vua-bonda. Bears a fruit of the form of a cucurbit, which smell like a quince.

Sangnamou-batou. The leaves of this plant have the same effect as those of the *coculus indicus*. When used to catch fish, they must be bruised.

Vaint-rombou. Herb endowed with the same properties as the above.

Sanga-Sanga. A triangular kind of bulrush, the real *papyrus*.

Vua-toudinga. Bears a fruit like the *pipar* of China.

Vua-carabo. A kind of twig which bears a fruit like a large chestnut.

Vua-nantoula. Bears a fruit which contains a large kernel like the seeds of the *potilla*, but much thicker.

Vouang-pin-lela. Has leaves like those of the cinnamon-tree, without any smell.

Vua-tingui-le-pas. Produces a fruit of a green colour, the pulp of which disposed in coats opens like the petals of a flower. The seeds are found in the heart, inclosed in a bag with three round corners.

Anja-oidy. Kind of very high heath.

Vua-tchirière. Species of *vacoua* with long narrow leaves.

Vua-khicafon. Bears a small fruit like the *rangoustan*.

Tchouti-morou or *ranou*. Small filiquous plant.

Vua-bia-vavè. Creeping twig with female white flowers.

Vua-nambouavon. Bears red fruit disposed in the form of a nosegay. The flowers are of a violet colour; the leaves, which are whitish, and which grow in pairs, are useful for healing wounds and ulcers.

Vua-rha. Kind of fig-tree, the fruit of which are eaten.

Vua-be-taitfou.

Varou. Kind of mallow.

Lindem. Species of palm.

Angnan-rambou-labe.

Tongou-bintchi.

Harame. The gum of this tree appears to be of the same nature as ambergris.

Chingolpont.

Chistala.

Alut-mandrout.

Vangboui-nangboua.

Bakrang. Creeping twig which bears large berries-like buttons.

Ardouranga. Small plant, with a red filiquous flower like indigo.

Vaguinang-boua. Shrub with white downy leaves, and white flowers. Its root heals wounds.

Cani-pouti. Grass with large leaves, the juice of which is employed for making figures on the body.

Thipoulou-pouli.

Adabou. Large tree.

Owoi-randra. An aquatic plant with indented leaves; flowers shaped like a crescent; root fit to be eat.

Tottlas. Kind of laurel, the leaves and berries of which are aromatic.

Vour-bonda. Bears a large fruit like an oblong cylindrical mango. It has a sweet odour, and its seeds are ramified. The leaves are placed exactly opposite to each other.

Mounou-founace. A shrub with violet flowers. The leaves are disposed by threes.

Azou-minti. Curious pyramidal shrub.

Azou-minti-be. The same with large leaves. A beautiful tree.

Tocam-boudi. A small palm with large leaves divided at the extremity.

Fouraugdra. A kind of creeping twig which bears a triangular bladder. Its leaves are like parsley.

Voua-mandrroucou. Produces flowers which grow from the trunk. The petals have a spiral form.

Voua-mena. Bears a sweet fruit as red as coral. The wood and the leaves are also red.

Mang. Tree, the leaves of which are like those of the mallow, but larger and stronger. Its flowers are downy like those of the *ketmia*, and of a rose colour.

Angua-malou. Kind of aromatic shrub, with flowers like golden buttons.

Volang-bondi-pouni. Red wood, which turns black as it grows old. This wood is proper for dying.

Tsimamasoo. Creeping twig, the flowers of which are like those of jasmine, and of a bright red colour.

Manouquibonga. Shrub composed of twigs like the vine. Its flowers, which are beautiful, and red, are disposed in the form of a plume of feathers.

Maan. Kind of downy plant, with leaves like those of the mallow.

Sommouterang. Bears a downy flower, in shape like the bezel of a ring.

Lalong.

Via-foutchi. Woody creeping twig. The fruit is inclosed in a star-like calyx.

Diti-azou. Has a fruit like a small pear.

Tavoutala. Small bulbous plant. It is a species of orchis, and bears a flower of a flaxen colour.

Chetchia. Kind of hieracium, with a yellow flower.

Angnan-rambou. Another hieracium, with a violet-coloured flower.

Catoubanda. Kind of chickweed, employed to dissipate swellings.

Nantou. Mat-wood of two kinds, with large and small leaves.

Amp-elang-thi-foube. Gentianella, with a violet-coloured flower.

Campoudi. Kind of chickweed, or alfine.

Onbave. Tree which produces a gum like gum-arabic.

Bontou. Tree the root of which dyes yellow. It grows near water : its leaves are thick and disposed in pairs.

Voai-marang. Shrub the bark of which stops fluxes.

Vuendrang. Kind of galega.

Afè. Large polipodium, the seeds of which are eaten.

Tabourounangat. Betel tree.

Vua-rozan.

Voua-assim.

Ampelanigbi. Beautiful plant, which rises to the height of a foot.

Sondi-fa-fat. Plant found on the borders of the sea. The Malegaches when fatigued rub their bodies with the leaves of this plant, and such frictions render them fresh and nimble. They pretend that the leaves of the *Sondi-fa-fat* are incorruptible. They are applied with success to wounds.

Vognin d'osong. Parasite plant, the leaves of which resemble those of the lily. The period when this plant flowers announces the time of whale-fishing. It flowers in June. The prows of the piroguas which are intended for the whale-fishery are ornamented with large bunches of its flowers.

Azimena. Very beautiful shrub with a bushy top. Its leaves are thick, and of a bright green colour. It rises to the height of four feet ; and its flowers exhale an exceeding sweet odour.

Teulon-gouala. A shrub the leaves of which are odoriferous, and serve the Malegaches to make pillows. It is about four feet in height, and its fruit are bitter, oily, and aromatic.

Voua-azigné. The straightest and tallest tree found in Madagascar. It greatly surpasses in height all the other trees of the island. Its wood, which is yellow, hard, and heavy, is employed for building houses ; but more commonly for making the keels of piroguas. The gum which distils from this tree, is as yellow as amber ; but it is viscous and without smell. The Malegaches procure from this valuable tree a kind of clear oil, which when fresh has a very agreeable taste. This oil mixed with rice renders that food more delicate ; and it is for the most part prepared in this manner by these islanders.

Tougmonnam. Tree which grows on the summits of the mountains. Its wood, which is hard and heavy, is of a red or brownish yellow colour, and is used for cabinet work and assagays.

Vohan-filan. Tree twelve feet in height. Its trunk, which is straight, is covered with prickles; and its leaves, which are four inches and a half in length, and two and a half in breadth, are of a beautiful green colour. There are no leaves on the trunk of this tree; but its top, which is perfectly round, is loaded with them. The wood-pigeons are remarkably fond of the fruit of the *vohan-filan*, the appearance of which is altogether singular.

Toulouc. Bushy shrub which grows in every kind of soil. The fruit of this shrub has an agreeable taste, and is known under the name of the Madagascar strawberry. It is esteemed by the Europeans as well as by the Malegaches.

Voua-severantou. Bushy shrub which rises to the height of six or seven feet. It grows commonly in a sandy soil. Its wood is white.

Chi-font-fui. Beautiful shrub, the stem of which is straight, and without leaves. Its top is round and bushy.

Finguere. Kind of wild fig-tree, which, when incisions are made in it, yields a milky juice. This juice, after it coagulates, forms a real elastic gum, like that which distils from the caoutchouc. The Malegaches make flambeaux of it, which burn without wicks, and afford them an excellent light when they go out to fish in the night-time. Spirit of wine makes no impression on this gum; but it dissolves in æther and linseed-oil. There are also other fat and oily substances which affect it very sensibly.

The *finguere* rises to the height of twenty feet. Its leaves are eight inches long, and four in breadth. Its fruit resembles a round fig, and is full of small seeds. The Malegaches eat this fig with pleasure; but for my part I found it bitter and caustic.

On attentively examining the bottles and other vessels which the Peruvians make of elastic gum, it may be readily comprehended how easy it would be to employ it in chirurgical operations. Belts and bandages made of this substance would be attended with many advantages. Dissolved in linseed-oil or æther, it in a great measure loses its elasticity, and in that state it is very proper for coating over silk, in order to render it impervious to air or water. M. Bernard lately has employed elastic gum for a variety of purposes, which it would be too tedious to enumerate. I must, however, observe that the Chinese have been long acquainted with the art of dissolving this elastic gum, and of giving it various colours. M. Bertin, minister of state, was so kind as to shew me several articles made of it, the most remarkable of which was a small ball, perfectly resembling a ball of amber.

Bagnets. Plant from which real indigo is procured in Madagascar. The islanders extract this dye from it by a very simple operation. When the plant begins to flower, they infuse the stem and the leaves in water. After they have become putrid, the water assumes a violet colour, and when this colour grows very dark, the stem and leaves are taken out. A certain quantity of oil is then poured into the coloured water, and the water being drawn off, a sediment remains behind, which, when dried in the sun, furnishes a beautiful indigo.

M. de la Marck made me observe that the *revendfas* is not a nutmeg-tree, but a proper genus. It is the *bagatophyllum* *.

The *intchy*, according to the opinion of that learned botanist, is a *courbaril-hymenæa*.

The *antafara*, according to the same, is a species of the genus called *taberna-montana*.

* *Juss. Gen. p. 431.*

The *filao* is the *casuarina* of Forster and Linnæus the son.

The *vua-tchiriè* is the *pandanus*.

In the enumeration, here given, of the trees and plants of Madagascar, I have made no mention of ananas, white pepper, water-melons, bananas, Indian saffron, the large cardamum, ginger, veronica, alkekengi, purslain, sweet basil, star-wort, gartianella, the winter cherry, the papyrus of the ancients, called *sanga-sanza*, the nenuphar, &c. &c. With regard to the animals found in Madagascar, Flacourt has left nothing of importance for me to say on that subject.

DESCRIPTION OF A TREE, WHICH BEARS A SINGULAR FRUIT, MUCH CELEBRATED IN INDIA, AND KNOWN UNDER THE NAME OF THE COCOA OF THE MALDIVES.

THE tree which bears that fruit, known under the name of the *Cocoa of the Maldives*, or the *sea-cocoa*, rises to the height of forty or fifty feet. The top of this beautiful tree, which may be classed among the palms, has the form of a fan; and is composed of ten or twelve branches, twenty feet long. Each of these branches, or palms, proceeds from a pedicle six feet in length, which is indented quite round.

From the bottom of the leaves arises a ramified panicle, the branches of which are terminated by female flowers. The pistil of these flowers, when ripe, produces a spherical fruit, eight or ten inches in diameter. The covering of the fruit is thick and fibrous, like that of the common cocoa. The shape of these cocoas, however, is extremely singular; and the bottom of them is filled with a milky substance, of a bitter and disagreeable taste. The trunk of this tree differs very little from that of the cocoa-tree; but it is larger and harder. The Isle of Palms is covered with this tree: but it is not to be found in any of the neighbouring islands, or in any other known part of the world. It is probable, therefore, that those nuts which are accidentally found at the Maldives have come from the Isle of Palms, though the distance between these two places is about three hundred leagues. This remark may serve to point out the direction of the currents in the Indian Ocean.

The Indians ascribe great medicinal virtues to this nut, known to botanists under the name of *nux medica*. The Asiatic physicians pretend that it is antiscorbutic; that it radically cures the venereal disease; and that it is a powerful antidote against poison. The Indian princes cause cups to be made of it, which are always more or less ornamented with gold and precious stones. These cocoas are in so much request all over Asia, that it was not uncommon, about the year 1759, the period when they were discovered, to see them sold for upwards of four hundred pounds sterling each.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST
OF
THE CANARY ISLANDS:

Translated from a Spanish Manuscript, lately found in the Island of Palma*.

With an Enquiry into the Origin of the Ancient Inhabitants.

By GEORGE GLAS.

BOOK I.

THE first account we had of the Canary Islands being publicly known in Europe, after the decline of the Roman empire, was some time between the years 1326 and 1334, by means of a French ship that was driven among them by a storm.

Upon this discovery, a Spanish nobleman, Count of Claramonte, named Don Luis, son of Don Alonzo de la Cerda, surnamed the Disinherited†, procured a grant‡ of those islands, with the title of King, from Pope Clement VI, upon Condition that he would cause the gospel to be preached to the natives.

Two years after this, Don Luis obtained a Licence from Pedro, king of Arragon, to equip a fleet from some of his ports, in order to take possession of the Canary Islands; but though some of his ships were actually fitted out, yet the design failed, first by reason of his being engaged in some other affairs, and lastly by his death, which happened soon after. However, it is probable that either part of that squadron, or some other ships, went to the Canaries about that time, the crews of which were natives of Majorca, which then belonged to the crown of Arragon. What became of those vessels shall be related in its proper place. Nothing was done afterwards towards perfecting the discovery, until the year 1385, when some Biscayners and inhabitants of Seville joined to equip a fleet of five ships at Cadiz, in order to make descents upon and plunder the Canary Islands and the adjacent coast of Barbary. The command of these ships was given to one Ferdinando Peraza, a gentleman of Seville.

After coasting the African shore, they sailed westward, and fell in with the island now called Lancerota, where they landed. The natives came in crowds to the port to behold them; but the Spaniards shooting some arrows among them, killed some,

* 4to, London, 1764.

† He was right heir to the crown of Castille, but was deprived of it by his uncle Sancho IV. From Donna Isabella, daughter to this Luis de la Cerda, is descended the noble family of Medina Celi in Spain. *Mariana*.

‡ When this grant was made to Don Luis, it gave such umbrage to the English ambassadors, who then happened to be at Rome, that they immediately dispatched an express to their court, to prevent this conveyance, imagining there were no other Fortunate Islands than those of Great Britain: such was the ignorance of those times. *Heylin's Cosmography*.

wounded others, and so frightened the rest that they ran away; upon which the Spaniards marched to the town where the natives resided, which they sacked, and carried off a large booty of goat-skins, tallow, and sheep, and one hundred and seventy of the inhabitants, among whom were Guanareme, King of the island, and Tinguataya, his wife: with these they returned on board their ships, and sailed back to Spain; where, in those days, their plunder was reckoned to be very valuable.

The next expedition to Lancerota was from Seville, in the year 1393. This fleet did not attempt to subdue the island, but returned soon after, with several captives and a great number of goat-skins; by which it appeared that the design of the Spaniards, in those expeditions, was only to enrich themselves by robbery and plunder. Several people now, excited by avarice, solicited Henry III, King of Castille, for a licence to conquer the Canary Islands, as Henry pretended they were his property; but on what he founded this claim, I believe, is not known. In the year 1369, the contention for the crown of Castille was ended by the death of Don Pedro, who was stabbed by his bastard-brother Don Henry, who then succeeded to the crown. A few years before this happened, several noblemen, from the province of Normandy in France, came to Castille, to the assistance of Don Henry, among whom were Bertran Claquin, Constable, and Rubin de Bracamonte, Admiral of France. This last had two nephews by a sister who lived in Normandy, and was married to the Lord of Betancour, Granville, and other places in that country: the eldest, named John de Betancour, though at that time an old man, had a strong desire to travel, and do something worthy of his ancestors, and therefore determined to make a voyage to Spain to visit his uncle the Admiral. With this view he went to Rochel, a sea-port town, where he was to embark for that country: while he remained there, he became acquainted with one Gadifer de la Sala, a man of considerable fortune. This person, having the same passion for seeing foreign countries, soon agreed with John de Betancour to go with him in quest of the Fortunate Islands, much talked of at that time in Europe. In order to prosecute their design, they sold some of their lands, and mortgaged others, by which they raised money sufficient to equip a small fleet, well provided with skilful mariners, pilots, and some people as interpreters, who must consequently have been in some of the islands before that time.

This fleet consisted of three ships, containing two hundred persons, exclusive of the seamen: among that number were many young gentlemen of Normandy, several of whom were relations of John de Betancour. On the first of May, 1400, they set sail, and proceeded on the voyage, without any thing of consequence happening to them, until they arrived at the islands. The first they saw was Lancerota, which name was then given to it by John de Betancour, probably in honour of some person of his acquaintance. When he landed his men, the natives gathered together in a body to defend themselves, imagining that these strangers were come to plunder and carry them off, as others had done before: but observing the French to be well armed, and keeping together, they were afraid to attack them, but retired into the country, and left them at liberty to encamp in a convenient place; for the natives had nothing to oppose them with but sticks and stones; these being their only weapons.

But finding that the French remained some days in the same place, without following or attempting to molest them, they began to take courage, so that some of them ventured into the camp, who were well treated by John de Betancour and Gadifer de la Sala, who allowed them to take whatever they chose, and to come in and go out of the camp whenever they pleased. This good treatment removed all their fears; infomuch

inſomuch that when the French began to build a fort for their defence and accommodation, the natives chearfully aſſiſted them in bringing ſtones, lime, &c. neceſſary for the work. This fort was built at the port of Rubicon.

The ready obedience and quiet behaviour of the natives gave great ſatisfaction to John de Betancour and Gadifer de la Sala. They now determined to paſs over to the next iſland, which is ſeparated from Lancerota only by a channel of two leagues in breadth; and, leaving an officer and ſome men in the port of Rubicon, they landed at Valtarrahala, in the iſland of Fuertaventura, then called by the French Fortuite. The inhabitants, ſeeing ſuch a number of ſtrange people coming into their iſland, gathered in great numbers to oppoſe them, being men of a more warlike ſpirit than thoſe of Lancerota, ſtronger, and of a larger ſize; which the French perceiving, and conſidering what a handful of people they had to attack ſuch a multitude with, thought proper to reimbarke, and ſet ſail: taking, therefore, a view of ſome of the reſt of the iſlands, they afterwards returned to Lancerota, where they conſulted what was next to be done; and conſidering how few people they had for ſuch an undertaking as the conqueſt of the iſlands, it was determined that Gadifer de la Sala ſhould return to France, in order to bring over ſupplies of men, &c. Accordingly he went; but, unfortunately for the expedition, he died a few days after his arrival in France. When this was known to John de Betancour, he found himſelf deprived of his expected ſuccours, and without money or friends in France; which determined him to embark for Spain, where he arrived, and applied to his uncle Rubin de Bracamonte, and other relations there, for aſſiſtance to proſecute his deſign: but his chief patron and interceſſor with the King of Caſtile was the Infant Don Ferdinando, afterwards King of Arragon, by whole means he procured from the king, Don Henry III, a grant of the Fortunate Iſlands, with the title of King. This done, he went to Seville, and equipped a fleet, well provided with men and neceſſaries, for the conqueſt of theſe iſlands, the King ſupplying him with money to defray the charge of that armament. This grant of the Canary Iſlands to John de Betancour was dated in the year 1403.

When John de Betancour arrived in this country, the iſland of Fuertaventura was divided into two kingdoms, one commencing at the Villa and continuing unto Handia, and the other extending from the Villa unto Corralejo, which were ſeparated by a looſe dry ſtone wall, four leagues in length, croſſing the breadth of the iſland from ſea to ſea. There were in this iſland, at the time of the conqueſt, four thouſand fighting men. Thoſe amongſt them who were moſt famous for their virtue and valour had the appellation of Mahay and Altihay, which were names of great honour. It is ſaid that when John de Betancour and Gadifer de la Sala came in queſt of theſe iſlands, the then king of Lancerota, who was named Guadarfia, was deſcended from an European, who had been driven by a tempeſt on this iſland, and whole hiſtory is related after this manner:

When Don John I, ſon of Henry II, reigned in Caſtile, he was engaged in a war againſt the King of Portugal and the Duke of Lancaſter, about the ſucceſſion to the crown of Caſtile; the duke pretending that it was his right, on account of his marriage with Donna Conſtanza, eldeſt daughter of King Peter.

In the courſe of that war, and about the year 1377, King John ſent ſome ſhips, commanded by one Martin Ruiz de Avendano, to ſcour the coaſts of Galicia, Biſcay, and England. This fleet met with a ſevere tempeſt, which laſted many days, inſomuch that the admiral's ſhip was obliged to bear away and drive before the wind, until ſhe arrived in a port at the iſland of Lancerota.

Here the Spaniards landed, and were kindly received by the natives, who treated them with the best that the island afforded. Don Martin Ruiz de Avendano was lodged in the house of Qonzamas, the king, while he remained in the island. In that time he became so intimate with Fayna, the King's wife, that she had a daughter by him named Yco. Her complexion was very fair, in comparison of the natives: when of age, she was married to one of the royal family, who became King of the island after Guanarame and Tinguafaya were carried prisoners to Spain, in the fleet commanded by Ferdinand Peraza, in the year 1385 or 1386. By this man Yco had a son named Guadarfia. After Guanarame's death, there was a great dissention in the island about the succession; the natives insisting that Guadarfia was incapable of it, because his mother Yco was not noble, being, as was supposed by her colour, the daughter of a stranger, and not of Qonzamas the king. To end the dispute, the council met, and came to a resolution, to shut up Yco with three female servants in the house of the deceased Qonzamas, and there to smother them; and if she came out alive, she was to be declared noble, and the genuine offspring of Qonzamas. Before she went to the smoky trial, an old woman advised her to convey secretly into the room a large sponge moistened in water, and when the smoke should begin to be troublesome, to put it to her mouth and nostrils, and breathe in it. Yco took her advice, which succeeded to her wish; for when the door of the room that was smoked was opened, the three servants were found stifled, and Yco alive; upon which she was brought forth with great marks of honour, and her son Guadarfia was immediately declared King of Lancerota. This is the same whom John de Betancour found reigning, on his first arrival at that island.

John de Betancour, being desirous of bringing the island of Canaria into subjection to him, sailed thither with two ships, and anchored at a place called Anganagen, where he landed all the forces which he brought with him, and marched them up the country in good order, and with great precaution, lest they should be surpris'd. This was a necessary measure, as appeared afterwards; for the natives, seeing such a number of armed men on their island, immediately gave the alarm to each other, and assembled in great numbers, headed by a King or Captain, named Artemis, and fell upon the Europeans with great fury and resolution, annoying them with stones and darts, which they threw by hand with amazing dexterity, and with such velocity as to exceed the motion of those thrown from slings or bows. Besides these weapons, they had sticks or poles, whose ends were hardened by fire, and sharpened, which they used as spears. John de Betancour and his men defended themselves with the greatest courage; but the attack they had to sustain was so rude, and the natives, with their Captain Artemis, pressed so furiously on them, that though the Europeans killed a great number of them, they were at length obliged to give way, and retreated in good order to the sea-shore: but the natives gathering on every side, to the number of five thousand, pursued our adventurers so closely, that John de Betancour, finding it in vain to attempt the conquest of the place with such an handful of men against such a multitude of well-armed and valiant inhabitants, reembarked with his troops, under favour of the night, in the best manner he could, leaving the field of battle to his enemies, who nevertheless bought their victory at a dear rate, having their King Artemis, with many others, killed in the engagement.

From Anganagen the fleet sailed for the island of Palma; but not being able to effect a landing, it was determined to return to Canaria, to try their fortune once more against the courageous natives, and retrieve the honour they imagined they had lost there: but on their arrival they found those people assembled in vast numbers to oppose them, which

made them sail back to Fuertaventura. It was on this expedition that John de Betancour gave the epithet of Grand (or Great) to the island of Canaria, which it retains to this day.

John de Betancour remained some time in Fuertaventura, to refresh his men, and cure them of their wounds. After his unsuccessful attempt on Canaria, he could not pretend to try his fortune again there, for want of more soldiers; but, not enduring to remain idle, he determined to make an attempt on some other island. To this end he took with him all the men that could be spared from his garrisons of Lancerota and Fuertaventura, and sailed to the island of Gomera, where he landed at the principal port without opposition, which surprised him greatly, and made him apprehensive of an ambuscade; he therefore marched slowly up the country, with the greatest precaution. Soon after he perceived the natives approaching towards him in a disorderly manner, without any sign of hostility, but on the contrary with an appearance of mirth and joy; however, they came armed with darts, lances, swords, shields, and cross-bows, which greatly perplexed him, and made him still more apprehensive of danger, till they drew very near to him, when some of them accosted the Europeans in the Spanish tongue, which amazed and agreeably surprised them. Both parties now began to converse together freely and in a very friendly manner; and the Europeans were most courteously entertained by them. This behaviour of the Gomerans, the fertility of their island, the goodness of the climate, and its excellent harbour, induced John de Betancour to spend some time in it, in order to refresh and strengthen his people. During his stay in Gomera the Europeans and natives lived together in the utmost harmony, insomuch that these gave a cordial invitation to the new-comers to take up their residence among them. This invitation was readily accepted by John de Betancour, who thereupon made a division of lands among his followers, and determined, since he had now bid adieu to his native country, to fix his residence for the remainder of his life in the pleasant island of Gomera.

We must now enquire into the cause of this kind reception which the Europeans met with from the natives, and by what means some of the latter so well understood and spoke the Spanish language.

It appears then, that about thirty years before the arrival of John de Betancour, some Spanish vessels came to Gomera, commanded by one Don Ferdinando, who landed at a place where the King's brother lived: the natives attacked the Spaniards, but were defeated, and the King's brother lost his life in the encounter. After this, Don Ferdinando marched inland; but as soon as Amalvige, the King of the place, heard of the invasion of the island by strangers, and of the death of his brother, he gathered the natives together, and gave battle to the Spaniards, who were defeated, and pursued into a place which had only one narrow entry, so that they could not retire but by throwing themselves over the steep cliffs that surrounded them, the islanders having blocked up the passage by which they entered with felled trees, and guarded it so closely, that the Spaniards were compelled to remain there two days without meat or drink. At last Don Ferdinando found means to come to a parley with Amalvige, in which he so effectually wrought upon that Prince's compassionate disposition, that he ordered the passage to be cleared, and conducted the strangers to his residence, where he entertained them with great hospitality, giving them provisions and whatever else he could afford; in short, he treated them as if no dispute had ever subsisted. When Don Ferdinando returned to his ships, which he had left in the harbour, he made several presents to Amalvige, consisting of swords, shields, and other warlike accoutrements, which were held in great esteem by the natives: he then took leave of his

benefactor, and sailed away. It is said, that before he departed, Amalvige was converted, and baptized with many of his people; that he was named Ferdinando Amalvige; and that when the Spaniards were going away, the King begged of their commander that he would leave some person to instruct them in their new doctrine, upon which he left a priest, and promised to return soon himself. The priest did not long survive the departure of Don Ferdinando; however, by his good behaviour, in that short space of time he greatly won the affections of the natives, and baptized many of them. They say it was owing to him that John de Betancour was so well received in Gomera, having filled their minds with the most favourable impressions of the Spaniards. Who this Don Ferdinando was, cannot certainly be determined: there are two opinions concerning him; the one is, that he was one Don Ferdinando Ormel, a native of Corunna, in Galicia, who, with several of his countrymen, left the service of the King of Castille, to enter into that of the King of Portugal. About the year 1382, he went with a fleet to scour the coast of Spain, subject to Don Juan I, then King of Castille, and was driven by a tempest, with some of his ships, to the island of Gomera: this Don Ferdinando was father of Don Juan Ferdinando Ormel who was killed by King John I, of Portugal, in the house of the Queen Donna Leonora. The other opinion is, that he was one Don Ferdinando de Castro, who was in the service of King Ferdinando of Castille, and much beloved by him. After that King's death he went to reside in England, and could never more be prevailed on to return to his native country; but we are not told how he left England, or what accident brought him to Gomera.

Why this island was called Gomera is not known, though it undoubtedly bore that name before the arrival of John de Betancour, which it still retains.

John de Betancour, after settling affairs in Gomera, sailed to the island of Hierro or Ferro, and anchored in the harbour belonging to that island. When the natives perceived the ships approaching with their white sails, they remembered the prophecy of a man who had formerly lived among them, named Yore, and who was reckoned a soothsayer or diviner; this man, when on his death-bed, called the natives together, and told them that after his death, when his flesh should be consumed and his bones mouldered to dust, their god Eraoranzan would come to them in white houses on the water; and advised them not to resist or fly from him, but to adore him, because he was to come to do them good. The natives, who placed great faith in his predictions, buried him in a place apart from the rest of their dead, that his bones might afterwards be distinguished from theirs. Now seeing the ships approach with their white sails swelling on the surface of the waves, they firmly believed the prophecy was fulfilled, and went to the cave where Yore was buried, and there found his bones crumbled to dust; upon which they ran joyfully to the shore to receive their god Eraoranzan.

When John de Betancour anchored in the port, he took great care in landing his men, for fear of being overpowered by the islanders, who were crowding to the water-side; but finding that they were unarmed, and shewed no signs of hostility, he approached them, and was received with every demonstration of joy and friendship: the natives conducted the Europeans to their houses, and treated them with the best of every thing they had. John de Betancour having thus got footing in Hierro, gave thanks to God for his success, and that no blood had been spilt on the occasion. He staid there some days to refresh his people, and then returned to Fuertaventura, after leaving in Hierro a mixed garrison, composed of Biscayners, French, and Flemings, under the command of one Lazaro, a Biscayner, to whom he gave a strict charge to

behave

behave to the natives with indulgence, and to use all possible means to instruct them in the faith and doctrine of the Church of Rome.

The name of this island, before the arrival of John de Betancour, was *Efero*, which signifies, in the language of its ancient inhabitants, *Strong*: when the Spaniards shewed them iron, they found it exceeding every thing in strength, therefore they called it *Efero*; and, afterwards, when they began to speak the Castilian language, they called iron indifferently by the name of *Efero*, or *Hierro*, which last is the Spanish word for that metal; so that they at last translated the real name of the island *Efero* into the Spanish one *Hierro*, which it retains to this day. But the Portuguese and some others following their own dialect, call it *Ferro*: and some will have it, that the natives called it *Fer*; though there is no proof for this assertion.

The four islands, Lancerota, Fuertaventura, Gomera, and Hierro, being now conquered, the natives converted, and order established among them, John de Betancour, after taking some repose, began to think seriously of retrieving his honour, which he imagined had been sullied by the unsuccessful attack on Canaria; and to avenge himself on the natives for the loss of so many brave soldiers as had fallen in that expedition.

Accordingly, in November 1406, he mustered all his forces, embarked with them, and sailed for Canaria. But fearing his ships might be descried by the natives of that island, he avoided approaching the coast till evening; when, under favour of the night, he anchored in the port of Gando, and that he might not alarm the Canarians, disembarked his men silently, placed some parties in ambush, and prepared for an attack by day-break. However, the Canarians having, since the first invasion of their island, kept a constant look-out for the approach of an enemy (and ships may be seen from the tops of the high mountains of Canaria at a great distance), he found his schemes all frustrated; for, the evening before, the natives had discovered his fleet, and were prepared to give those disturbers of their repose a warm reception: accordingly, when the Europeans disembarked in the night, they watched all their motions, unperceived by them; and after having formed counter-ambuscades, they gave a great shout, as a signal for the attack, and fell suddenly upon Betancour and his men with such impetuosity that they were put to the rout, great numbers being killed and wounded. Had it not been for John de Betancour's remarkable presence of mind in rallying his men for a retreat, joined with the courage and discipline of his troops, not one of those that had landed could have escaped; and, after all, it was with the greatest difficulty they regained their ships. This repulse obliged John de Betancour, against his will, to return back with his troops to his islands of Lancerota and Fuertaventura, where he remained some time, inconsolable for his bad success, notwithstanding all the people could do to divert his grief, so much was he vexed with this disappointment. But time, which conquers every thing, got the better of his uneasiness, and at length totally dissipated it, so that he began to contrive how to repair his bad fortune. After anxiously revolving many schemes in his mind for that end, he determined upon one, which was that of going again to Spain, to solicit assistance from the King of Castille, Don Henry III, by whose aid he had been enabled to conquer the islands of Fuertaventura, Gomera, and Hierro; and was the more encouraged to hope for success from the many connections and relations which he had at the court of Castille. He then sent for the chiefs of the four islands, natives as well as Europeans, to whom he opened his mind at large, concerning his intended voyage to Spain, and his project of subduing the other three islands, especially Canaria, where they had been hitherto so grievously

grievously baffled; telling them, at the same time, that he hoped shortly to return with large supplies of men, money, shipping, and other necessaries: moreover he promised to go to Rome, to request of the Pope to send over a Bishop to take care of their souls. He, above all things, recommended to them to live in amity and concord during his absence; and gave them some necessary instructions in relation to the preserving peace with the natives; acquainting them at the same time that he intended to make his nephew, Maſon de Betancour, Governor of the islands in his absence, of whose prudence and good-will towards them all he was well assured; and that he would protect and befriend every one to the utmost of his power. He then proceeded to make a partition of lands, reserving to himself the fifth part of the produce of the four islands; but declared to the Europeans who had assisted him in conquering them, that he would deprive them of no part of their present possessions till after the expiration of nine years. This exemption he intended as a reward for their fidelity and the hardships which they had endured in his service. As to Maſon de Betancour, he made over to him the third part of his fifth of the produce of the islands; and declared him sole inheritor of the whole after his death. He gave him orders to build two churches, one in Lancerota, in the valley and village of Teguis, which is named St. Mary de Betancour; and the other in Fuertaventura, called the church of St. Mary, from which the valley and village so called take their names.

The government of the conquered islands being thus settled, John de Betancour gathered all the orchilla*, goat skins, tallow, and slaves which he could procure, embarked them in three ships, and set sail, leaving another ship in Lancerota to load with orchilla, which he ordered his nephew to send to Italy. He arrived safe at the port of St. Lucar de Baremeda, where he was received by the Count de Nieble, Don Henry de Guzman, father of the first Duke of Medina Sidonia, with whom he staid a short time to refresh himself after the fatigue of his voyage, and then went to the court of Castille, where he was graciously received by Queen Catherine, widow of Henry III. and the Infant Don Ferdinando, then guardians to the young Prince Don John. They were greatly pleased to hear from his own mouth an account of the Canary Islands, with his adventures there. They promised him their assistance in reducing those which remained unconquered, made him many valuable presents, and furnished him with an equipage and every thing necessary for his journey to Rome at their own expence. After remaining some time in that city, where he saw every thing remarkable, he went to Avignon to wait on Pope Benedict XIII, who, at his request, appointed a Bishop for the Canary Islands, with the title of Bishop of Rubicon: this was one Albert, a Franciscan Friar, and native of Seville in Spain, brother to Guillen Peraza, of whom we shall have occasion to make mention hereafter. From Avignon our adventurer went to his own house of Betancour, in Normandy, to visit his relations, and to settle some differences with his brother Reynald de Betancour, concerning his lands in that country: from thence he went to Granville, where he fell sick and died, in the year 1408, aged seventy years, eight of which he had employed in the conquest of the Fortunate Islands. His body was interred in the great chapel of Granville; and having no children, his possessions in Normandy fell to his brother Reynald, otherwise Morlet de Betancour.

* This is a weed which grows on the rocks by the sea-shore of the Canary Islands, and other places in the same climate.

BOOK II.

Of the Etymology of the Word Canaria, &c.

IN the foregoing book we find that John de Betancour name this island Gran Canaria, adding the epithet Grand to its former name Canaria. He did not this on account of its size (for it is not the largest of the Canary Islands), but because of the strength, courage, and number of its inhabitants, who baffled all his attempts to subdue them. But how it came by the name Canaria is not easy to determine; for since those islands were known by the name of the Fortunate Islands, this has always retained its proper name, Canaria. Pliny says, that this island was named Canaria on account of its abounding with dogs of a very large size, two of which were presented to Juba, King of Mauritania. This opinion, however, seems to want foundation; for it is natural to suppose that these dogs would have increased greatly since Pliny's time, whereas on the contrary, when the Europeans came to Canaria they found not any dogs on the island. Other authors (among whom are Francisco de Tamara, in his Customs of all Nations; and Homara, in his General History of the Indies) affirm that this island is called Canaria from the natives eating, like dogs, raw flesh in great quantities; but this assertion is false; for the natives ate flesh very moderately, and never raw. It is true, indeed, they only half roasted it; and the reason they gave to the Spaniards, at the time of the conquest, for this kind of cookery, was, that the juice of the meat is its substance, consequently the best and most proper nourishment for men.

My author gives two opinions concerning the name Canaria, which indeed appear more probable than either of the foregoing.

The first is, that in Canaria there are a great many thorny bushes, which bear fruit of a red colour, called in Latin, *Uva Canina*, i. e. Dog's Grape. Those who discovered this island in the time of the Romans, seeing such a number of those bushes, might from them name the island Canaria.

The second opinion is, that it is named Canaria because it abounds with an herb, called, in Latin, *Canaria* (but in the Castilian language *Triguera*), which the dogs eat in the spring, to cause themselves to vomit or purge. When people send their horses to the field to graze, they take care to prevent their feeding in places where much of this herb grows, as it causeth a great increase of blood in them, and that so suddenly as to subject them to danger of suffocation. He adds, that in the skirts of Mount Atlas, in Africa, there is a tribe of Africans called *Canarios*, who, perhaps, first discovered and peopled this island, and called it after their own name. But after all those opinions, he does not inform us what name the natives called the island by, which is certainly a great omission; however, by his manner of treating the etymology of the name, it is to be supposed he took it for granted that they themselves called their island Canaria.

Pliny makes mention of a people called *Canarii*, who dwelt beyond Mount Atlas*, and bordering upon the country of the *Perœsi Ethiopians*.

Ptolemy the geographer calls Cape Blanco, in Africa, or some other cape on that coast, fronting the Canary Islands, *Ganaria Extrema*: and the Blacks, who now live on the banks of the river Senegal, call all that country between that river and Mount Atlas,

* This country is that part of Africa adjacent to the Canary Islands.

Gannar. Formerly they knew more of it than at present, which I shall have occasion to prove in the description of that country.

From this similitude of names one would be naturally led to believe that the natives of the island Canaria and those of the neighbouring continent of Africa, were one and the same people. For Pliny was certainly misinformed when he related, that the Canarii bordering upon the Perœsi Ethiopians, were so called from their living in fellowship with dogs, and sharing with, and devouring like them, the bowels of wild beasts.

When the Europeans came first to Gran Canaria, that island was supposed to contain no less than fourteen thousand fighting men; but a great sickness or plague prevailing amongst them some time after, it swept away two-thirds of the inhabitants. They were of a dark complexion, like the natives of Lancerota and Fuertaventura, well proportioned, and of a good stature; active, warlike, cheerful, good-natured, and strictly faithful to their promises, inasmuch that they considered a lye as the greatest of crimes. They were very fond of hazardous enterprizes, such as climbing to the top of steep precipices, to pitch poles of so great a weight, that one of them was a sufficient burden for a man of common strength to carry on level ground. The Spaniards affirm that the devil assisted them in placing these poles, that others, attempting the like might fall down headlong and be destroyed. My author says, he believes this to be true; and that the devil appeared to them in the shape of an animal resembling a shock dog, and sometimes in other figures, which the natives call Tibicenas.

The Canarians had nobility among them, who were distinguished from the vulgar by the peculiar cut of their hair and beards. It was not sufficient to entitle a man to nobility, that he was the offspring of noble or rich parents; but he was to be formally declared noble by the Faycag, a person of great rank, and next in dignity to the Guanarteme, whose business it was to decide differences among the natives and regulate the ceremonies of their religion: in short, he was a priest, and acted also as a judge in civil affairs. Their manner of conferring nobility was very singular: at a determined time of life, the son of a nobleman let his hair grow long; and when he found he had strength sufficient to bear the fatigues of war, he went to the Faycag, and said, "I am such an one, the son of such a nobleman, and desire to be ennobled also." Upon which the Faycag went to the town or village where the young man was brought up, and there assembled all the nobles and others of that place, whom he made to swear solemnly by Acoran, their god, to declare the truth concerning him. He then asked them, if they had ever seen the youth demean himself so far as to dress victuals or to go into the folds to look after sheep or goats, and whether he was ever known to milk or kill them: if they knew any thing of his stealing cattle, or forcibly taking them away from the owners in time of peace; whether he was any way discourteous, ill-tongued, or guilty of any indecent behaviour, especially to women. If to these questions they all answered in the negative, then the Faycag cut the youth's hair in a round form, and so short as not to hang beneath his ears; then giving into his hand a staff or pole called Magade, declared him noble. But, on the other hand, if the standers-by could charge him with any of those things, of which the Faycag had interrogated them, and bring sufficient proof thereof, then instead of being declared noble, the Faycag shaved his head, and sent him away in disgrace, by which he was rendered incapable of nobility, and remained ever after a plebeian.

In their wars they held it as base and mean to molest or injure the women and children of the enemy, considering them as weak and helpless, therefore improper objects of their resentment: neither did they throw down or damage the houses of worship.

The-

The weapons used by the Canarians in war, were clubs, which they called Modagas; and sharp-pointed poles, hardened by fire, and these they named Amodagas. But after the Europeans began to invade their island, they made targets in imitation of theirs; and swords of Te-a, or pitch-pine, the edges of which were hardened by fire, and tempered in such a manner that they cut like steel.

Besides these, they had many other weapons, taken at different times from the Europeans, and which they carefully preserved, and made good use of, in the day of battle.

But their chief strength lay in the before-mentioned Amodagas or wooden spears, and stones, which they threw with great force and dexterity.

They had public places set apart for fighting duels, in which were eminences or stages, raised for the combatants to fight on, that they might be the more easily observed by all the spectators. When a challenge was given and accepted, the parties went to the Council of the island, called in the Canarian language Sabor, (which consisted of twelve members called Gayres) for a licence to fight, which was easily obtained. Then they went to the Faycag to have this licence confirmed; which being done, they gathered together all their relations and friends, not to assist them (for those people looked on with the same composure as if the combat had been between two beasts*), but to be spectators of their gallantry and behaviour. The company then repaired to the public place, or theatre, where the combatants mounted upon two stones, placed at the opposite sides of it, each stone being flat at top, and about half a yard in diameter. on these they stood fast without moving their feet, till each had thrown three round stones at his antagonist. Though they were good marksmen, yet they generally avoided those missive weapons by the agile writhing of their bodies. Then arming themselves with sharp flints in their left hands, and cudgels or clubs in their right, they drew near and fell on, beating and cutting each other till they were tired; when the parties, by consent, retired with their friends, to eat and drink, but soon after returned to the scene of action, and renewed the engagement, cudgelled and cut each other with great dexterity as before, until the Gayres called out Gama! Gama! (i. e. Enough! Enough! or Give over!) when they immediately left off, and ever after remained good friends.

If during the time of the combat, one of the parties happened to break his cudgel, then the other immediately desisted from striking, and so the dispute ended, and the parties were reconciled, neither of them being declared victor. Those duels were generally fought on public festivals, rejoicings, or such like occasions, which drew together a great concourse of people, when the combatants had an opportunity to display their dexterity, strength, and valour. These spectacles made a great impression on the minds of the youth, exciting in them a spirit of emulation to excel in gallant feats. If either of the combatants happened to be deeply wounded, they beat a rush till it became like tow, and dipping it in melted goats butter, applied it to the wound, as hot as the patient could bear it: the older the butter was, the sooner it effected a cure.

Of their Marriages, Manner of educating their Children, of their Worship, their Oaths, and their Habits.

NONE of the Canarians had more than one wife, and the wife one husband, contrary to what some misinformed authors affirm. When the parents were inclined to marry their daughter, they set her apart thirty days, during which they fed her

* The Spaniards, and many other Europeans, when they challenge, do not fight in earnest before a multitude of spectators, like the English, when they box publicly in the streets: therefore my author (being a Spaniard) makes the above remark.

with large quantities of milk and goffio, in order to fatten her; for they imagined lean women were less capable of conceiving children than those who were fat. It has also been said, that the night before the bride was presented to her husband, she was delivered to the Guanarteme, who, if he did not chuse to lie with her himself, gave her to the Faycag, or to some other noble person of his intimate acquaintance, to enjoy her: but the present natives deny that such a custom ever existed among their ancestors. They were very careful in the education of their children, and never failed to chastise them when they did amiss. It was also customary to propose two of the youth as examples for the rest, the one of virtue, the other of vice; and when a child did any thing to displease its parents, they told it that such an action was like those of the person set up as a bad example; on the other hand, when they did any thing praiseworthy, it was commended, and told that such behaviour was amiable, and resembled that of the good person. This sort of instruction had the desired effect, by raising the spirit of emulation among the youth to excel in virtuous actions.

The Canarians had among them religious women, called Magadas, a number of whom lived together in one house. There were many of those houses in Canaria, which were held sacred; and criminals who fled to any of them, were protected from the officers of justice. The Magadas were distinguished from other women by their long white garments, which swept the ground as they walked. The convents or houses in which they dwelt were called Tamoganteen Acoran (i. e. houses of god); but houses of worship were called by the Canarians Almogaren (i. e. temples or holy houses); they were daily sprinkled with the milk of goats from whom they did not take the kids, and which were set apart for giving milk for that purpose. They held that this Acoran dwelt on high, and governed every thing on the earth. They adored him by putting their hands together, and lifting them towards heaven.

In the island there are two rocks, one in the district of Galdar, named Tirmac; the other in Telde, called Vinicaya*. To these rocks they went in procession in times of public calamity, accompanied by the religious women called Magadas, carrying in their hands branches of palm-trees, and vessels filled with milk and butter, which they poured on the rocks, dancing round them, and singing mournful songs like dirges, or what the Spaniards call *Endechas*; from thence they went to the sea-side, and all at once and with one accord struck the water forcibly with their rods, shouting together at the same time with a very loud voice. Their division of time was not by days, weeks, and years, as with us, but they reckoned by moons.

The habit of the Canarians was a tight coat, with a hood to it like that of a Capuchin Friar; it reached down to the knees, and was girded about the waist with a leather strap or girdle. This garment was made of a sort of rush, which they beat until it was quite soft like flax, and then divided the filaments and wove them together. Over this they wore cloaks of goat skins, with the hairy side outwards in summer, and inwards in winter. They also wore caps made of the skins of goats, taken off almost entire, which they placed in such a manner on their heads that they had a goat's beard hanging under each ear, which they sometimes tied under the chin. All these garments were neatly sewed and painted, and in every other respect much more curious than those of the natives in the other islands. Some wore bonnets of skins, adorned with feathers. Their shoes were made of raw hides, like those in Lancerota and Fuertaventura.

* They swore by these rocks, and those oaths were very solemn.

They had public houses, or rooms, in which they assembled to dance and sing. The Canarian dance is still in use in these islands, and is called Canario: its step is quick and short. Their songs were either dirges or amorous sonnets, set to grave and plaintive tunes.

Of their Punishments, Employments, and Manner of living.

THE Canarians were remarkable for their good government, regularity, and strict administration of justice. When a man committed a crime deserving of death, they apprehended him and put him in prison, where he was tried, and immediately upon conviction they led him to the place of execution, which was the same where they used to feast, wrestle, and fight duels. Here the delinquent was stretched on the ground, and his head placed on a flat stone; then the executioner, who was a man set apart for that office, taking up a large heavy stone, and lifting it as high as he could, he suddenly let it fall on the criminal's head. But for crimes that were not worthy of death, they used the Lex Talionis, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, &c.

None of the Canarians exercised the trade of a butcher except the dregs of the people. This employment was accounted so ignominious, that they would not so much as allow one of that profession to enter into any of their houses, or to touch any thing belonging to them. It was made unlawful for the butchers even to keep company with any but those of their own profession; and when they wanted any thing of another person, they were obliged to carry a staff with them, and point at what they wanted, standing at a considerable distance. As a recompence for this abject state, the natives were obliged to supply the butchers with every thing they had occasion for. It was not lawful for any Canarian, except the butchers, to kill cattle: when any person wanted his beast, &c. to be killed, he was obliged to lead it to the public shambles, but was not allowed to enter himself; and this prohibition extended even to the women and children.

The houses in Gran Canaria were built of stone, without cement, but so neat and regular that they made a beautiful appearance. At the top they laid wooden beams or rafters, very close to each other, and covered them with earth. The walls of these houses were very low, and the floors sunk lower than the level of the ground on which they stood, being so contrived for the advantage of warmth in the winter season. Their beds and bedding were goat skins dressed in the hair, after a most curious manner. Their other furniture consisted of baskets, and mats of palm-leaves and rushes, made extremely neat, and very ingeniously wrought. There were among them people whose sole occupation was to build houses and manufacture mats, &c. The women in general were employed in painting and dying; and in the proper season they very carefully gathered the flowers, shrubs, &c. from which they extracted the several colours. The threads they used for sewing and other purposes were made of the springy nerves or tendons of the loins of sheep, goats, or swine, with which they were supplied by the butchers. These they first anointed with butter, and afterwards prepared by fire in such a manner that they could split them into fine threads at their pleasure. Their needles were made of bone, and their fish-hooks of horn. All their vessels used in cookery were made of clay, hardened by the sun, which they called Ganigos. Their wealth consisted chiefly in goats, which they called Aridaman; and some sheep, which they called Taharan: they had also hogs, which they named Ta-

guacen. Their common food was barley-meal roasted, which they called *Goffio*, and eat with milk or goats flesh. When they made a feast, they dressed this latter with hog's lard or butter, and this dish they called *Tamazanona*. Their barley, which they called *Afamotan* *, they ground with a hand-mill. The following is the manner in which they ploughed their lands; about twenty people assembled together, each having a wooden instrument (not unlike a hoe) with a spur or tooth at the end of it, on which they fixed a goat's horn; with this they broke the ground, and afterwards took care, if the rain came not in its proper season, to moisten it with water, which they brought by canals from the rivulets. The women gathered in the corn, of which they reaped only the ears: these they threshed with sticks, or beat with their feet, and then winnowed in their hands.

Their only fruits were *vicacorras*, *mocanes*, and wild dates; and some time before the conquest of their island, they had figs: green figs they call *Archormase*, and dried ones *Tehaunen*. Their poor lived by the sea-coast, chiefly on fish which they caught in the night-time, by making a blaze on the water with torches of pitch-pine. In the day-time, whenever they discovered a shoal of *fardinas*, a small fish resembling herrings or pilchards, a great number of men, women, and children waded into the sea, and swimming beyond the shoal, chased the fish towards the shore; then with a net, made of a tough kind of rush, they enclosed and drew them to land, and there made an equal division of their prize: in doing this, every woman in the company who had young children, received a share for each; or if she happened to be with child, she received a share for the child in her womb.

When any of their nobles died, they brought out the corpse and placed it in the sun, took out the bowels and entrails, which they washed, and then buried in the earth: the body they dried, and swathed round with bandages of goat skins, and then fixed it upright in a cave, clothed with the same garments which the deceased wore when alive. But if no proper cave was at hand, they carried the dead body to one of those stony places now called *Mal Paices*, where, levelling the ground and fixing the small loose stones, they made a coffin of very large ones, placed so as not to touch the body; then they took another large stone, two yards in length, wrought into a round form, and with this they closed the coffin, and afterwards filled up the niche between the top of the round stone and the outer part of the sides of the coffin with small stones, in so neat a manner, that every one who beholds them must be surprised at the ingenuity of this people. Some of their dead bodies were put into chests, and afterwards deposited in a kind of stone sepulchres. There were certain persons among them whose profession it was, and who were set apart for the purpose of preparing the dead bodies burial, and making up the tombs.

The lower class of people were buried in the *Mal Paices*, in holes covered with dry stones; and, excepting those bodies which were placed upright in the caves, all the others were laid with their heads towards the north.

* I have reason to believe that by my author's negligence these two words are transposed: *Tamazanona* signifying Barley, and *Afamotan*, the above mentioned dish.

BOOK III.

Of the Island of Palma, and of the ancient Inhabitants thereof; their Manners, Customs, Worship, &c.

IT is not positively known how this island came first to be called Palma. In all probability it received this name from the Europeans at the time of their discovering it, for the natives called it Benahoare, which in their language signifies My Country*. When the Europeans first landed on this island, it produced no sort of corn, or eatable roots, excepting the roots of fern, of which the natives made meal (as the inhabitants of this and some other of the Canary Islands do to this day), and also of the seed of a tree or shrub called Amagante. Both these sorts of meal they ate mixed with milk or broth. Their other sorts of food were flesh of goats, sheep, and hogs, which they ate either roasted or boiled. The skins of the two first served them for cloathing, and of the latter they made shoes. The weapon they used in war was a staff or pole, sharpened at the point and hardened by fire, which they called Moca.

Of the Island of Thenerife or Tenerife.

THE next island was named Thenerife, or the White Mountain, by the natives of Palma; Thener, in their language, signifying a Mountain, and Ise, White: the Pike, or summit of Thenerife being always covered with snow. This name has been continued to it by the Spaniards ever since; but the natives called it Chineche, and themselves Vincheni: how the Spaniards came to give them the name of Guanches, is not known.

An Inquiry concerning the Origin of the Natives of the Canary Islands.

PLINY says, "There are no inhabitants in the Fortunate Islands." And in another place he says, "In Canaria are vestiges of buildings, which testify that it was formerly inhabited."

Plutarch's Fortunate Islands were also peopled, according to his account of them; for he says in one place, "The soil is so abundantly fruitful, that it produces spontaneously plants and fruits, for use and delicacy, sufficient to answer the wants and delight the palates of the inhabitants." Describing the temperature of the climate, he says, "It is firmly believed even by the barbarous natives themselves, that this is the seat of the Blessed."

* When the Spaniards asked the meaning of the word Benahoare, the natives would naturally answer, 'This Place, our Land, my Country, this Island, or our Dwelling-place;' but I have reason to imagine that it did not literally signify My Country.

If these islands were formerly inhabited, what became of the natives afterwards? for Madeira and Porto Santo, when discovered by the Portuguese, were utterly destitute of inhabitants. It must have been owing to some uncommon event, that all these people abandoned their native country, without so much as leaving a single family behind. But if they perished in the island, it is still more extraordinary; for we never heard of the whole inhabitants of any country being destroyed without exception, by war, famine, pestilence, or any other calamity. If I may be allowed to guess at the cause of this depopulation, we must observe that almost two thirds of each of the Canary Islands are now covered with calcined rocks, pumice-stones, and black dust or ashes, which have formerly been thrown out from volcanoes, the remains of which are still to be seen in every one of those islands.

I do not think it improbable, that many of the natives might have been destroyed by those violent eruptions; and that the remainder, being terrified, abandoned their country, and went in quest of new habitations: but where they went, is a question not easily solved; though some writers assert, that they passed over to America: but this is mere conjecture.

From two passages in the Nubian Geographer, it would seem that there were inhabitants in the Canary Islands, Madeira, or Porto Santo, some time after the conquest of Spain by the Moors, and before the Spaniards expelled the Moors from Lisbon, in 1147. Of this the reader may judge for himself, as I shall here transcribe those passages.

Part I. Of the Third Climate. "In this sea is also the island of two brothers, magicians; the one of which is called Sciarrahah, and the other Sciarrah."

"This port is opposite to Afafi*, and is at so small a distance from it, that, when the air on the sea is clear and free from clouds, you can discern smoke on the Continent. There is also in this sea an island of sheep, which is large and covered with a dark cloud†; in which island are innumerable sheep, but small, and their flesh extremely bitter to the taste, and unfit for food: and this likewise appears from the relation of the Almaghurim (Wanderers)."

Part I. Of the Fourth Climate. "Opposite to Lisbon (which is situated on the coast of the Dark Sea), on the South bank of the river is the castle of Almaaden (of treasure), so called from gold which is thrown out after a storm at sea. From Lisbon went out Almaghurim (the Wanderers), who attempted the Dark Sea, to make discoveries: and from them a path in the town, not far from the lake, takes its name, which it will retain to latest ages.

"And this is their history. Eight men, who were cousins, having built a merchant-ship, and provided it with water and necessary provisions for several months, began their voyage as soon as the east wind began to blow: and when they had sailed almost eleven days, with a fair wind, they came at last to a certain sea, whose thick waters had a disagreeable smell, where there were many rocks and a dusky light: wherefore, being afraid of certain shipwreck, they altered their course, and

* That this is Azafi in Barbary is beyond all doubt, as may be seen by what he says thereof in the description of the kingdom of Morocco: although Porto Santo is not so near the Continent as he represents it, yet it is exactly, as he says, fronting Afafi, or opposite to it.

† This answers exactly to the gloom or cloud that surrounded Madeira, when discovered by the Portuguese, and which made them afraid to venture near it. The islands Tenerife, Palma, and Madeira appear at a distance (when the trade-wind blows) like thick dark clouds. Madeira was full of woods when discovered, which no doubt attracted the vapours, and made it appear more gloomy.

“ failing twelve days to the south, they landed upon an island of sheep, or cattle, where innumerable flocks strayed without a shepherd or guide. Here they found a fountain of running water, which was over-shaded by a wild fig-tree. And having caught some sheep, or cattle, they killed them; but perceiving their flesh so bitter that it could not be eaten, they only took their skins. After this, failing also twelve days at the south, they descried at a distance a certain island, and seeing habitations and cultivated lands, they sailed near to it, to make farther discoveries. But not long after, they were surrounded with boats, taken prisoners, and conducted, together with their ship, to a certain town situated on the sea coast; where when they arrived they saw reddish men, with thin and long hair, and tall in stature; the women were also surprisingly beautiful. They were kept there for three days, in a certain house; but on the fourth day a man came to them, and asked them, in Arabic, concerning their condition, for what they came, and to whom they belonged? When they had told him all their story, he promised happy things to them, and at the same time told them he was the King's interpreter. Wherefore, the next day, being brought to the King, and interrogated by him about the same things which the interpreter had asked, they told the King the same story which they had told the interpreter the day before; that they had ventured to sea to discover whatever was remarkable or wonderful in it, and to penetrate to its utmost bounds. The King hearing these things, laughed, and said to the interpreter, Tell these men, that my father commanded some of his subjects to sail this sea; and they sailed by its breadth a whole month, so that the light failed them altogether, and so their voyage was vain and useless. Moreover, the King commanded the interpreter to promise good things in his name to these people, and to bid them put their confidence in him. They were then conducted back to the place of their confinement, and detained there till the west wind began to blow. Then being put into a boat, with their eyes bound, they were sent to sea; where, according to their relation, they remained three days and nights: at length they arrived at the Continent, where they were put on shore, with their hands tied behind their backs, and thus left to shift for themselves. In this condition they lay till day-break, during which time they suffered the greatest uneasiness from being bound so tight. But at length hearing a noise of human voices, they altogether called aloud for help; when some people approaching, and seeing them in this miserable condition, enquired of them the cause: these people (who were barbarians) asked them if they knew how far they were from their own country? To which they replied, they could not tell. Upon this they were told that it was two months travel. The commander of these unfortunate men hearing this, burst out into this exclamation, *Va Asfi!* i. e. *Alas!* what we suffer! and the place has ever since been called *Asfi*. It is a harbour in the westernmost part of the coast, of which we have already made mention.”

As the Nubian Geographer had not the above-mentioned account from the adventurers themselves, we may reasonably conclude that we have not the relation of the voyage exactly as it was performed: but if there is any truth in it at all, the island where the voyagers were blind-folded, and from thence sent to *Azaffi*, can be no other than one of the Canary Islands, *Madeira*, or *Porto Santo*, all which lie within three days sail of *Azaffi*.

Of all those islands, *Fuertaventura* bids fairest for the island of the two brothers, magicians, because in clear weather it may be perceived from the continent of that part of Africa situated to the south-west of *Azaffi*.

Now as Azaffi was at that time the remotest sea-port town to the south-west, it is probable that the natives of the continent opposite to Fuertaventura, coming to Azaffi to trade, might inform the inhabitants of that town, that from their coast they always, in clear weather, observed an island. This will account for our author's saying, "This port looks towards Azaffi, and is at so small a distance from it, that, when the air on the sea is clear and free from clouds, you can discern smoke on the Continent."

I shall now proceed to give some account of the original of those people described in the foregoing History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands. The author of that History has written no less than three folio pages to confute an opinion, held by some, that the natives of the Canaries were the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel that were carried into captivity by the Assyrians.

His own opinion is, that they came from Mauritania; and this he founds on the resemblance of names of places in Africa and in the islands; for, says he, "Telde, which is the name of the oldest habitation in Canaria, Orotava, and Tegeste, are all names which we find given to places in Mauritania and in Mount Atlas. It is to be supposed that Canaria, Fuertaventura, and Lancerota, were peopled by the Alarbes, who are the nation most esteemed in Barbary; for the natives of those islands named milk Aho, and barley Temasen, which are the names that are given those things in the language of the Alarbes of Barbary." He adds, that—

"Among the books of a library that was in the cathedral of St. Anna, in Canaria, there was one, so much disfigured and torn that it wanted both the beginning and the end; it treated of the Romans, and gave an account, that when Africa was a Roman province, the natives of Mauritania rebelled, and killed their Presidents and Governors; upon which the senate, resolving to punish and make a severe example of the rebels, sent a powerful army into Mauritania, which vanquished and reduced them again to obedience: soon after, the ringleaders of the rebellion were put to death; and the tongues of the common sort, and of their wives and children, were cut out, and then they were all put on board vessels, with some grain and cattle, and transported to the Canary Islands *."

Whether the Canarians were exiles from Africa or not, I shall not pretend to determine; but am persuaded they came originally from thence. This may easily be proved from the similitude of customs and language in South Barbary, to those of the natives of all the Canary Islands, excepting Tenerife †.

For instance, the Libyans, before they gave their daughters in marriage, kept them apart some time, and fed them with milk till they became very fat. When any of them were wounded, they poured hot butter into the wound. And their principal dish, called Couscouffou, was much the same with the Goffio of the Canarians.

But the greatest proof lies in the similitude between the Canarian and Libyan languages. My author is mistaken when he says, the languages of the islands resembled the language spoken by the Alarbes or Arabs of Barbary; for the two words he mentions are not Arabic, but Shillha, the language now spoken in the mountains in the kingdoms of Morocco, Suz, and other parts of South Barbary.

* One Thomas Nicols, who lived seven years in the Canary Islands, and wrote a history of them, says, that the best account he could get of the origin of the natives, was, that they were exiles from Africa, banished thence by the Romans, who cut out their tongues for blaspheming their gods.

† The language in Tenerife, at the time of the conquest, had no affinity to those spoken in the rest of the islands: it seems to have some resemblance of the Peruvian or some other of the American tongues.

It is evident that the Libyans did not come to the Canary Islands till after Pliny had wrote his Natural History ; for he tells us that those islands were then uninhabited ; and it is as clear it must have been before the conquest of Barbary by the Arabs, otherwise we should have found some of the ceremonies of the Mahomedan religion * among the Canarians.

It is even not improbable that the Libyans who first settled in the islands, fled thither to avoid falling into the hands of the victorious Arabs.

The natives of the Canary Islands, at the time of the conquest, knew not the use of boats, consequently the inhabitants of one island could not have any intercourse with those of another ; yet, says my author, the languages of all of them, except that of Tenerife, though very different, had some affinity to each other.

* All the Libyans profess Mahomedanism.

JOURNIES in the INTERIOR of AFRICA.

By Mr. BROWNE *.

ITINERARIES.

From Cobbé to Sennaar.

	Bearing.	Days.
FROM Cobbé to Shower	-	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Shower to Rîl	-	S. S. E. 2
At Rîl is a large pool of water, never completely dry, and a little to the E. of it a spacious house built by Sultan Teraub, eldest brother of the present monarch.		
From Rîl to Fadow	-	E. { 3 3
From Fadow to Cawb	-	
Near Cawb commences a ridge of hills, running N. and S. or nearly so.		
From Cawb to Dar Hummâr	} Mean bearing	E. { 2 3 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
From Dar Hummâr to Emdî		
From Emdî to Kreiga		
In each of these towns are Fukkara, who administer justice.		
From Kreiga to Ibeit †	-	E. 1
Between Kreiga and Ibeit is Habu-Harrâs, a place distant from the former three hours. Its neighbourhood is laid out in gardens belonging to the people of Dongola established there, in which they cultivate onions, &c. The situation of Abu Harrâs is in length N. and S. and the wells which supply it with water are to the S. of the town.		
From Ibeit to Miteina	-	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Miteina to Autoh	-	2
From Autoh to Yafsîn	-	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Yafsîn is a town of Fukkara.		
From Yafsîn to Breiffa, <i>deep sand</i>	-	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Breiffa to Cone	-	1
Cone is at the foot of a mountain of the same name, which lies S. of the road. Near Cone, a little S. of the road, is a pool of water, and this is a place where travellers commonly repose themselves.		
From Cone to Kinnana	-	1
From Kinnana to Deggîn	-	1
From Deggîn to Hellet Allais ‡, on the Bahr-el-abiad, the place which the ferry-boats frequent	-	1

* See vol. xv. pag. 108.

† Ibeit is one of the principal towns of Kordofân: it is also the name of a small district.

‡ The bearing of the road from Rîl to Hellet Allais is reported to be generally E. with very small variation.

Bearing. Days.

Hellet Allais is situated on the W. of the river. The river (Bahr-el-abiad) is here of such breadth, that the features of a person standing on the other side cannot be distinguished, but the human voice is heard.—A number of trees is seen here to the W. of the river, not to the E. Hellet Allais is altogether built of clay.—A large palm-tree grows in the middle of the town.

On the eastern side of the river is *Shillûk*—not far removed from it, being reported to be within sight of Allais.

Shillûk is a town of idolaters, built with clay. The inhabitants have no other clothing than bands of long grass, which they pass round the waist and between the thighs. They are all black; both sexes are accustomed to shave their heads. The people of Shillûk have the dominion of the river, and take toll of all passengers, in such articles of traffic as pass among them. The name *Shillûk* is not Arabic, and its meaning is unknown.—When asked concerning their name or country, the people reply *Shillûk*. When employed in transporting Mohammedans across the ferry, they occasionally exhibit the importance which their situation gives them. After the Mûslim has placed himself in the boat, they will ask him, "Who is the master of that river?" The other replies, as is usual, "Ullah or Rubbani"—God is the master of it. "No," answers the Shillûk, "you must say that such a one (naming his chief) is the master of it, or you shall not pass." They are represented as shewing hospitality to such as come among them in a peaceable manner, and as never betraying those to whom they have once accorded protection. The particulars of their worship, as in most other instances where I have had my information from Mohammedans, have not been described.

From Shillûk to Dar Ruga	-	-	-	-	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	1
From Dar Ruga to Waalia	-	-	-	-	E.	1
From Waalia to Shadli	-	-	-	-	E.	1
From Shadli to Sennaar	-	-	-	-		$0\frac{1}{4}$

Sennaar, *Medinet el Fun* or *Fungi*, is situated on the river which flows from Habbelh, which river is much smaller than the *Bahr-el-abiad*, and before the annual increase is fordable between Sennaar and Basboch.

The slaves who have usurped the government reside in *Terfeia*, on the opposite side of the river. Between them and the people of the city have been perpetual skirmishes for the last six years. (1794.)

The Bahr-el-abiad suffers the same periodical increase and diminution as the Nile in Egypt.

From Sennaar to Gondâr.

From Terfeia to Rhad	-	-	-	E. N. E.	1
From Rhad to Dender	-	-	-	E.	1
From Dender to Béla	-	-	-	S. E.	1
From Béla to Teawa	-	-	-		1

Rhad is on the banks of a river of the same name. After passing Béla, the traveller leaves the river, and proceeds by a mountainous

road to Teawa. The soil in the neighbourhood of Teawa is clay, and the town is built of that material. The people of the place use for bread the Mahriek, (white maize), which grows there luxuriantly.

From Teawa to Râs el fil - - - - -

From Râs el fil to Gondâr - - - - -

The officer who governs Râs el fil is appointed by the king of Habbeſh.—Inhabitants of Râs el fil called *Giberti*.

Bearing. Days.

S. E. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
E. S. E. 7

Road from Sennaar to Swakem.

From Sennaar to Teawa - - - - -

From Teawa to Atbara, a town on that river - - -

From Atbara to Hallanga - - - - -

E. 4
N. 1
2

The people of Hallanga are Mohammedans, but use not the Arabic language generally. They are of an olive complexion. The *Mahriek* in their neighbourhood is said to grow so large, that the stem at bottom is seen of the size of a man's wrist.

From Hallanga to Swakem - - - - -

N. E. 12

During great part of the way the road is mountainous and rocky. The space between the two last places is uncultivated, and inhabited only by wandering Arabs. These are of two races, Bijjé and Okoot. Both of them breed camels in great number, sheep, &c. Swakem is situated on an island, in which the governor and principal persons reside: but the greater number live on the main land.

Road from Sennaar to Mahas.

From Sennaar to Herbajé - - - - - N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. 3

From Herbajé to Halfeia - - - - - N. 5

At Halfeia is the confluence of the Bahr-el-abiad and Bahr el afrek.

From Halfeia to Chendi - - - - - } N. { 3

From Chendi to Birbîr - - - - - } { 3

From Birbîr to Shaikié - - - - - } { 3

From Shaikié to Dongola - - - - - N. W. 2

From Dongola to Mahas - - - - - N. 1

From Sennaar to Fazoglo.

From Sennaar to Dachala - - - - - E. 3

From Dachala to Emfirié - - - - - S. E. 1

From Emfirié to Louni - - - - - S. 3

From Louni to Gerbîn - - - - - S. 3

The people of Dachala are Mohammedans residing on the western bank of the Bahr el afrek.—Gerbîn is a mountainous place, which serves for confining malefactors under the government of Sennaar.

Mountainous—From Gerbîn to Fazoglo - - - - - S. 4

The mines of Fazoglo afford much gold: they belong to Sennaar.

From Gerbîn to Gondar.

	Bearing.	Days.
From Fazoglo there is no direct road. Having returned to Gerbîn,		
From Gerbîn to Hafsîb - - - - -	E.	2
From Hafsîb to Beida - - - - -	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	2
Beida is the first town under the Abyssinian government, and is described as chiefly inhabited by fugitive slaves, who belong to persons within that empire.		
From Beida to Kourmi - - - - -		3
From Kourmi to Haffeb-ullah - - - - -		3
This road is mountainous, circuitous, and abounds with springs of water. The civet cat is so common in this district, that in every house, it is said, there are fifteen or twenty tame ones.		
From Haffeb-ullah to Gondâr - - - - -	E.	10
<i>Mountainous and difficult road.</i>		

Sundry Routes of the Merchants of Sennaar.

From Sennaar to Gebel-el-Moié - - - - -	S. W.	1
From Gebel-el-Moié to Bahr-el-abad - - - - -	W. S. W.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Sennaar to Bahhadîn - - - - -	S. S. W.	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Bahhadîn to Menâjel - - - - -	S. W.	2
From Menâjel to the Bahr-el-abiad. - - - - -	W.	2

Road to Gondar.

From Sennaar to Terfeia - - - - -	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Terfeia to Subî-deleib - - - - -	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Subî-deleib to Wullad Midani - - - - -	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Midani to the Bahr-el-afrek - - - - -	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
From the river to Mendala - - - - -	2
From Mendala to Kaila - - - - -	1

Kaila is mountainous.

From Kaila to Embutteik - - - - -	1
-----------------------------------	---

Mountainous and deep sand.

From Embutteik to Goze, or the sands - - - - -	2
From Goze to the Atbara - - - - -	3

This country is inhabited by the Bisharîn Arabs, who are Moham-medans.

From Atbara to Gebel Cuffa - - - - -	3
From Gebel Cuffa to Gebel en Narr - - - - -	3
From Gebel en Narr to Gondar - - - - -	12

A Route which seems to be uncertain, and of which the Bearings are not accurately given.

From the Goze or sands of the Atbara, above mentioned, to El-Edd belonging to the Bijjé - - - - -

x i †

3
From

	Bearing.	Days.
From El-Edd to Swakem	N. E.	12
This road is filled with Arabs.		
From Swakem to Gebel-el-Hellé	W.	3
From Gebel-el-Hellé to Gebel-el-Sillah	S. W.	{ 2 2 6
From Gebel-el-Sillah to Gabel-el-Beit		
From Gebel-el-Beit to Birbîr		
All this road from Swakem to Birbîr is represented as rocky.—		
Birbîr is situated in a clayey soil.		
From Birbîr to Wullad-el-Magedûb	S.	{ 2 2 3
From Wullad-el-Magedûb to Bifharié		
From Bifharié to Shûkûrié		
Bifharié are a foreign race, but Shûkûrié speak Arabic as their native language.		
Arabs—From Shûkûrié to Hellalié		4
From Hellalié to Bahr-el-afrek		1
From Bahr-el-afrek to Em-ufhar		1
From Em-ufhar to Wullad-el-fûrûk		1
From Wullad-el-fûrûk to Hummûr		2
Clayey soil.		
Mohammedans—From Hûmmûr to Senût abûd		2
From Ibeit to Emdurman and Halfeia, and return to Ibeit by another road.		
From Ibeit to Bahra	E.	1½
From Bahra to Emganatîr	N. E.	2
From Emganatîr to Shegeîk	N. E.	1
From Shegeîk to Gimmoyé	N.	2
From Gimmoyé to Emdurmân	N.	2
All this country is inhabited by Mohammedans, who speak Arabic alone.—Gimmoyé and Emdurmân are both on the W. bank of the Bahr-el-abiad, and the latter is at the place of union between that river and the Abawi.—Returning W.		
From Emdurmân to Harraza, a mountain of difficult passage	S. W.	3
Road desert and destitute of water.		
The inhabitants of Harraza are idolaters, of mixed complexion, but most of them of a reddish hue.—They breed some horses, which they mount.		
From Harraza to Abu-hadîd	S. W.	{ 1 0½ 1
From Abuhadîd to Zerawy		
From Zerawy to Efsherhar		
Efsherhar is famous for its salt, which is gathered by the Arabs, transported to other places and sold. The people of this last place are Arabs, but those of Zerawy, Harraza, and Abu-hadîd, neither Arabs nor Mohammedans.		
From Efsherhar to Bifherié	S.	1
Road desert.		
Bifherié is full of palm-trees.		
From Bifherié to Bahra	S. S. W.	{ 1 1½
From Bahra to Ibeit		
Route		

Route from Ibeit to Sheibôn, where are gold mines, and other places, returning to Ibeit.

	Bearing.	Days.
From Ibeit to Bahra	E.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Bahra to Khûkjé	S. E.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Khûkjé to Abu-jenûch	S.	1
From Abu-jenûch to Seijé	E.	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Seijé to Tummara	S. E.	2

Between the two last places is a rocky road, with intervals of deep sand and clay.

From Tummara to Demîk	S. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	1
-----------------------	---------------------	---

The people from Abu-jenûch hither are idolaters, and destitute of clothing. The soil at and near Demîk is clay.

From Demîk to Khéga	S. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	1
From Khéga to Dibri	S. S. E.	0 $\frac{1}{2}$

Mountainous and rocky.

From Dibri to Sheibôn	S. S. E.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
-----------------------	----------	-----------------

Clayey soil.

Near this place, in a deep glen or valley, much gold is found, both dust and in small pieces. The natives collect the dust in quills of the ostrich and vulture, and in that condition sell it to the merchants. They have a ceremony on discovering a large piece of gold, of killing a sheep on it before they remove it. The people are all black, as are those above mentioned from Abu-jenûch hither. They have some form of marriage, i. e. of an agreement between man and woman to cohabit. Women of full age wear a piece of platted grass on their parts. The younger and unmarried are quite naked. The slaves, which are brought in great numbers from this quarter, are some prisoners of war among themselves, (for their wars are frequent,) and some seduced by treachery and sold. But it is said to be a common practice for the father in time of scarcity to sell his children.

At Sheibôn are some Mohammedans, who live among the idolaters and wear clothing: it is not said whether Arabs or not.

The people above described are independent tribes of negroes, who have no other ruler than their respective chiefs, the authority of whom is very small, except in time of war. The Mecque of Sennaar used to claim some tribute from the people of Sheibôn, but received nothing regularly.

From Sheibôn to Shurrû	} W. S. W. {	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1
From Shurrû to Luca		

Luca is another place where resides an independent chief: it is also famous for its gold, which, as at Sheibôn, is the only medium of exchange among the inhabitants.

From Luca to Koheila	W.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
----------------------	----	-----------------

In Koheila are Arabs, not subject to any monarch of the country. Some idolaters also live among them.

From Koheila to Tlinga, a town	} W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. {	1
People of Tlinga Mohammedans.—This country is called by the		

Arabs Dar Kinnana

From

	Bearing.	Days.
From Tlinga to Gebel Sahd - - -	W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.	$C\frac{1}{2}$
Gebel Sahd is within the dominion of Sennaar.		
From Gebel Sahd to Baha-ed-dîn - - -	N.	1
Still Dar Kinnana.		
From Baha-ed-dîn to Gebel-el-abîd - - -	N. N. E.	1
From Gebel-el-abîd to Tumbûl - - -	N.	1
Tumbûl is under the government of the king of the Tuclawi.		
From Tumbûl to Seifabân - - -	N.	1
Seifabân is inhabited by Arabs alone. - - -		$C\frac{1}{2}$
From Seifabân to Abdome - - -		$C\frac{1}{2}$
From Abdome to Tuggala, capital of the king of Tuclawi		1
This district is called Sagurnié, country of the mountaineers.		1
From Tuggala to Deir - - -	N. N. W.	1
From Deir to Gebel-el-deir - - -		1
From Gebel-el-deir to Gebel-le-Bucclé - - -		$C\frac{1}{2}$
From Gebel-le-Bucclé to Ibeit - - -	N.	$C\frac{1}{2}$

From Rîl to Wara, capital of Bergoo.

From Rîl to Gebel Marra, <i>deep sand</i> - - -	W.	2
Gebel Marra to Bîshara Taib - - -	W.	2
Bîshara Taib to the confines of Fûr - - -	W.	5

All this road is mountainous and rocky, and the inhabitants from Rîl W. to the confines of Fûr are Mohammedans. The water on Gebel Marra, which is a lofty mountain, rises with some remarkable circumstances, and it is said to be sulphureous. The people there feed partly on wheat, which grows near the place, partly on Mahreik.

The people who inhabit the confines of Fûr W. are called *Tâmûrkée*.

From the confines to Dar Ruma - - -	W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.	3
<i>Desert, sand and clay, some water.</i>		
From Dar Ruma to Kibbéid - - -	N. E.	2
<i>Kibbéid is situated on a hill or rock.</i>		1
From Kibbéid to Kajachfa - - -		$1\frac{1}{4}$
From Kajachfa to Bendala - - -		1
Bendala is inhabited by the slaves of the Sultan of Bergoo.—The people of Ruma, and thence to Bendala are idolaters.		1
From Bendala to Wullad-el-Bucca - - -	N. E.	1
<i>Bucca is a mountainous district.</i>		1
From Bucca to Dar Miffelâd - - -		$2\frac{1}{4}$
From Dar Miffelâd to Wara, the residence of the Sultan of Bergoo - - -		

From Wara to Bahr-el-Gazalle.

	Bearing.	Days.	
From Wara to Nimr, where the merchants reside, as at Cobbé in Dar-Fûr	W.	$0\frac{1}{4}$	
From Nimr to Battah		2	
Battah is situated on a small river, which flows from the S. and then deviating to the W. falls into the Bahr el Fittré. Battah belongs to the Miffelâd.			
From Battah to Dirota	W.	1	
From Dirota to Dar Hummâr		$0\frac{1}{2}$	
<i>Road, clayey soil.</i>			
From Dar Hummâr to Cofeiât		1	
<i>Dar Hummar rocky.</i>			
From Cofeiât to Shungeiât		1	
Two towns of idolaters.			
From Shungeiât to Dar Dajeou— <i>Caffres</i>		1	
<i>Cooka, Mohammedans</i> —From Dar Dajeou to Dar Cooka		3	
From Cooka to Muddago		2	
In Muddago are Mohammedans, who are governed by a petty prince under the king of Bergoo.			
From Buddago to Bahr-el-Fittré	N. W.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1\frac{1}{2} \\ 2 \end{array} \right.$	
The people on the banks of Bahr-el-Fittré are called Abu-semmîn, and are Mohammedans. They use little boats for the purpose of passing from one place to another on the river.			
From Bahr-el-Fittré to Bahr-el-Gazalle			
<i>Road deep sand, no trees.</i>			
The neighbourhood of the Bahr-el-Gazalle is inhabited by Arabs, who feed camels and sheep, and some oxen.			

Route from Khukjé to the Bahr-el-ada, and thence towards the Bahr-el-abiad.

From Khukjé to Baraka	S. S. W.	3
<i>Baraka is inhabited by independent Arabs.</i>		

The greater part of this road is deep sand: the remainder, from *Baraka* by the Bahr-el-ada, is clay. The part of that river, which is here meant, is occupied by tribes of Arabs feeding cows and sheep; they are called Miffirié. This part of the river is also frequented by wild and ferocious animals. The Miffirié Arabs comb their hair back, twist it, and fasten it in the form of a scorpion's tail behind. They collect honey of the wild kind in great quantity, and hunt the elephant.

From Baraka to Tûrrût	S. E.	4
From Tûrrût to Jungeiôn	S. E.	1

The people of Jungeiôn are tall and black; they have cows, sheep, and goats, and feed on the *Mabriek* or white maize. They collect the dung of the animals mentioned, dry it, roast it on the fire, and afterwards use it for a bed. These people are very numerous. The country in their neighbourhood is all a plain, and the soil clay.

They

They have a practice, apparently superstitious, of milking their cows into a vessel with a narrow mouth, that the milk may not be seen, and never pour it into a dish or bowl; and any stranger who visits them is obliged to drink of the dugs of the cow, as do the calves.

	Bearing.	Days.
From Jungeïôn to Shâd	S. E.	1
From Shâd to Inigulgulé	N.	0½

Route from Khukjé to the Bahr-el-ada, thence toward the Bahr-el-abiad, and returning to Rîl.

The inhabitants of Inigulgulé are idolaters. They clothe themselves with a kind of cotton cloth.

From Inigulgulé to the residence of the king of Ibbé	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	1½
From said residence to the confines of Dar-Fûr	N. W.	4
From the confines to Tubeldié		2
From Tubeldié to Rîl		8

All this road is sandy, but filled with many and large trees.

Road from Bahr-el-Gazalle to Bornou.

From Bahr-el-gazalle to the capital of Dar Baghermé	N. E.	3
From the said residence to Kottocom	N. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.	
The inhabitants of this district are Mohammedans. In the road two rivers are crossed by the traveller, one of which is called <i>Kitchena</i> . It runs from S. E. to N. W.		
From Kottocom to Bornou, the imperial city	N. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.	18

The road lies in part through sand, in part through deep clay. There are many trees. The neighbourhood of the Bahr-el-gazalle seems by the description to be a forest.

The city Bornou is surrounded by a wall, in which there are four gates, opening E., W., N., and S. A small river runs near it, which falls into the Bahr-el-gazalle.

Bergoo is said to be fifteen days in extent from E. to W., and from N. to S. twenty days.—Baghermé, in the former direction, twelve; in the latter, fifteen days.—Baghermé has many troops, but Bergoo is estimated the strongest. The people of Bergoo are remarkable for their zealous attachment to the faith, and read the Korân daily.

Some description of Bergoo.

Within about a day's journey of Wara are said to be eight large mountains, the inhabitants of each of which use a distinct language. They are Mohammedans, and said to be brave, furnishing the armies of the Sultan of Bergoo with recruits as often as required. One of the mountains, called Kergna, is situated S. E.; another W. which is inhabited by a people called Wullad Mazé; Gebel Mimi N., Gebel Abtenûm E., Gebel Abdurrûg E.

Other mountains of Bergoo are, Gebel Tama, N., Gebel Kashimirié, W., each of them two days from Wara. Gebel Abu-hadîd, E. the same distance.

Three days W. of Wara is the river called Bahr Miffelâd.

Bearing. Days.

Route from Wara to Cubcabéa in Dar-Fur, and another route from the last place back to Wara.

From Wara to Abu-ihareb	-	-	S. E.	5
From Abu-ihareb to the confines of Fûr	-	-	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
From the confines to Emdokne	-	-	E.	1
From Emdokne to Dar Miffeladîn	-	-	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \\ 3 \end{array} \right.$
From Miffeladîn to Cubcabéa	-	-		
From Cubcabéa to Jellé	-	-	N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.	1
From Jellé to Jimmer	-	-	N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.	4

The Sultan of Jimmer is subject to Fûr.—The people are Mohammedans. In the road is found water, and the soil is sand and rock.

From Jimmer to Zeghawa	-	-	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.	2
------------------------	---	---	---------------------	---

Mountainous.

The Sultan of Zeghawa is also dependent on Fûr.

From Zeghawa to Tama	-	-	N. N. W.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2\frac{1}{2} \\ 1 \end{array} \right.$
From Tama to the confines	-	-		
From the confines to Abu-senûn	-	-		2
From Abu-senûn to Wara	-	-	W.	8

A Route sometimes taken by the Merchants of Bergoo.

From Wara to Emjûfûr	-	-		2
From Emjûfûr to Timé Degeou	-	-		1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Another Route.

From Wara to Jumbo	-	-	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{S. with little variation E.} \end{array} \right\}$	1
From Jumbo to Doreng	-	-		1
From Doreng to Dageou	-	-		2
From Dageou to Kergna	-	-		2
From Kergna to Ghannîm	-	-		2
From Ghannîm to Dreida	-	-		2

This road is mountainous, soil sandy, many trees.

The people Mohammedans, under the government of Bergoo.

From Dreida to Beneia	-	-	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{N. with little variation E.} \end{array} \right\}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Beneia to Dongata	-	-		3 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Dongata to Bendala	-	-		3 $\frac{1}{2}$

Mountain.

From Bendala to Berjid	-	-	S. S. W.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Berjid to Kibbeid	-	-		3 $\frac{1}{2}$

Mountainous.

From

	Bearing.	Days.
From Kibbeid to Kajachfa	S.	2
From Kajachfa to Baniân		2 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Baniân to Ain		3 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Ain to Kuddano		1 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Kuddano to Gizân	S. E.	2
From Gizân to Wara	S.	4

Another Route from Wara, and returning thither.

From Wara to Middeisîs	N. E.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Middeisîs to Beit-el-Habbûba		2
From Beit-el-Habbûba to Truanié		2 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Truanié to Gidîd		1 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Gidîd to Kuddano		2
From Kuddano to Wara		3

Another Route.

From Wara to Birket-el-Rumli	W. S. W.	4
From Birket-el-Rumli to Goze, or the sands	N.	2
From Goze to Dirota	E.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Dirota to Butta	E.	2
From Butta to Wara	E.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

Near Butta is a small river, of which my informer remembered not the name.—This road is full of a species of tree, whose leaves are described as white, and which bears a fruit, which, however, is not eaten, except by the camels, which are fond of it; it is called *Kulkul*, for *an Caffia tora* Fors?

Route from Cobbé to the Copper Mines of Fertî.

From Cobbé to Cuffé	S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.	1
From Cuffé to Currio		1 $\frac{3}{4}$
From Currio to Treiga		1 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Sandy road.</i>		
From Treiga to Beit Melek Eide		1
From Beit Melek Eide to Dar Miffelâd		3
<i>Rocky.</i>	E.	
From Dar Miffelâd to Dar Marra		1
<i>Caffres</i> —From Dar Marra to Dar Fungaro		3
<i>One day and a half mountain, the remainder forest and clayey soil.</i>		
From Dar Fungaro to Dar-el-abid-ef-Sultan-Fûr		2 $\frac{1}{2}$
From the latter to Dar-el-Nahâs		8 $\frac{1}{2}$

Rocky road, earth where visible is red.

The people wear a flight covering over the parts of generation, in other respects are quite naked.

From Dar-el-Nahas to Bahr Taiha	E.	3
From Bahr Taiha to Bahr-el-abiad		4 $\frac{1}{2}$

The

The former falls into the latter at a place called *Tenderni*, which is peopled by idolaters, called *Cufni*. This spot is full of palm trees, and another kind of tree, which by description would seem to be the cocoa.

Here it is seen that the distance between Cobbé and the copper mine is $23\frac{1}{2}$ days, direction nearly S. and that a certain station on the Bahr-el-abiad is $7\frac{1}{2}$ days distant from that place, direction generally E.

Route from Dar Bergoo to the Sources of the Bahr-el-abiad.

From Abu Telfân South, ten days journey, is said to be the source of the Bahr-el-abiad: but the particulars of the route my informer was unable to give me, he not having travelled it. The place is called Donga, and is the residence of a chief or king of an idolatrous nation. The country there is very mountainous, and in the spot where the river rises are said to be forty distinct hills: these are called Kumri. From them a great number of springs issue, which uniting into one great channel form the Bahr-el-abiad. The people of Bergoo go thither sometimes to seize captives, but there is no trade between them and the natives. The people are quite naked, black, and idolaters. The place is said to be twenty days removed from the confines of Bornou. All the road thither is mountainous. From Donga to Shillûk 30 days.

TRAVELS

IN THE

INTERIOR DISTRICTS OF AFRICA.

By MUNGO PARK.*

CHAP. I.—*The Author proceeds to Waffboe—is joined by some fugitive Kaartans, who accompany him in his Route through Bambarra.—Discovers the Niger.—Some Account of Sego, the Capital of Bambarra.—Mansong, the King, refuses to see the Author, but sends him a present.—Great Hospitality of a Negro Woman.*

WAWRA is a small town surrounded with high walls, and inhabited by a mixture of Mandingoes and Foulahs. The inhabitants employ themselves chiefly in cultivating corn, which they exchange with the Moors for salt. Here, being in security from the Moors, and very much fatigued, I resolved to rest myself; and meeting with a hearty welcome from the Dooty, whose name was Flancharee, I laid myself down upon a bullock's hide, and slept soundly for about two hours. The curiosity of the people would not allow me to sleep any longer. They had seen my saddle and bridle, and were assembled in great number to learn who I was, and whence I came. Some were of opinion that I was an Arab; others insisted that I was some Moorish Sultan; and they continued to debate the matter with such warmth, that the noise awoke me. The Dooty (who had formerly been at Gambia) at last interposed in my behalf, and assured them that I was certainly a white man; but he was convinced, from my appearance, that I was a very poor one.

In the course of the day, several women, hearing that I was going to Sego, came and begged me to inquire of Mansong, the king, what was become of their children. One woman, in particular, told me that her son's name was Mamadee; that he was no Heathen, but prayed to God morning and evening, and had been taken from her about three years ago, by Mansong's army; since which she had never heard of him. She said, she often dreamed about him; and begged me, if I should see him, either in Bambarra, or in my own country, to tell him, that his mother and sister were still alive. In the afternoon, the Dooty examined the contents of the leather bag, in which I had packed up my clothes; but finding nothing that was worth taking, he returned it, and told me to depart in the morning.

July 6th. It rained very much in the night, and at daylight I departed, in company with a Negro, who was going to a town called Dingyee for corn: but we had not proceeded above a mile, before the ass upon which he rode kicked him off, and he returned, leaving me to prosecute the journey by myself.

I reached Dingyee about noon; but the Dooty and most of the inhabitants had gone into the fields to cultivate corn. An old Foulah, observing me wandering about the town, desired me to come to his hut, where I was well entertained; and the Dooty, when he returned, sent me some victuals for myself, and corn for my horse.

July 7th. In the morning, when I was about to depart, my landlord, with a great deal of diffidence, begged me to give him a lock of my hair. He had been told, he said, that white men's hair made a *saphie*, that would give to the possessor all the knowledge of white men. I had never before heard of so simple a mode of education, but instantly complied with the request; and my landlord's thirst for learning was such, that, with cutting and pulling, he cropped one side of my head pretty closely; and would have done the same with the other, had I not signified my disapprobation by putting on my hat, and assuring him, that I wished to reserve some of this precious merchandize for a future occasion.

I reached a small town called Waffiboo, about twelve o'clock, where I was obliged to stop until an opportunity should offer of procuring a guide to Satilé, which is distant a very long day's journey, through woods without any beaten path. I accordingly took up my residence at the Dooty's house, where I staid four days; during which time I amused myself by going to the fields with the family to plant corn. Cultivation is carried on here on a very extensive scale; and, as the natives themselves express it, "hunger is never known." In cultivating the soil, the men and women work together. They use a large sharp hoe, much superior to that used in Gambia: but they are obliged, for fear of the Moors, to carry their arms with them to the field. The master, with the handle of his spear, marks the field into regular plats, one of which is assigned to every three slaves.

On the evening of the 11th, eight of the fugitive Kaartans arrived at Waffiboo.— They had found it impossible to live under the tyrannical government of the Moors, and were now going to transfer their allegiance to the King of Bambarra. They offered to take me along with them as far as Satilé; and I accepted the offer.

July 12th. At daybreak we set out, and travelled with uncommon expedition until sunset: we stopped only twice in the course of the day; once at a watering-place in the woods, and another time at the ruins of a town, formerly belonging to Daify, called *Illa-Compe* (the corn town). When we arrived in the neighbourhood of Satilé, the people who were employed in the corn fields, seeing so many horsemen took us for a party of Moors, and ran screaming away from us. The whole town was instantly alarmed, and the slaves were seen, in every direction, driving the cattle and horses towards the town. It was in vain that one of our company galloped up to undeceive them: it only frightened them the more; and when we arrived at the town, we found the gates shut, and the people all under arms. After a long parley we were permitted to enter; and as there was every appearance of a heavy tornado, the Dooty allowed us to sleep in his baloon, and gave us each a bullock's hide for a bed.

July 13th. Early in the morning we again set forward. The roads were wet and slippery, but the country was very beautiful, abounding with rivulets, which were increased by the rain into rapid streams. About ten o'clock we came to the ruins of a village, which had been destroyed by war about six months before: and in order to prevent any town from being built there in future, the large Bentang tree, under which the natives spent the day, had been burnt down; the wells filled up; and every thing that could make the spot desirable, completely destroyed.

About noon, my horse was so much fatigued that I could not keep up with my companions; I therefore dismounted, and desired them to ride on, telling them, that I would follow as soon as my horse had rested a little. But I found them unwilling to leave me; the lions, they said, were very numerous in those parts, and though they might not so readily attack a body of people, they would soon find out an individual; it was therefore agreed, that one of the company should stay with me, to assist in driving

driving my horse, while the others passed on to Galloo, to procure lodgings, and collect grafs for the horses before night. Accompanied by this worthy Negro, I drove my horse before me until about four o'clock, when we came in sight of Galloo, a considerable town, standing in a fertile and beautiful valley, surrounded with high rocks.

As my companions had thoughts of settling in this neighbourhood, they had a fine sheep given them by the Dooty; and I was fortunate enough to procure plenty of corn for my horse. Here they blow upon elephants teeth when they announce evening prayers, in the same manner as at Kemmoo.

Early next morning (July 14th), having first returned many thanks to our landlord for his hospitality, while my fellow-travellers offered up their prayers that he might never want, we set forward; and about three o'clock arrived at Moorja; a large town, famous for its trade in salt, which the Moors bring here in great quantities, to exchange for corn and cotton cloth. As most of the people here are Mahomedans, it is not allowed to the Kafirs to drink beer, which they call *Neo-dollo* (corn spirit,) except in certain houses. In one of these I saw about twenty people sitting round large vessels of this beer, with the greatest conviviality; many of them in a state of intoxication. As corn is plentiful, the inhabitants are very liberal to strangers; I believe we had as much corn and milk sent us by different people, as would have been sufficient for three times our number; and though we remained here two days, we experienced no diminution of their hospitality.

On the morning of the 16th, we again set forward, accompanied by a coflee of fourteen asses loaded with salt, bound for Sanfanding. The road was particularly romantic, between two rocky hills; but the Moors sometimes lie in wait here to plunder strangers. As soon as we had reached the open country, the master of the salt coflee thanked us for having staid with him so long, and now desired us to ride on. The sun was almost set before we reached Datliboo. In the evening we had a most tremendous tornado. The house in which we lodged, being flat-roofed, admitted the rain in streams; the floor was soon ankle-deep, the fire extinguished, and we were left to pass the night upon some bundles of fire-wood, that happened to lie in a corner.

July 17th. We departed from Datliboo; and about ten o'clock passed a large coflee returning from Sego, with corn hoes, mats, and other household utensils. At five o'clock we came to a large village, where we intended to pass the night, but the Dooty would not receive us. When we departed from this place, my horse was so much fatigued that I was under the necessity of driving him, and it was dark before we reached Fanimboo, a small village; the Dooty of which no sooner heard that I was a white man, than he brought out three old muskets, and was much disappointed when he was told that I could not repair them.

July 18th. We continued our journey; but, owing to a light supper the preceding night, we felt ourselves rather hungry this morning, and endeavoured to procure some corn at a village; but without success. The towns were now more numerous, and the land that is not employed in cultivation affords excellent pasturage for large herds of cattle; but owing to the great concourse of people daily going to and returning from Sego, the inhabitants are less hospitable to strangers.

My horse becoming weaker and weaker every day, was now of very little service to me: I was obliged to drive him before me for the greater part of the day; and did not reach Geoforro until eight o'clock in the evening. I found my companions wrangling with the Dooty, who had absolutely refused to give or sell them any provisions; and as none of us had tasted victuals for the last twenty-four hours, we were by no means disposed to fast another day, if we could help it. But finding our entreaties

without effect, and being very much fatigued, I fell asleep, from which I was awakened, about midnight, with the joyful information "*Kinnenata*" (the victuals is come). This made the remainder of the night pass away pleasantly; and at day-break, July 19th, we resumed our journey, proposing to stop at a village called Doolinkeaboo, for the night following. My fellow-travellers, having better horses than myself, soon left me, and I was walking barefoot, driving my horse, when I was met by a coffle of slaves, about seventy in number, coming from Sego. They were tied together by their necks with thongs of a bullock's hide, twisted like a rope, seven slaves upon a thong, and a man with a musket between every seven. Many of the slaves were ill-conditioned, and a great number of them women. In the rear came Sidi Mahomed's servant, whom I remembered to have seen at the camp of Benown: he presently knew me, and told me that these slaves were going to Morocco, by the way of Ludamar, and the Great Desert.

In the afternoon, as I approached Doolinkeaboo, I met about twenty Moors on horseback, the owners of the slaves I had seen in the morning; they were well armed with muskets, and were very inquisitive concerning me, but not so rude as their countrymen generally are. From them I learned that Sidi Mahomed was not at Sego, but had gone to Kancaba for gold dust.

When I arrived at Doolinkeaboo, I was informed that my fellow-travellers had gone on; but my horse was so much fatigued that I could not possibly proceed after them. The Dooty of the town, at my request, gave me a draught of water, which is generally looked upon as an earnest of greater hospitality; and I had no doubt of making up for the toils of the day, by a good supper and a sound sleep: unfortunately, I had neither one nor the other. The night was rainy and tempestuous, and the Dooty limited his hospitality to the draught of water.

July 20th. In the morning, I endeavoured, both by entreaties and threats, to procure some victuals from the Dooty, but in vain. I even begged some corn from one of his female slaves, as she was washing it at the well, and had the mortification to be refused. However, when the Dooty was gone to the fields, his wife sent me a handful of meal, which I mixed with water, and drank for breakfast. About eight o'clock, I departed from Doolinkeaboo, and at noon stopped a few minutes at a large Korree; where I had some milk given me by the Foulahs. And hearing that two Negroes were going from thence to Sego, I was happy to have their company, and we set out immediately. About four o'clock we stopped at a small village, where one of the Negroes met with an acquaintance, who invited us to a sort of public entertainment, which was conducted with more than common propriety. A dish made of sour milk and meal, called *Sinkatoo*, and beer made from their corn, was distributed with great liberality; and the women were admitted into the society: a circumstance I had never before observed in Africa. There was no compulsion; every one was at liberty to drink as he pleased: they nodded to each other when about to drink, and on setting down the calabash, commonly said *berka*, (thank you). Both men and women appeared to be somewhat intoxicated, but they were far from being quarrelsome.

Departing from thence we passed several large villages, where I was constantly taken for a Moor, and became the subject of much merriment to the Bambarrans; who, seeing me drive my horse before me, laughed heartily at my appearance.—He has been at Mecca, says one; you may see that by his clothes: another asked me if my horse was sick; a third wished to purchase it, &c.; so that I believe the very slaves were ashamed to be seen in my company. Just before it was dark, we took up our lodging for the night at a small village, where I procured some victuals for myself and some

corn for my horse, at the moderate price of a button; and was told that I should see the Niger (which the Negroes call Joliba or *the great water*), early the next day. The lions are here very numerous; the gates are shut a little after sunset, and nobody allowed to go out. The thoughts of seeing the Niger in the morning, and the troublesome buzzing of musketoos, prevented me from shutting my eyes during the night; and I had saddled my horse and was in readiness before daylight; but, on account of the wild beasts, we were obliged to wait until the people were stirring, and the gates opened. This happened to be a market-day at Sego, and the roads were every where filled with people carrying different articles to sell. We passed four large villages, and at eight o'clock saw the smoke over Sego.

As we approached the town, I was fortunate enough to overtake the fugitive Kaartans, to whose kindness I had been so much indebted in my journey through Bambarra. They readily agreed to introduce me to the king; and we rode together through some marshy ground, where, as I was anxiously looking around for the river, one of them called out, *geo affilli* (see the water); and looking forwards, I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission; the long-sought-for majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly *to the eastward*. I hastened to the brink, and having drank of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer, to the Great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success.

The circumstance of the Niger's flowing towards the east, and its collateral points, did not, however, excite my surprise; for although I had left Europe in great hesitation on this subject, and rather believed that it ran in the contrary direction, I had made such frequent inquiries during my progress, concerning this river, and received from Negroes of different nations such clear and decisive assurances that its general course was *towards the rising sun*, as scarce left any doubt on my mind; and more especially as I knew that Major Houghton had collected similar information, in the same manner.

Sego, the capital of Bambarra, at which I had now arrived, consists, properly speaking, of four distinct towns; two on the northern bank of the Niger, called Sego Korro, and Sego Boo; and two on the southern bank called Sego Soo Korro, and Sego See Korro. They are all surrounded with high mud walls; the houses are built of clay, of a square form, with flat roofs; some of them have two stories, and many of them are white-washed. Besides these buildings, Moorish mosques are seen in every quarter; and the streets, though narrow, are broad enough for every useful purpose, in a country where wheel carriages are entirely unknown. From the best inquiries I could make, I have reason to believe that Sego contains altogether about thirty thousand inhabitants. The King of Bambarra constantly resides at Sego See Korro; he employs a great many slaves in conveying people over the river, and the money they receive (though the fare is only ten kowie shells for each individual) furnishes a considerable revenue to the king, in the course of a year. The canoes are of a singular construction, each of them being formed of the trunks of two large trees, rendered concave, and joined together, not side by side, but end ways; the junction being exactly across the middle of the canoe: they are therefore very long and disproportionably narrow, and have neither decks nor masts; they are, however very roomy; for I observed in one of them four horses, and several people crossing over the river. When we arrived at this ferry, with a view to pass over to that part of the town in which the king resides, we found a great number waiting for a passage; they looked at me with silent wonder, and I distinguished

with concern, many Moors among them. There were three different places of embarkation, and the ferrymen were very diligent and expeditious; but, from the crowd of people, I could not immediately obtain a passage; and sat down upon the bank of the river, to wait for a more favourable opportunity. The view of this extensive city; the numerous canoes upon the river; the crowded population and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, formed altogether a prospect of civilization and magnificence which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa.

I waited more than two hours without having an opportunity of crossing the river; during which time the people who had crossed, carried information to Manfong the king, that a white man was waiting for a passage and was coming to see him. He immediately sent over one of his chief men, who informed me that the king could not possibly see me until he knew what had brought me into his country; and that I must not presume to cross the river without the king's permission. He therefore advised me to lodge at a distant village, to which he pointed, for the night; and said that in the morning he would give me further instructions how to conduct myself. This was very discouraging. However, as there was no remedy, I set off for the village; where I found, to my great mortification, that no person would admit me into his house. I was regarded with astonishment and fear, and was obliged to sit all day without victuals, in the shade of a tree; and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable, for the wind rose, and there was great appearance of a heavy rain; and the wild beasts are so very numerous in the neighbourhood that I should have been under the necessity of climbing up the tree, and resting among the branches. About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose, that he might graze at liberty, a woman returning from the labours of the field, stopped to observe me, and perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her: whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat on the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, she said she would procure me something to eat. She accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish; which having caused to be half broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rites of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress (pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without apprehension) called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton; in which they continued to employ themselves great part of the night. They lightened their labour by songs, one of which was composed extempore; for I was myself the subject of it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a sort of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words, literally translated were these.—“The winds roared, and the rains fell.—The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree.—he has no mother to bring him milk; no wife to grind his corn.—*Chorus.* Let us pity the white man; no mother has he, &c. &c.”—Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a person in my situation, the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was oppressed by such unexpected kindness; and sleep fled from my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons which remained on my waistcoat: the only recompense I could make her.

July 21st. I continued in the village all this day, in conversation with the natives, who came in crowds to see me; but was rather uneasy towards evening, to find that no message had arrived from the king, the more so, as the people began to whisper that Mansong had received some very unfavourable accounts of me, from the Moors and Slatees residing at Sego; who it seems were exceedingly suspicious concerning the motives of my journey. I learnt that many consultations had been held with the king, concerning my reception and disposal: and some of the villagers frankly told me, that I had many enemies, and must expect no favour.

July 22d. About eleven o'clock, a messenger arrived from the king; but he gave me very little satisfaction. He inquired particularly if I had brought any present; and seemed much disappointed when he was told that I had been robbed of every thing by the Moors. When I proposed to go along with him, he told me to stop until the afternoon, when the king would send for me.

July 23. In the afternoon another messenger arrived from Mansong, with a bag in his hands. He told me it was the king's pleasure that I should depart forthwith from the vicinage of Sego: but that Mansong, wishing to relieve a white man in distress, had sent me five thousand kowries,* to enable me to purchase provisions in the course of my journey; the messenger added, that if my intentions were really to proceed to Jenné, he had orders to accompany me as a guide to Sansanding. I was, at first, puzzled to account for this behaviour of the king; but from the conversation I had with the guide, I had afterwards reason to believe that Mansong would willingly have admitted me into his presence at Sego; but was apprehensive he might not be able to protect me against the blind and inveterate malice of the Moorish inhabitants. His conduct, therefore, was at once prudent and liberal. The circumstances under which I made my appearance at Sego, were undoubtedly such as might create in the mind of the king, a well-warranted suspicion that I wished to conceal the true object of my journey. He argued, probably, as my guide argued: who, when he was told, that I had come from a great distance, and through many dangers, to behold the Joliba river, naturally inquired, if there were no rivers in my own country, and whether one river was not like another. Notwithstanding this, and in spite of the jealous machinations of the Moors, this benevolent prince thought it sufficient, that a white man was found in his dominions, in a condition of extreme wretchedness, and that no other plea was necessary to entitle the sufferer to his bounty.

CHAP. II.—*Departure from Sego, and Arrival at Kabba.—Description of the Shea or vegetable Butter Tree.—The Author and his Guide arrive at Sansanding.—Behaviour of the Moors at that Place.—The Author pursues his Journey to the Eastward.—Incidents on the Road.—Arrives at Modiboo, and proceeds for Kea; but obliged to leave his Horse by the Way.—Embarks at Kea in a Fisherman's Canoe for Moorzan; is conveyed from thence across the Niger to Silla.—Determines to proceed no further Eastward.—Some Account of the further Course of the Niger, and the Towns in its Vicinage, towards the East.*

BEING, in the manner that has been related, compelled to leave Sego, I was conducted the same evening to a village about seven miles to the eastward, with some

* Mention has already been made of these little shells, which pass current as money in many parts of the East Indies as well as Africa. In Bambarra, and the adjacent countries, where the necessaries of life are very cheap, one hundred of them would commonly purchase a day's provisions for myself, and corn for my horse. I reckoned about two hundred and fifty kowries equal to one shilling.

of the inhabitants of which my guide was acquainted, and by whom we were well received.* He was very friendly and communicative, and spoke highly of the hospitality of his countrymen; but withal told me, that if Jenné was the place of my destination, which he seemed to have hitherto doubted, I had undertaken an enterprise of greater danger than probably I was apprized of: for, although the town of Jenné was, nominally, a part of the King of Bambarra's dominions, it was in fact, he said, a city of the Moors; the leading part of the inhabitants being Bushreens, and even the governor himself, though appointed by Mansong, of the same sect. Thus was I in danger of falling a second time into the hands of men who would consider it not only justifiable, but meritorious, to destroy me: and this reflection was aggravated by the circumstance that the danger increased, as I advanced in my journey; for I learned that the places beyond Jenné were under the Moorish influence, in a still greater degree than Jenné itself; and Tombuctoo, the great object of my search, altogether in possession of that savage and merciless people, who allow no Christian to live there. But I had now advanced too far to think of returning to the westward, on such vague and uncertain information, and determined to proceed; and being accompanied by the guide, I departed from the village on the morning of the 24th. About eight o'clock, we passed a large town called Kabba, situated in the midst of a beautiful and highly cultivated country; bearing a greater resemblance to the centre of England, than to what I should have supposed had been the middle of Africa. The people were every where employed in collecting the fruit of the Shea trees, from which they prepare vegetable butter.—These trees grow in great abundance all over this part of Bambarra. They are not planted by the natives, but are found growing naturally in the woods; and in clearing wood land for cultivation, every tree is cut down but the Shea. The tree itself very much resembles the American oak; and the fruit, from the kernel of which, being first dried in the sun, the butter is prepared, by boiling the kernel in water, has somewhat the appearance of a Spanish olive. The kernel is enveloped in a sweet pulp, under a thin green rind; and the butter produced from it, besides the advantage of its keeping the whole year without salt, is whiter, firmer, and, to my palate, of a richer flavour than the best butter I ever tasted made from cow's milk. The growth and preparation of this commodity, seem to be among the first objects of African industry in this and the neighbouring states; and it constitutes a main article of their inland commerce.

We passed, in the course of the day, a great many villages, inhabited chiefly by fishermen; and in the evening about five o'clock arrived at Sansanding; a very large town, containing, as I was told, from eight to ten thousand inhabitants. This place is much resorted to by the Moors, who bring salt from Beeroo, and beads and coral from the Mediterranean, to exchange here for gold dust, and cotton cloth. This cloth they sell to great advantage in Beeroo, and other Moorish countries, where, on account of the want of rain, no cotton is cultivated.

I desired my guide to conduct me to the house in which we were to lodge, by the most private way possible. We accordingly rode along between the town and the river, passing by a creek or harbour, in which I observed twenty large canoes, most of them fully loaded, and covered with mats, to prevent the rain from injuring the goods. As we proceeded, three other canoes arrived, two with passengers, and one with goods.

* I should have before observed, that I found the language of Bambarra, a sort of corrupted Mandingo. After a little practice, I understood, and spoke it without difficulty.

I was happy to find that all the Negro inhabitants took me for a Moor; under which character I should probably have passed unmolested, had not a Moor, who was sitting by the river side, discovered the mistake, and setting up a loud exclamation, brought together a number of his countrymen.

When I arrived at the house of Counti Mamadi, the Dooty of the town, I was surrounded with hundreds of people, speaking a variety of different dialects, all equally unintelligible to me. At length, by the assistance of my guide, who acted as interpreter, I understood that one of the spectators pretended to have seen me at one place, and another at some other place; and a Moorish woman absolutely swore that she had kept my house three years at Gallam on the river Senegal. It was plain that they mistook me for some other person; and I desired two of the most confident, to point towards the place where they had seen me. They pointed due south; hence I think it probable that they came from Cape Coast, where they might have seen many white men. Their language was different from any I had yet heard. The Moors now assembled in great numbers; with their usual arrogance, compelling the Negroes to stand at a distance. They immediately began to question me concerning my religion; but finding that I was not master of the Arabic, they sent for two men, whom they call *Ilbuidi* (Jews), in hopes that they might be able to converse with me. These Jews, in dress and appearance, very much resemble the Arabs; but though they so far conform to the religion of Mahomet, as to recite, in public, prayers from the Koran, they are but little respected by the Negroes; and even the Moors themselves allowed, that though I was a Christian, I was a better man than a Jew. They, however, insisted, that, like the Jews, I must conform so far as to repeat the Mahomedan prayers; and when I attempted to waive the subject, by telling them that I could not speak Arabic, one of them, a Shereef from Tuat, in the Great Desert, started up and swore by the Prophet, that if I refused to go to the mosque, he would be one that would assist in carrying me thither. And there is no doubt but this threat would have been immediately executed, had not my landlord interposed in my behalf. He told them, that I was the king's stranger, and he could not see me ill treated, whilst I was under his protection. He therefore advised them to let me alone for the night; assuring them, that, in the morning I should be sent about my business. This somewhat appeased their clamour; but they compelled me to ascend a high seat, by the door of the mosque, in order that every body might see me; for the people had assembled in such numbers as to be quite ungovernable; climbing upon the houses, and squeezing each other, like the spectators at an execution. Upon this seat I remained until sunset, when I was conducted into a neat little hut, with a small court before it; the door of which Counti Mamadi shut, to prevent any person from disturbing me. But this precaution could not exclude the Moors. They climbed over the top of the mud wall, and came in crowds into the court, in order, they said, to see me *perform my evening devotions, and eat eggs*. The former of these ceremonies, I did not think proper to comply with; but I told them I had no objection to eat eggs, provided they would bring me eggs to eat. My landlord immediately brought me seven hen's eggs, and was much surprised to find that I could not eat them raw; for it seems to be a prevalent opinion among the inhabitants of the interior, that Europeans subsist almost entirely on this diet. When I had succeeded, in persuading my landlord that this opinion was without foundation, and that I would gladly partake of any victuals which he might think proper to send me; he ordered a sheep to be killed, and part of it to be dressed for my supper. About midnight, when the Moors had left me, he paid me a visit, and with much earnestness desired me to write him a saphie. "If a Moor's saphie is good," (said

(said this hospitable old man), a white man's must needs be better." I readily furnished him with one, possessed of all the virtues I could concentrate; for it contained the Lord's prayer. The pen with which it was written was made of a reed; a little charcoal and gum-water made very tolerable ink, and a thin board answered the purpose of paper.

July 25th. Early in the morning, before the Moors were assembled, I departed from Sanfanding, and slept the ensuing night at a small town call Sibili; from whence, on the day following, I reached Nyara, a large town at some distance from the river, where I halted the 27th, to have my clothes washed, and recruit my horse. The Dooty there has a very commodious house, flat roofed, and two stories high. He shewed me some gunpowder of his own manufacturing; and pointed out as a great curiosity a little brown monkey, that was tied to a stake by the door, telling me that it came from a far-distant country, called Kong.

July 28th. I departed from Nyara, and reached Nyamee about noon. This town is inhabited chiefly by Foulahs, from the kingdom of Masina. The Dooty (I know not why) would not receive me, but civilly sent his son on horseback, to conduct me to Modiboo; which, he assured me, was at no great distance.

We rode nearly in a direct line through the woods; but in general went forwards with great circumspection. I observed that my guide frequently stopped, and looked under the bushes. On inquiring the reason of this caution, he told me that lions were very numerous in that part of the country, and frequently attacked people travelling through the woods. While he was speaking, my horse started, and looking round, I observed a large animal of the camelopard kind, standing at a little distance. The neck and fore legs were very long; the head was furnished with two short black horns, turning backwards; the tail, which reached down to the ham joint, had a tuft of hair at the end. The animal was of a mouse colour; and it trotted away from us in a very sluggish manner; moving its head from side to side, to see if we were pursuing it. Shortly after this, as we were crossing a large open plain, where there were a few scattered bushes, my guide, who was a little way before me, wheeled his horse round in a moment, calling out something in the Foulah language, which I did not understand. I inquired in Mandingo what he meant; *Wara billi billi*, a very large lion, said he; and made signs for me to ride away. But my horse was too much fatigued: so we rode slowly past the bush, from which the animal had given us the alarm. Not seeing any thing myself, however, I thought my guide had been mistaken, when the Foulah suddenly put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming, *Soubah an allubi* (God preserve us!) and to my great surprise I then perceived a large red lion, at a short distance from the bush, with his head couched between his fore paws. I expected he would instantly spring upon me, and instinctively pulled my feet from my stirrups to throw myself on the ground, that my horse might become the victim, rather than myself. But it is probable the lion was not hungry; for he quietly suffered us to pass, though we were fairly within his reach. My eyes were so rivetted upon this sovereign of the beasts, that I found it impossible to remove them, until we were at a considerable distance. We now took a circuitous route, through some swampy ground, to avoid any more of these disagreeable rencounters. At sunset we arrived at Modiboo, a delightful village on the banks of the Niger, commanding a view of the river for many miles, both to the east and west. The small green islands (the peaceful retreat of some industrious Foulahs, whose cattle are here secure from the depredations of wild beasts,) and the majestic breadth of the river, which is here much larger than at Sego, render the situation one of the most enchanting in the world.

Here

Here are caught great plenty of fish, by means of long cotton nets, which the natives make themselves, and use nearly in the same manner as nets are used in Europe. I observed the head of a crocodile lying upon one of the houses, which they told me had been killed by the shepherds, in a swamp near the town. These animals are not uncommon in the Niger; but I believe they are not oftentimes found dangerous. They are of little account to the traveller, when compared with the amazing swarms of musquitoes, which rise from the swamps and creeks, in such numbers as to harass even the most torpid of the natives; and as my clothes were now almost worn to rags, I was but ill prepared to resist their attacks. I usually passed the night without shutting my eyes, walking backwards and forwards, fanning myself with my hat; their stings raised numerous blisters on my legs and arms; which, together with the want of rest, made me very feverish and uneasy.

July 29th. Early in the morning, my landlord observing that I was sickly, hurried me away; sending a servant with me as a guide to Kea. But though I was little able to walk, my horse was still less able to carry me; and about six miles to the east of Modiboo, in crossing some rough clayey ground he fell; and the united strength of the guide and myself, could not place him again upon his legs. I sat down for some time beside this worn-out associate of my adventures; but finding him still unable to rise, I took off the saddle and bridle, and placed a quantity of grass before him. I surveyed the poor animal, as he lay panting on the ground, with sympathetic emotion; for I could not suppress the sad apprehension that I should myself, in a short time, lie down and perish in the same manner, of fatigue and hunger. With this foreboding I left my poor horse; and with great reluctance followed my guide on foot, along the bank of the river, until about noon; when we reached Kea, which I found to be nothing more than a small fishing village. The Dooty, a surly old man, who was sitting by the gate, received me very coolly; and when I informed him of my situation, and begged his protection, told me, with great indifference, that he paid very little attention to fine speeches, and that I should not enter his house. My guide remonstrated in my favour, but to no purpose; for the Dooty remained inflexible in his determination. I knew not where to rest my wearied limbs, but was happily relieved by a fishing canoe, belonging to Silla, which was at that moment coming down the river. The Dooty waved to the fisherman to come near, and desired him to take charge of me as far as Moorzan. The fisherman, after some hesitation, consented to carry me; and I embarked in the canoe, in company with the fisherman, his wife, and a boy. The Negro who had conducted me from Modiboo, now left me; I requested him to look to my horse on his return, and take care of him if he was still alive, which he promised to do.

Departing from Kea, we proceeded about a mile down the river, when the fisherman paddled the canoe to the bank, and desired me to jump out. Having tied the canoe to a stake, he stripped off his clothes, and dived for such a length of time, that I thought he had actually drowned himself, and was surprised to see his wife behave with so much indifference upon the occasion; but my fears were over when he raised up his head astern of the canoe, and called for a rope. With this rope he dived a second time, and then got into the canoe, and ordered the boy to assist him in pulling. At length, they brought up a large basket, about ten feet in diameter, containing two fine fish, which the fisherman (after returning the basket into the water) immediately carried ashore, and hid in the grass. We then went a little further down, and took up another basket, in which was one fish. The fisherman now left us, to carry his

prizes to some neighbouring market; and the woman and boy proceeded with me in the canoe, down the river.

About four o'clock we arrived at Moorzan, a fishing-town on the northern bank; from whence I was conveyed across the river to Silla, a large town; where I remained until it was quite dark, under a tree, surrounded by hundreds of people. But their language was very different from the other parts of Bambarra; and I was informed that in my progress eastward, the Bambarra tongue was but little understood, and that when I reached Jenné, I should find that the majority of the inhabitants spoke a different language, called *Jenné Kummo*, by the Negroes; and *Kalam Soudan*, by the Moors.

With a great deal of intreaty, the Dooty allowed me to come into his baloon, to avoid the rain; but the place was very damp, and I had a smart paroxysm of fever during the night. Worn down by sickness, exhausted with hunger and fatigue; half naked, and without any article of value, by which I might procure provisions, clothes, or lodging; I began to reflect seriously on my situation. I was now convinced by painful experience, that the obstacles to my further progress were insurmountable. The tropical rains were already set in with all their violence; the rice grounds and swamps were every where overflowed; and in a few days more, travelling of every kind, unless by water, would be completely obstructed. The kowries which remained of the King of Bambarra's present, were not sufficient to enable me to hire a canoe for any great distance; and I had but little hopes of subsisting by charity, in a country where the Moors have such influence. But above all, I perceived that I was advancing more and more within the power of those merciless fanatics; and from my reception both at Sego and Sansanding, I was apprehensive that, in attempting to reach even Jenné (unless under the protection of some man of consequence amongst them, which I had no means of obtaining), I should sacrifice my life to no purpose; for my discoveries would perish with me. The prospect either way was gloomy. In returning to the Gambia, a journey on foot of many hundred miles presented itself to my contemplation, through regions and countries unknown. Nevertheless, this seemed to be the only alternative; for I saw inevitable destruction in attempting to proceed to the eastward. With this conviction on my mind, I hope my readers will acknowledge, that I did right in going no farther. I had made every effort to execute my mission in its fullest extent, which prudence could justify. Had there been the most distant prospect of a successful termination, neither the unavoidable hardships of the journey, nor the dangers of a second captivity, should have forced me to desist. This, however, necessity compelled me to do; and whatever may be the opinion of my general readers on this point, it affords me inexpressible satisfaction, that my honourable employers have been pleased, since my return, to express their full approbation of my conduct.

Having thus brought my mind, after much doubt and perplexity, to a determination to return westward; I thought it incumbent on me, before I left Silla, to collect from the Moorish and Negro traders, all the information I could, concerning the further course of the Niger eastward, and the situation and extent of the kingdoms in its vicinage; and the following few notices I received from such various quarters, as induce me to think they are authentic.

Two short days journey to the eastward of Silla, is the town of Jenné, which is situated on a small island in the river; and is said to contain a greater number of inhabitants than Sego itself, or any other town in Bambarra. At the distance of two days
more,

more, the river spreads into a considerable lake, called *Dibbie* (or the dark lake), concerning the extent of which, all the information I could obtain was, that in crossing it, from west to east, the canoes lose sight of land one whole day. From this lake the water issues in many different streams, which terminate in two large branches, one whereof flows towards the north-east, and the other to the east; but these branches join at Kabra, which is one day's journey to the southward of Tombuctoo, and is the port or shipping-place of that city. The tract of land which the two streams encircle, is called Jinbala, and is inhabited by Negroes; and the whole distance, by land, from Jenné to Tombuctoo, is twelve days' journey.

From Kabra, at the distance of eleven days' journey, down the stream, the river passes to the southward of Houssa, which is two days' journey distant from the river. Of the further progress of this great river, and its final exit, all the natives with whom I conversed, seemed to be entirely ignorant. Their commercial pursuits seldom induce them to travel further than the cities of Tombuctoo and Houssa; and as the sole object of those journies is the acquirement of wealth, they pay but little attention to the course of rivers, or the geography of countries. It is, however, highly probable that the Niger affords a safe and easy communication between very remote nations. All my informants agreed, that many of the Negro merchants who arrive at Tombuctoo and Houssa, from the eastward, speak a different language from that of Bambarra, or any other kingdom with which they are acquainted. But even these merchants, it would seem, are ignorant of the termination of the river, for such of them as can speak Arabic, describe the amazing length of its course in very general terms; saying only that they believe it *runs to the world's end*.

The names of many kingdoms to the eastward of Houssa, are familiar to the inhabitants of Bambarra. I was shewn quivers and arrows of very curious workmanship, which I was informed came from the kingdom of Kaffina.

On the northern bank of the Niger, at a short distance from Silla, is the kingdom of Mafina, which is inhabited by Foulahs. They employ themselves there, as in other places, chiefly in pasturage, and pay an annual tribute to the King of Bambarra, for the lands which they occupy.

To the north-east of Mafina, is situated the kingdom of Tombuctoo, the great object of European research: the capital of this kingdom being one of the principal marts for that extensive commerce which the Moors carry on with the Negroes. The hopes of acquiring wealth in this pursuit, and zeal for propagating their religion, have filled this extensive city with Moors and Mahomedan converts; the King himself, and all the chief officers of state are Moors; and they are said to be more severe and intolerant in their principles than any other of the Moorish tribes in this part of Africa. I was informed by a venerable old Negro, that when he first visited Tombuctoo, he took up his lodging at a sort of public inn, the landlord of which, when he conducted him into his hut, spread a mat on the floor, and laid a rope upon it; saying, "If you are a Mussulman you are my friend, sit down; but if you are a Kafir, you are my slave, and with this rope I will lead you to market." The present King of Tombuctoo is named *Abu Abraham*; he is reported to possess immense riches. His wives and concubines are said to be clothed in silk, and the chief officers of state live in considerable splendour. The whole expence of his government is defrayed, as I was told, by a tax upon merchandize, which is collected at the gates of the city.

The city of Houssa (the capital of a large kingdom of the same name, situated to the eastward of Tombuctoo,) is another great mart for Moorish commerce. I conversed with many merchants who had visited that city; and they all agreed that it is larger,

and more populous, than Tombuctoo. The trade, police, and government, are nearly the same in both; but in Houssa, the negroes are in greater proportion to the Moors, and have some share in the government.

Concerning the small kingdom of Jinbala, I was not able to collect much information. The soil is said to be remarkably fertile, and the whole country so full of creeks and swamps, that the Moors have hitherto been baffled in every attempt to subdue it. The inhabitants are Negroes, and some of them are said to live in considerable affluence, particularly those near the capital; which is a resting-place for such merchants as transport goods from Tombuctoo to the western parts of Africa.

To the southward of Jinbala, is situated the Negro kingdom of Gotto, which is said to be of great extent. It was formerly divided into a number of petty states, which were governed by their own chiefs; but their private quarrels invited invasion from the neighbouring kingdoms. At length a politic chief, of the name of Moofee, had address enough to make them unite in hostilities against Bambarra; and on this occasion he was unanimously chosen general; the different chiefs consenting for a time to act under his command. Moofee immediately dispatched a fleet of canoes, loaded with provisions, from the banks of the lake Dibbie up the Niger, towards Jenné, and with the whole of his army pushed forwards into Bambarra. He arrived on the banks of the Niger opposite to Jenné, before the townspeople had the smallest intimation of his approach; his fleet of canoes joined him the same day, and having landed the provisions, he embarked part of his army, and in the night took Jenné by storm. This event so terrified the King of Bambarra, that he sent messengers to sue for peace, and in order to obtain it, consented to deliver to Moofee a certain number of slaves every year; and return every thing that had been taken from the inhabitants of Gotto. Moofee, thus triumphant, returned to Gotto, where he was declared king, and the capital of the country is called by his name.

On the west of Gotto is the kingdom of Baedoo, which was conquered by the present King of Bambarra about seven years ago, and has continued tributary to him ever since.

West of Baedoo is Maniana; the inhabitants of which, according to the best information I was able to collect, are cruel and ferocious: carrying their resentment towards their enemies so far as never to give quarter; and even to indulge themselves with unnatural and disgusting banquets of human flesh.

I am well aware that the accounts which the negroes give of their enemies, ought to be received with great caution; but I heard the same account in so many different kingdoms, and from such variety of people, whose veracity I had no occasion to suspect, that I am disposed to allow it some degree of credit. The inhabitants of Bambarra, in the course of a long and bloody war, must have had frequent opportunities of satisfying themselves as to the fact; and if the report had been entirely without foundation, I cannot conceive why the term *Madummulo* (man eaters), should be applied exclusively to the inhabitants of Maniana.

CHAP. III. — *The Author returns Westward — arrives at Modiboo, and recovers his Horse — finds great Difficulty in travelling, in consequence of the Rains, and the overflowing of the River ; — is informed that the King of Bambarra had sent Persons to apprehend him ; — avoids Sego, and prosecutes his Journey along the Banks of the Niger. — Incidents on the Road. — Cruelties attendant on African Wars. — The Author crosses the River Frina, and arrives at Tufara.*

HAVING, for the reasons assigned in the last chapter, determined to proceed no farther eastward than Silla, I acquainted the dooty with my intention of returning to Sego, proposing to travel along the southern side of the river ; but he informed me, that from the number of creeks and swamps on that side, it was impossible to travel by any other route than along the northern bank ; and even that route, he said, would soon be impassable on account of the overflowing of the river. However, as he commended my determination to return westward, he agreed to speak to some one of the fishermen to carry me over to Moorzan. I accordingly stepped into a canoe about eight o'clock in the morning of July 30th, and in about an hour was landed at Moorzan. At this place I hired a canoe for sixty kowries, and in the afternoon arrived at Kea ; where, for forty kowries more, the dooty permitted me to sleep in the same hut with one of his slaves. This poor Negro, perceiving that I was sickly, and that my clothes were very ragged, humanely lent me a large cloth to cover me for the night.

July 31st. The dooty's brother being going to Modiboo, I embraced the opportunity of accompanying him thither, there being no beaten road. He promised to carry my saddle, which I had left at Kea when my horse fell down in the woods, as I now proposed to present it to the King of Bambarra.

We departed from Kea at eight o'clock, and about a mile to the westward observed, on the bank of the river, a great number of earthen jars piled up together. They were very neatly formed, but not glazed ; and were evidently of that sort of pottery which is manufactured at Downie (a town to the west of Tombuctoo), and sold to great advantage in different parts of Bambarra. As we approached towards the jars, my companion plucked up a large handful of herbage, and threw it upon them ; making signs for me to do the same, which I did. He then, with great seriousness, told me that these jars belonged to some supernatural power ; that they were found in their present situation about two years ago : and as no person had claimed them, every traveller as he passed them, from respect to the invisible proprietor, threw some grass, or the branch of a tree, upon the heap, to defend the jars from the rain.

Thus conversing, we travelled in the most friendly manner until, unfortunately, we perceived the footsteps of a lion, quite fresh in the mud, near the river side. My companion now proceeded with great circumspection ; and at last, coming to some thick underwood, he insisted that I should walk before him. I endeavoured to excuse myself, by alledging that I did not know the road ; but he obstinately persisted ; and after a few high words and menacing looks, threw down the saddle and went away. This very much disconcerted me : but as I had given up all hopes of obtaining a horse, I could not think of encumbering myself with a saddle ; and taking off the stirrups and girths, I threw the saddle into the river. The Negro no sooner saw me throw the saddle into the water, than he came running from among the bushes where he had concealed himself, jumped into the river, and by help of his spear,

brought out the saddle, and ran away with it. I continued my course along the bank ; but as the wood was remarkably thick, and I had reason to believe that a lion was at no great distance, I became much alarmed, and took a long circuit through the bushes to avoid him.

About four in the afternoon I reached Modiboo, where I found my saddle. The guide, who had got there before me, being afraid that I should inform the King of his conduct, had brought the saddle with him in a canoe.

While I was conversing with the dooty, and remonstrating against the guide for having left me in such a situation, I heard a horse neigh in one of the huts ; and the dooty inquired, with a smile, if I knew who was speaking to me ? He explained himself, by telling me that my horse was still alive, and somewhat recovered from his fatigue ; but he insisted that I should take him along with me ; adding, that he had once kept a Moor's horse for four months, and when the horse had recovered and got into good condition, the Moor returned and claimed it, and refused to give him any reward for his trouble.

Aug. 1st. I departed from Modiboo, driving my horse before me : and in the afternoon reached Nyamee, where I remained three days ; during which time it rained without intermission, and with such violence, that no person could venture out of doors.

Aug. 5th. I departed from Nyamee ; but the country was so deluged, that I was frequently in danger of losing the road, and had to wade across the savannahs for miles together, knee deep in water. Even the corn ground, which is the driest land in the country, was so completely flooded, that my horse twice stuck fast in the mud, and was not got out without the greatest difficulty.

In the evening of the same day I arrived at Nyara, where I was well received by the dooty ; and as the 6th was rainy, I did not depart until the morning of the 7th ; but the water had swelled to such a height, that in many places the road was scarcely passable ; and though I waded breast deep across the swamps, I could only reach a small village called Nemaboo, where, however, for an hundred kowries, I procured from some foulahs plenty of corn for my horse, and milk for myself.

Aug. 8th. The difficulties I had experienced the day before, made me anxious to engage a fellow-traveller ; particularly as I was assured, that, in the course of a few days, the country would be so completely overflowed, as to render the road utterly impassable ; but though I offered two hundred kowries for a guide, nobody would accompany me. However, on the morning following, (August 9th,) a Moor and his wife, riding upon two bullocks, and bound for Sego with salt, passed the village ; and agreed to take me along with them : but I found them of little service, for they were wholly unacquainted with the road, and being accustomed to a sandy soil, were very bad travellers. Instead of wading before the bullocks, to feel if the ground was solid, the woman boldly entered the first swamp, riding upon the top of the load ; but when she had proceeded about two hundred yards, the bullock sunk into a hole, and threw both the load and herself among the reeds. The frightened husband stood for some time seemingly petrified with horror, and suffered his wife to be almost drowned before he went to her assistance.

About sunset we reached Sibity : but the dooty received me very coolly ; and when I solicited for a guide to Sanfanding, he told me his people were otherwise employed. I was thrown into a damp old hut, where I passed a very uncomfortable night ; for when the walls of the hut are softened by the rain, they frequently become too weak

weak to support the weight of the roof. I heard three huts fall during the night, and was apprehensive that the hut I lodged in would be the fourth. In the morning, as I went to pull some grass for my horse, I counted fourteen huts which had fallen in this manner since the commencement of the rainy season.

It continued to rain with great violence all the 10th; and as the dooty refused to give me any provisions, I purchased some corn, which I divided with my horse.

Aug. 11th. The dooty compelled me to depart from the town, and I set out for Sanfanding without any great hopes of faring better there than I had done at Sibity; for I learned from people who came to visit me, that a report prevailed, and was universally believed, that I had come to Bambarra as a spy; and as Mansong had not admitted me into his presence, the dooties of the different towns were at liberty to treat me in what manner they pleased. From repeatedly hearing the same story, I had no doubt of the truth of it; but as there was no alternative, I determined to proceed, and a little before sunset I arrived at Sanfanding. My reception was what I expected. Counti Mamadi, who had been so kind to me formerly, scarcely gave me welcome. Every one wished to shun me, and my landlord sent a person to inform me, that a very unfavourable report was received from Sego concerning me, and that he wished me to depart early in the morning. About ten o'clock at night Counti Mamadi himself came privately to me, and informed me, that Mansong had dispatched a canoe to Jenné to bring me back; and he was afraid I should find great difficulty in going to the west country. He advised me, therefore, to depart from Sanfanding before daybreak; and cautioned me against stopping at Diggani, or any town near Sego.

Aug. 12th. I departed from Sanfanding, and reached Kabba in the afternoon. As I approached the town, I was surprised to see several people assembled at the gate; one of whom, as I advanced, came running towards me, and taking my horse by the bridle, led me round the walls of the town; and then pointing to the west, told me to go along, or it would fare worse with me. It was in vain that I represented the danger of being benighted in the woods, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and to the fury of wild beasts. "Go along," was all the answer; and a number of people coming up, and urging me in the same manner with great earnestness, I suspected that some of the King's messengers, who were sent in search of me, were in the town; and that these Negroes, from mere kindness, conducted me past it with a view to facilitate my escape. I accordingly took the road for Sego, with the uncomfortable prospect of passing the night on the branches of a tree. After travelling about three miles, I came to a small village near the road. The dooty was splitting sticks by the gate; but I found I could have no admittance; and when I attempted to enter, he jumped up, and with the stick he held in his hand threatened to strike me off the horse, if I presumed to advance another step.

At a little distance from this village (and farther from the road), is another small one. I conjectured, that being rather out of the common route the inhabitants might have fewer objections to give me house-room for the night; and having crossed some corn fields, I sat down under a tree by the well. Two or three women came to draw water; and one of them perceiving I was a stranger, inquired whither I was going. I told her I was going for Sego, but being benighted on the road, I wished to stay at the village until morning; and begged she would acquaint the dooty with my situation. In a little time the dooty sent for me, and permitted me to sleep in a large baloon, in one corner of which was constructed a kiln for drying the fruit of the shea trees: it contained about half a cart load of fruit, under which was kept
up

up a clear wood fire. I was informed that in three days the fruit would be ready for pounding and boiling; and that the butter thus manufactured, is preferable to that which is prepared from fruit dried in the sun, especially in the rainy season, when the process by insolation is always tedious, and oftentimes ineffectual.

Aug. 13th. About ten o'clock I reached a small village within half a mile of Sego, where I endeavoured, but in vain, to procure some provisions. Every one seemed anxious to avoid me; and I could plainly perceive, by the looks and behaviour of the inhabitants, that some very unfavourable accounts had been circulated concerning me. I was again informed that Manfong had sent people to apprehend me; and the dooty's son told me I had no time to lose, if I wished to get safe out of Bambarra. I now fully saw the danger of my situation, and determined to avoid Sego altogether. I accordingly mounted my horse, and taking the road for Diggani, travelled as fast as I could, until I was out of sight of the villagers, when I struck to the westward, through high grass and swampy ground. About noon, I stopped under a tree, to consider what course to take; for I had now no doubt but that the Moors and Slatees had misinformed the King respecting the object of my mission, and that the people were absolutely in search of me to convey me a prisoner to Sego. Sometimes I had thoughts of swimming my horse across the Niger, and going to the southward for Cape Coast; but reflecting that I had ten days to travel before I should reach Kong, and afterward an extensive country to traverse, inhabited by various nations, with whose language and manners I was totally unacquainted, I relinquished this scheme, and judged, that I should better answer the purpose of my mission, by proceeding to the westward along the Niger, endeavouring to ascertain how far the river was navigable in that direction. Having resolved upon this course, I proceeded accordingly; and a little before sunset arrived at a Foulah village called Sooboo, where, for two hundred kowries, I procured lodging for the night.

Aug. 14th. I continued my course along the bank of the river, through a populous and well cultivated country. I passed a walled town called Kamalia*, without stopping; and at noon rode through a large town called Samee, where there happened to be a market, and a number of people assembled in an open place in the middle of the town, selling cattle, cloth, corn, &c. I rode through the midst of them without being much observed; every one taking me for a Moor. In the afternoon I arrived at a small village called Binni, where I agreed with the dooty's son, for one hundred kowries, to allow me to stay for the night; but when the dooty returned, he insisted that I should instantly leave the place; and if his wife and son had not interceded for me, I must have complied.

Aug. 15th. About nine o'clock I passed a large town called Sai, which very much excited my curiosity. It is completely surrounded by two very deep trenches, at about two hundred yards distant from the walls. On the top of the trenches are a number of square towers; and the whole has the appearance of a regular fortification. Inquiring into the origin of this extraordinary intrenchment, I learned from two of the townspeople the following particulars; which, if true, furnish a mournful picture of the enormities of African wars. About fifteen years ago, when the present King of Bambarra's father desolated Maniana, the dooty of Sai had two sons slain in battle, fighting in the King's cause. He had a third son living; and when the King demanded a further reinforcement of men, and this youth among the rest, the dooty refused to send him. This conduct so enraged the King, that when he returned from Maniana,

* There is another town of this name hereafter to be mentioned.

about the beginning of the rainy season, and found the dooty protected by the inhabitants, he sat down before Sai with his army, and surrounded the town with the trenches I had now seen. After a siege of two months, the townspeople became involved in all the horrors of famine; and whilst the King's army were feasting in their trenches, they saw with pleasure the miserable inhabitants of Sai devour the leaves and bark of the bentang tree that stood in the middle of the town. Finding, however, that the besieged would sooner perish than surrender, the King had recourse to treachery. He promised, that if they would open the gates, no person should be put to death, nor suffer any injury but the dooty alone. The poor old man determined to sacrifice himself, for the sake of his fellow-citizens, and immediately walked over to the King's army, where he was put to death. His son, in attempting to escape, was caught and massacred in the trenches; and the rest of the townspeople were carried away captives, and sold as slaves to the different Negro traders.

About noon I came to the village of Kaimoo, situated upon the bank of the river; and as the corn I had purchased at Sibili, was exhausted, I endeavoured to purchase a fresh supply; but was informed that corn was become very scarce all over the country; and though I offered fifty kowries for a small quantity, no person would sell me any. As I was about to depart, however, one of the villagers (who probably mistook me for a Moorish thereof) brought me some as a present; only desiring me in return, to bestow my blessing upon him; which I did in plain English, and he received it with a thousand acknowledgments. Of this present I made my dinner; and it was the third successive day that I had subsisted entirely upon raw corn.

In the evening I arrived at a small village called Song, the surly inhabitants of which would not receive me, nor so much as permit me to enter the gate; but as lions were very numerous in this neighbourhood, and I had frequently, in the course of the day, seen the impression of their feet on the road, I resolved to stay in the vicinity of the village. Having collected some grass for my horse, I accordingly lay down under a tree by the gate. About ten o'clock I heard the hollow roar of a lion at no great distance, and attempted to open the gate; but the people from within told me, that no person must attempt to enter the gate without the dooty's permission. I begged them to inform the dooty that a lion was approaching the village, and I hoped he would allow me to come within the gate. I waited for an answer to this message with great anxiety; for the lion kept prowling round the village, and once advanced so very near me, that I heard him rustling among the grass, and climbed the tree for safety. About midnight the dooty with some of his people opened the gate, and desired me to come in. They were convinced, they said, that I was not a Moor; for no Moor ever waited any time at the gate of a village, without cursing the inhabitants.

Aug. 16th. About ten o'clock I passed a considerable town, with a mosque, called Jabbe. Here the country begins to rise into hills, and I could see the summits of high mountains to the westward. I had very disagreeable travelling all this day, on account of the swampiness of the roads; for the river was now risen to such a height, as to overflow great part of the flat land on both sides: and from the mudiness of the water, it was difficult to discern its depth. In crossing one of these swamps, a little to the westward of a town called Gangu, my horse being up to the belly in water, slipped suddenly into a deep pit, and was almost drowned before he could disengage his feet from the stiff clay at the bottom. Indeed both the horse and his rider were so completely covered with mud, that in passing the village of Calimana, the people compared us to two dirty elephants. About noon I stopped at a small

small village near Yamina, where I purchased some corn, and dried my papers and clothes.

The town of Yamina, at a distance, has a very fine appearance. It covers nearly the same extent of ground as Sanfanding; but having been plundered by Daify, King of Kaarta, about four years ago, it has not yet resumed its former prosperity; nearly one half of the town being nothing but a heap of ruins: however, it is still a considerable place, and is so much frequented by the Moors, that I did not think it safe to lodge in it: but, in order to satisfy myself respecting its population and extent, I resolved to ride through it; in doing which, I observed a great many Moors sitting upon the Bentangs, and other places of public resort. Every body looked at me with astonishment; but as I rode briskly along, they had no time to ask questions.

I arrived in the evening at Farra, a walled village; where, without much difficulty, I procured a lodging for the night.

Aug. 17th. Early in the morning I pursued my journey, and at eight o'clock passed a considerable town called Balaba: after which the road quits the plain, and stretches along the side of the hill. I passed in the course of this day the ruins of three towns; the inhabitants of which were all carried away by Daify, King of Kaarta, on the same day that he took and plundered Yamina. Near one of these ruins I climbed a tamarind tree, but found the fruit quite green and sour; and the prospect of the country was by no means inviting; for the high grass and bushes seemed completely to obstruct the road, and the low lands were all so flooded by the river, that the Niger had the appearance of an extensive lake. In the evening I arrived at Kanika, where the dooty, who was sitting upon an elephant's hide at the gate, received me kindly; and gave me for supper some milk and meal; which I considered (as to a person in my situation it really was) a very great luxury.

Aug. 18th. By mistake I took the wrong road, and did not discover my error until I had travelled near four miles; when coming to an eminence, I observed the Niger considerably to the left. Directing my course towards it, I travelled through long grass and bushes, with great difficulty, until two o'clock in the afternoon; when I came to a comparatively small, but very rapid river; which I took at first for a creek, or one of the streams of the Niger. However, after I had examined it with more attention, I was convinced that it was a distinct river; and as the road evidently crossed it (for I could see the pathway on the opposite side), I sat down upon the bank, in hopes that some traveller might arrive, who would give me the necessary information concerning the fording place; for the banks were so covered with reeds and bushes, that it would have been almost impossible to land on the other side, except at the pathway; which, on account of the rapidity of the stream, it seemed very difficult to reach. No traveller, however, arriving, and there being a great appearance of rain, I examined the grass and bushes, for some way up the bank, and determined upon entering the river considerably above the pathway, in order to reach the other side before the stream had swept me too far down. With this view I fastened my clothes upon the saddle, and was standing up to the neck in water, pulling my horse by the bridle to make him follow me, when a man came accidentally to the place, and seeing me in the water, called to me with great vehemence to come out. The alligators, he said, would devour both me and my horse, if we attempted to swim over. When I had got out, the stranger, who had never before seen a European, seemed wonderfully surprised. He twice put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming in a low tone of voice, "God preserve me! who is this?" but when he heard me speak the Bambarra tongue, and found that I was going the same

same way as himself, he promised to assist me in crossing the river; the name of which he told me was Frina. He then went a little way along the bank, and called to some person, who answered from the other side. In a short time a canoe, with two boys, came paddling from among the reeds: these boys agreed for fifty kowries, to transport me and my horse over the river, which was effected without much difficulty; and I arrived in the evening at Taffara, a walled town; and soon discovered that the language of the natives was improved, from the corrupted dialect of Bambarra, to the pure Mandingo.

CHAP. IV.—*Inhospitable Reception at Taffara.—A Negro Funeral at Sooha.—The Author continues his Route through several Villages along the Banks of the Niger, until he comes to Koolikorro. Supports himself by writing Saphies—reaches Maraboo—loses the Road; and after many Difficulties arrives at Bammakoo.—Takes the Road for Sibidooloo—meets with great Kindness at a Village called Kooma;—is afterwards robbed, stripped, and plundered by Banditti.—The Author's Resource and Consolation under exquisite Distress.—He arrives in Safety at Sibidooloo.*

ON my arrival at Taffara, I inquired for the dooty, but was informed that he had died a few days before my arrival, and that there was, at that moment, a meeting of the chief men for electing another; there being some dispute about the succession. It was probably owing to this unsettled state of the town that I experienced such a want of hospitality in it; for though I informed the inhabitants that I should only remain with them for one night, and assured them that Mansong had given me some kowries to pay for my lodging, yet no person invited me to come in; and I was forced to sit alone under the bentang tree, exposed to the rain and wind of a tornado, which lasted with great violence until midnight. At this time the stranger, who had assisted me in crossing the river, paid me a visit, and observing that I had not found a lodging, invited me to take part of his supper, which he had brought to the door of his hut: for being a guest himself, he could not, without his landlord's consent, invite me to come in. After this, I slept upon some wet grass in the corner of a court. My horse fared still worse than myself; the corn I had purchased being all expended, and I could not procure a supply.

Aug. 20th. I passed the town of Jaba, and stopped a few minutes at a village called Somino, where I begged and obtained some coarse food, which the natives prepare from the husks of corn, and call *Boo*. About two o'clock I came to the village of Sooha, and endeavoured to purchase some corn from the dooty, who was sitting by the gate; but without success. I then requested a little food by way of charity, but was told he had none to spare. Whilst I was examining the countenance of this inhospitable old man, and endeavouring to find out the cause of the sullen discontent, which was visible in his eye, he called to a slave who was working in the corn-field at a little distance, and ordered him to bring his hoe along with him. The dooty then told him to dig a hole in the ground; pointing to a spot at no great distance. The slave, with his hoe, began to dig a pit in the earth; and the dooty, who appeared to be a man of a very fretful disposition, kept muttering and talking to himself until the pit was almost finished, when he repeatedly pronounced the words *dankatoo* (good for nothing); *jankra lemon* (a real plague); which expressions I thought could be applied to nobody but myself; and as the pit had very much the appearance of a grave, I thought it prudent to mount my horse, and was about to decamp, when the slave, who had before

gone into the village, to my surprise, returned with the corpse of a boy about nine or ten years of age, quite naked. The negro carried the body by a leg and an arm, and threw it into the pit with a savage indifference, which I had never before seen. As he covered the body with earth, the dooty often expressed himself *naphula attiniata* (money lost); whence I concluded that the boy had been one of his slaves.

Departing from this shocking scene, I travelled by the side of the river until sunset, when I came to Koolikorro; a considerable town, and a great market for salt. Here I took up my lodging at the house of a Bambarran, who had formerly been the slave of a Moor, and in that character had travelled to Aoran, Towdinni, and many other places in the Great Desert; but turning Mussulman, and his master dying at Jenné, he obtained his freedom, and settled at this place, where he carries on a considerable trade in salt, cotton-cloth, &c. His knowledge of the world has not lessened that superstitious confidence in saphies and charms, which he had imbibed in his earlier years; for when he heard that I was a Christian, he immediately thought of procuring a saphie; and for this purpose brought out his *walba*, or writing board; assuring me, that he would dress me a supper of rice, if I would write him a saphie to protect him from wicked men. The proposal was of too great consequence to me to be refused; I therefore wrote the board full from top to bottom, on both sides; and my landlord, to be certain of having the whole force of the charm, washed the writing from the board into a calabash with a little water, and having said a few prayers over it, drank this powerful draught; after which, lest a single word should escape, he licked the board until it was quite dry. A saphie writer was a man of too great consequence to be long concealed: the important information was carried to the dooty, who sent his son with half a sheet of writing-paper, desiring me to write him a *naphula saphie* (a charm to procure wealth). He brought me, as a present, some meal and milk; and when I had finished the saphie, and read it to him with an audible voice, he seemed highly satisfied with his bargain, and promised to bring me in the morning some milk for my breakfast. When I had finished my supper of rice and salt, I laid myself down upon a bullock's hide, and slept very quietly until morning; this being the first good meal and refreshing sleep that I had enjoyed for a long time.

Aug. 21st. At daybreak I departed from Koolikorro, and about noon passed the villages of Kayoo and Toolumbo. In the afternoon I arrived at Maraboo; a large town, and, like Koolikorro, famous for its trade in salt. I was conducted to the house of a Kaartan, of the tribe of Jower, by whom I was well received. This man had acquired a considerable property in the slave trade: and, from his hospitality to strangers, was called by way of pre-eminence, *Jattee* (the landlord); and his house was a sort of public inn for all travellers. Those who had money were well lodged, for they always made him some return for his kindness; but those who had nothing to give, were content to accept whatever he thought proper; and as I could not rank myself among the monied men, I was happy to take up my lodging in the same hut with seven poor fellows who had come from Kancaba in a canoe. But our landlord sent us some victuals.

Aug. 22d. One of the landlord's servants went with me a little way from the town to shew me what road to take; but whether from ignorance or design I know not, he directed me wrong; and I did not discover my mistake until the day was far advanced: when, coming to a deep creek, I had some thoughts of turning back; but as by that means I foresaw that I could not possibly reach Bammakoo before night, I resolved to cross it; and leading my horse close to the brink, I went behind him, and pushed him headlong into the water, and then taking the bridle in my teeth, swam over to the other

other side. This was the third creek I had crossed in this manner since I had left Sego; but having secured my notes and memorandums in the crown of my hat, I received little or no inconvenience from such adventures. The rain and heavy dew kept my clothes constantly wet; and the roads being very deep and full of mud, such a washing was sometimes pleasant, and oftentimes necessary. I continued travelling, through high grass, without any beaten road, and about noon came to the river; the banks of which are here very rocky, and the force and roar of the water were very great. The King of Bambarra's canoes, however, frequently pass these rapids, by keeping close to the bank; persons being stationed on the shore with ropes fastened to the canoe, while others push it forward with long poles. At this time, however, it would, I think, have been a matter of great difficulty for any European boat to have crossed the stream. About four o'clock in the afternoon, having altered my course from the river towards the mountains, I came to a small pathway, which led to a village called Frookaboo, where I slept.

Aug. 23d. Early in the morning I set out for Bammakoo, at which place I arrived about five o'clock in the afternoon. I had heard Bammakoo much talked of as a great market for salt, and I felt rather disappointed to find it only a middling town, not quite so large as Marraboo; however, the smallness of its size is more than compensated by the riches of its inhabitants; for when the Moors bring their salt through Kaarta or Bambarra, they constantly rest a few days at this place; and the Negro merchants here, who are well acquainted with the value of salt in different kingdoms, frequently purchase by wholesale, and retail it to great advantage. Here I lodged at the house of a Sera-Woolli negro, and was visited by a number of Moors. They spoke very good Mandingo, and were more civil to me than their countrymen had been. One of them had travelled to Rio Grande, and spoke very highly of the Christians. He sent me in the evening some boiled rice and milk. I now endeavoured to procure information concerning my route to the westward, from a slave-merchant who had resided some years on the Gambia. He gave me some imperfect account of the distance, and enumerated the names of a great many places that lay in the way; but withal told me that the road was impassable at this season of the year: he was even afraid, he said, that I should find great difficulty in proceeding any farther; as the road crossed the Joliba at a town about half a day's journey to the westward of Bammakoo; and there being no canoes at that place large enough to receive my horse, I could not possibly get him over for some months to come. This was an obstruction of a very serious nature; but as I had no money to maintain myself even for a few days, I resolved to push on, and if I could not convey my horse across the river, to abandon him, and swim over myself. In thoughts of this nature I passed the night, and in the morning consulted with my landlord how I should surmount the present difficulty. He informed me that one road still remained, which was indeed very rocky, and scarcely passable for horses; but that if I had a proper guide over the hills to a town called Sibidooloo, he had no doubt, but with patience and caution, I might travel forwards through Manding. I immediately applied to the dooty, and was informed that a *Jilli Kea* (singing man) was about to depart for Sibidooloo, and would shew me the road over the hills. With this man, who undertook to be my conductor, I travelled up a rocky glen about two miles, when we came to a small village; and here my musical fellow-traveller found out that he had brought me the wrong road. He told me that the horse-road lay on the other side of the hill, and throwing his drum upon his back, mounted up the rocks, where indeed no horse could follow him, leaving me to admire his agility, and trace out a road for myself. As I found it impossible to proceed, I rode back to the level ground,

and directing my course to the eastward, came about noon to another glen, and discovered a path on which I observed the marks of horses' feet : following this path, I came in a short time to some shepherds' huts, where I was informed that I was in the right road, but that I could not possibly reach Sibidooloo before night. Soon after this I gained the summit of a hill, from whence I had an extensive view of the country. Towards the south-east, appeared some very distant mountains, which I had formerly seen from an eminence near Marraboo, where the people informed me, that these mountains were situated in a large and powerful kingdom called Kong ; the sovereign of which could raise a much greater army than the King of Bambarra. Upon this height the soil is shallow ; the rocks are iron-stone and schistus, with detached pieces of white quartz.

A little before sunset, I descended on the north-west side of this ridge of hills, and as I was looking about for a convenient tree under which to pass the night (for I had no hopes of reaching any town), I descended into a delightful valley, and soon afterwards arrived at a romantic village called Kooma. This village is surrounded by a high wall, and is the sole property of a Mandingo merchant, who fled hither with his family during a former war. The adjacent fields yield him plenty of corn, his cattle roam at large in the valley, and the rocky hills secure him from the depredations of war. In this obscure retreat he is seldom visited by strangers, but whenever this happens, he makes the weary traveller welcome. I soon found myself surrounded by a circle of the harmless villagers. They asked me a thousand questions about my country ; and, in return for my information, brought corn and milk for myself, and grass for my horse : kindled a fire in the hut where I was to sleep, and appeared very anxious to serve me.

Aug. 25th. I departed from Kooma, accompanied by two shepherds, who were going towards Sibidooloo. The road was very steep and rocky, and as my horse had hurt his feet much in coming from Bammakoo, he travelled slowly and with great difficulty ; for in many places the ascent was so sharp, and the declivities so great, that if he had made one false step, he must inevitably have been dashed to pieces. The shepherds being anxious to proceed, gave themselves little trouble about me or my horse, and kept walking on at a considerable distance. It was about eleven o'clock, as I stopped to drink a little water at a rivulet (my companions being near a quarter of a mile before me), that I heard some people calling to each other, and presently a loud screaming, as from a person in great distress. I immediately conjectured that a lion had taken one of the shepherds, and mounted my horse to have a better view of what had happened. The noise, however, ceased ; and I rode slowly towards the place from whence I thought it had proceeded, calling out, but without receiving any answer. In a little time, however, I perceived one of the shepherds lying among the long grass near the road ; and though I could see no blood upon him, I concluded he was dead. But when I came close to him, he whispered me to stop ; telling me that a party of armed men had seized upon his companion, and shot two arrows at himself as he was making his escape. I stopped to consider what course to take, and looking round, saw at a little distance a man sitting upon the stump of a tree ; I distinguished also the heads of six or seven more, sitting among the grass with muskets in their hands. I had now no hopes of escaping, and therefore determined to ride forward towards them. As I approached them, I was in hopes they were elephant hunters : and by way of opening the conversation, inquired if they had shot any thing ; but without returning an answer, one of them ordered me to dismount ; and then, as if recollecting himself, waved with his hand for me to proceed. I accordingly rode

past, and had with some difficulty crossed a deep rivulet, when I heard somebody holloa; and looking behind, saw those I had taken for elephant hunters, running after me, and calling out to me to turn back. I stopped until they were all come up; when they informed me that the King of the Foulahs had sent them on purpose to bring me, my horse, and every thing that belonged to me, to Fooladoo; and that therefore I must turn back, and go along with them. Without hesitating a moment, I turned round and followed them, and we travelled together near a quarter of a mile, without exchanging a word; when coming to a dark place of the wood, one of them said, in the Mandingo language, "this place will do;" and immediately snatched my hat from my head. Though I was by no means free of apprehension, yet I resolved to shew as few signs of fear as possible, and therefore told them, that unless my hat was returned to me, I should proceed no further. But before I had time to receive an answer, another drew his knife, and seizing upon a metal button which remained upon my waistcoat, cut it off, and put it into his pocket. Their intentions were now obvious; and I thought that the easier they were permitted to rob me of every thing, the less I had to fear. I therefore allowed them to search my pockets without resistance, and examine every part of my apparel, which they did with the most scrupulous exactness. But observing that I had one waistcoat under another, they insisted that I should cast them both off; and at last, to make sure work, stripped me quite naked. Even my half boots (though the sole of one of them was tied on to my foot with a broken bridle rein) were minutely inspected. Whilst they were examining the plunder, I begged them, with great earnestness, to return my pocket compass; but when I pointed it out to them, as it was lying on the ground, one of the banditti, thinking I was about to take it up, cocked his musket, and swore that he would lay me dead on the spot, if I presumed to put my hand upon it. After this, some of them went away with my horse, and the remainder stood considering whether they should leave me quite naked, or allow me something to shelter me from the sun. Humanity at last prevailed: they returned me the worst of the two shirts, and a pair of trowsers; and, as they went away, one of them threw back my hat, in the crown of which I kept my memorandums; and this was probably the reason they did not wish to keep it. After they were gone, I sat for some time looking around me with amazement and terror. Whichever way I turned, nothing appeared but danger and difficulty. I saw myself in the midst of a vast wilderness in the depth of the rainy season, naked and alone; surrounded by savage animals, and men still more savage. I was five hundred miles from the nearest European settlement. All these circumstances crowded at once on my recollection; and I confess that my spirits began to fail me. I considered my fate as certain, and that I had no alternative, but to lie down and perish. The influence of religion, however, aided and supported me. I reflected that no human prudence or foresight could possibly have averted my present sufferings. I was indeed a stranger in a strange land, yet I was still under the protecting eye of that Providence who has condescended to call himself the stranger's friend. At this moment, painful as my reflections were, the extraordinary beauty of a small moss, in fructification, irresistibly caught my eye. I mention this to shew from what trifling circumstances the mind will sometimes derive consolation; for though the whole plant was not larger than the top of one of my fingers, I could not contemplate the delicate conformation of its roots, leaves, and capsule, without admiration. Can that Being (thought I), who planted, watered, and brought to perfection, in this obscure part of the world, a thing which appears of so small importance, look with unconcern upon the situation and sufferings

sufferings of creatures formed after his own image?—surely not! Reflections like these, would not allow me to despair. I started up, and disregarding both hunger and fatigue, travelled forwards, assured that relief was at hand; and I was not disappointed. In a short time I came to a small village, at the entrance of which I overtook the two shepherds who had come with me from Kooma. They were much surprised to see me; for they said, they never doubted that the Foulahs, when they had robbed, had murdered me. Departing from this village, we travelled over several rocky ridges, and at sunset, arrived at Sibidooloo; the frontier town of the kingdom of Manding.

CHAP. V.—*Government of Manding.—The Author's Reception by the Manfa, or chief Man of Sibidooloo, who takes Measures for the Recovery of his Horse and Effects.—The Author removes to Wonda;—great Scarcity and its afflicting Consequences.—The Author recovers his Horse and Clothes;—presents his Horse to the Manfa; and prosecutes his Journey to Kamalia—Some Account of that Town.—The Author's kind Reception by Karfa Taura, a Slatee, who proposes to go to the Gambia in the next dry Season, with a Caravan of Slaves.—The Author's Sickness, and Determination to remain and accompany Karfa.*

THE town of Sibidooloo is situated in a fertile valley, surrounded with high rocky hills. It is scarcely accessible for horses, and during the frequent wars between the Bambarans, Foulahs, and Mandingoes, has never once been plundered by an enemy. When I entered the town, the people gathered round me, and followed me into the baloon; where I was presented to the dooty or chief man, who is here called manfa, which usually signifies king. Nevertheless, it appeared to me that the government of Manding was a sort of republic, or rather an oligarchy; every town having a particular Manfa, and the chief power of the state, in the last resort, being lodged in the assembly of the whole body. I related to the manfa the circumstances of my having been robbed of my horse and apparel: and my story was confirmed by the two shepherds. He continued smoking his pipe all the time I was speaking; but I had no sooner finished, than taking his pipe from his mouth, and tossing up the sleeve of his coat with an indignant air, “sit down (said he), you shall have every thing restored to you; I have sworn it:”—and then turning to an attendant, “give the white man (said he) a draught of water; and with the first light of the morning go over the hills, and inform the dooty of Bammakoo, that a poor white man, the King of Bambarra's stranger, has been robbed by the King of Fooladoo's people.”

I little expected, in my forlorn condition, to meet with a man who could thus feel for my sufferings. I heartily thanked the manfa for his kindness, and accepted his invitation to remain with him until the return of the messenger. I was conducted into a hut, and had some victuals sent me, but the crowd of people which assembled to see me, all of whom commiserated my misfortunes, and vented imprecations against the Foulahs, prevented me from sleeping until past midnight. Two days I remained without hearing any intelligence of my horse or clothes; and as there was at this time a great scarcity of provisions, approaching even to famine, all over this part of the country, I was unwilling to trespass any farther on the manfa's generosity, and begged permission to depart to the next village. Finding me very anxious to proceed; he told me that I might go as far as a town called Wonda, where he hoped I would remain a few days, until I heard some account of my horse, &c.

I departed

I departed accordingly on the next morning of the 28th, and stopped at some small villages for refreshment. I was presented at one of them with a dish which I had never before seen. It was composed of the blossoms or *anthers* of the maize, stewed in milk and water. It is eaten only in time of great scarcity. On the 30th, about noon, I arrived at Wonda; a small town with a mosque, and surrounded by a high wall. The manfa, who was a Mahomedan, acted in two capacities: as chief magistrate of the town, and schoolmaster to the children. He kept his school in an open shed, where I was desired to take up my lodging, until some account should arrive from Sibidooloo, concerning my horse and clothes; for though the horse was of little use to me, yet the few clothes were essential. The little raiment upon me could neither protect me from the sun by day, nor the dews and musketoes by night: indeed, my shirt was not only worn thin, like a piece of muslin, but withal was so very dirty, that I was happy to embrace an opportunity of washing it; which having done, and spread it upon a bush, I sat down naked, in the shade, until it was dry.

Ever since the commencement of the rainy season, my health had been greatly on the decline. I had often been affected with slight paroxysms of fever; and from the time of leaving Bammakoo, the symptoms had considerably increased. As I was sitting in the manner described, the fever returned with such violence, that it very much alarmed me; the more so, as I had no medicine to stop its progress, nor any hope of obtaining that care and attention which my situation required.

I remained at Wonda nine days; during which time I experienced the regular return of the fever every day. And though I endeavoured as much as possible to conceal my distress from my landlord, and frequently lay down the whole day, out of his sight, in a corn field; conscious how burthensome I was to him and his family, in a time of such great scarcity; yet I found that he was apprized of my situation: and one morning as I feigned to be asleep by the fire, he observed to his wife, that they were likely to find me a very troublesome and chargeable guest; for that, in my present sickly state, they should be obliged, for the sake of their good name, to maintain me until I recovered or died.

The scarcity of provisions was certainly felt at this time most severely by the poor people, as the following circumstance most painfully convinced me. Every evening, during my stay, I observed five or six women come to the manfa's house, and receive each of them a certain quantity of corn. As I knew how valuable this article was at this juncture, I inquired of the manfa, whether he maintained these poor women from pure bounty, or expected a return when the harvest should be gathered in. "Observe that boy," said he (pointing to a fine child about five years of age); "his mother has sold him to me, for forty days' provision for herself and the rest of her family. I have bought another boy in the same manner." Good God, thought I, what must a mother suffer, before she sells her own child! I could not get this melancholy subject out of my mind, and the next night, when the women returned for their allowance, I desired the boy to point out to me his mother, which he did. She was much emaciated, but had nothing cruel or savage in her countenance; and when she had received her corn, she came and talked to her son, with as much cheerfulness as if he had still been under her care.

Sept. 6th. Two people arrived from Sibidooloo, bringing with them my horse and clothes; but I found that my pocket compass was broken to pieces. This was a great loss, which I could not repair.

Sept. 7th. As my horse was grazing near the brink of a well, the ground gave way, and he fell in. The well was about ten feet diameter, and so very deep, that

that when I saw my horse snorting in the water, I thought it was impossible to save him. The inhabitants of the village, however, immediately assembled, and having tied together a number of withes* they lowered a man down into the well, who fastened those withes round the body of the horse; and the people, having first drawn up the man, took hold of the withes, and to my surprise pulled the horse out with the greatest facility. The poor animal was now reduced to a mere skeleton, and the roads were scarcely passable, being either very rocky, or else full of mud and water; I therefore found it impracticable to travel with him any farther, and was happy to leave him in the hands of one who I thought would take care of him. I accordingly presented him to my landlord; and desired him to send my saddle and bridle, as a present, to the manfa of Sibidooloo; being the only return I could make him, for having taken so much trouble in procuring my horse and clothes.

I now thought it necessary, sick as I was, to take leave of my hospitable landlord. On the morning of Sept. 8th, when I was about to depart, he presented me with his spear, as a token of remembrance, and a leather bag to contain my clothes. Having converted my half boots into sandals, I travelled with more ease, and slept that night at a village called Ballanti. On the 9th, I reached Nemacoo; but the manfa of the village thought fit to make me sup upon the camelion's dish. By way of apology, however, he assured me the next morning, that the scarcity of corn was such, that he could not possibly allow me any. I could not accuse him of unkindness, as all the people actually appeared to be starving.

Sept. 10th. It rained hard all day, and the people kept themselves in their huts. In the afternoon I was visited by a Negro, named Modi Lemina Taura, a great trader, who suspecting my distress, brought me some victuals; and promised to conduct me to his house at Kinyeto the day following.

Sept. 11th. I departed from Nemacoo, and arrived at Kinyeto in the evening; but having hurt my ankle in the way, it swelled and inflamed so much that I could neither walk nor set my foot to the ground the next day, without giving pain. My landlord observing this, kindly invited me to stop with him a few days; and I accordingly remained at his house until the 14th; by which time I felt much relieved, and could walk with the help of a staff. I now set out, thanking my landlord for his great care and attention; and being accompanied by a young man, who was travelling the same way, I proceeded for Jerijang, a beautiful and well cultivated district, the manfa of which is reckoned the most powerful chief of any in Manding.

On the 15th, I reached Dofita, a large town, where I staid one day on account of the rain; but continued very sickly, and was slightly delirious in the night. On the 17th I set out for Mansia, a considerable town, where small quantities of gold are collected. The road led over a high rocky hill, and my strength and spirits were so much exhausted, that before I could reach the top of the hill I was forced to lie down three times, being very faint and sickly. I reached Mansia in the afternoon. The manfa of this town had the character of being very inhospitable; he however sent me a little corn for my supper, but demanded something in return; and when I assured him that I had nothing of value in my possession, he told me (as if in jest), that my white skin should not defend me, if I told him lies. He then shewed me the hut wherein I was to sleep; but took away my spear, saying that it should be returned

* From a plant called *kabba*, that climbs like a vine upon the trees.

to me in the morning. This trifling circumstance, when joined to the character I had heard of the man, made me rather suspicious of him; and I privately desired one of the inhabitants of the place, who had a bow and quiver, to sleep in the same hut with me. About midnight, I heard somebody approach the door, and observing the moonlight strike suddenly into the hut, I started up, and saw a man stepping cautiously over the threshold. I immediately snatched up the Negro's bow and quiver, the rattling of which made the man withdraw; and my companion looking out, assured me that it was the manfa himself, and advised me to keep awake until the morning. I closed the door, and placed a large piece of wood behind it; and was wondering at this unexpected visit, when somebody pressed so hard against the door, that the Negro could scarcely keep it shut. But when I called to him to open the door, the intruder ran off, as before.

Sept. 16th. As soon as it was light, the Negro, at my request, went to the manfa's house and brought away my spear. He told me that the manfa was asleep, and left this inhospitable chief should devise means to detain me, he advised me to set out before he was awake, which I immediately did; and about two o'clock reached Kamalia, a small town, situated at the bottom of some rocky hills, where the inhabitants collect gold in considerable quantities. The bushreens here live apart from the kafirs, and have built their huts in a scattered manner, at a short distance from the town. They have a place set apart for performing their devotions in, to which they give the name of *missura*, or mosque; but it is in fact nothing more than a square piece of ground made level, and surrounded with the trunks of trees, having a small projection towards the east, where the marraboo, or priest, stands when he calls the people to prayers. Mosques of this construction are very common among the converted Negroes; but having neither walls nor roof, they can only be used in fine weather. When it rains, the bushreens perform their devotions in their huts.

On my arrival at Kamalia, I was conducted to the house of a bushreen named Karfa Taura, the brother of him to whose hospitality I was indebted at Kinyeto. He was collecting a coffle of slaves, with a view to sell them to the Europeans on the Gambia as soon as the rains should be over. I found him sitting in his baloon surrounded by several slatees, who proposed to join the coffle. He was reading to them from an Arabic book; and inquired, with a smile, if I understood it? Being answered in the negative, he desired one of the slatees to fetch the little curious book, which had been brought from the west country. On opening this small volume, I was surprised and delighted, to find it our *Book of Common Prayer*; and Karfa expressed great joy to hear that I could read it; for some of the slatees who had seen the Europeans upon the coast, observing the colour of my skin (which was now become very yellow from sickness), my long beard, ragged clothes, and extreme poverty; were unwilling to admit that I was a white man, and told Karfa, that they suspected I was some Arab in disguise. Karfa, however, perceiving that I could read this book, had no doubt concerning me; and kindly promised me every assistance in his power. At the same time he informed me that it was impossible to cross the Jallonka wilderness for many months yet to come, as no less than eight rapid rivers, he said, lay in the way. He added, that he intended to set out himself for Gambia as soon as the rivers were fordable, and the grass burnt; and advised me to stay and accompany him. He remarked, that when a caravan of the natives could not travel through the country, it was idle for a single white man to attempt it. I readily admitted that such an attempt was an act of rashness, but I assured him that I had now no alternative; for having no money to support myself, I must either beg my subsistence, by travelling from place to

place, or perish for want. Karfa now looked at me with great earnestness, and inquired if I could eat the common victuals of the country; assuring me he had never before seen a white man. He added, that if I would remain with him until the rains were over, he would give me plenty of victuals in the meantime, and a hut to sleep in; and that after he had conducted me in safety to the Gambia, I might then make him what return I thought proper. I asked him if the value of one prime slave would satisfy him. He answered in the affirmative; and immediately ordered one of the huts to be swept for my accommodation. Thus was I delivered, by the friendly care of this benevolent Negro, from a situation truly deplorable. Distress and famine pressed hard upon me; I had, before me, the gloomy wilds of Jallonkadoo, where the traveller sees no habitation for five successive days. I had observed at a distance, the rapid course of the river Kokoro. I had almost marked out the place where I was doomed, I thought, to perish, when this friendly Negro stretched out his hospitable hand for my relief.

In the hut which was appropriated for me, I was provided with a mat to sleep on, an earthen jar for holding water, and a small calabash to drink out of; and Karfa sent me from his own dwelling, two meals a day; and ordered his slaves to supply me with fire-wood and water. But I found that neither the kindness of Karfa, nor any sort of accommodation could put a stop to the fever which weakened me, and which became every day more alarming. I endeavoured as much as possible to conceal my distress; but on the third day after my arrival, as I was going with Karfa to visit some of his friends, I found myself so faint that I could scarcely walk, and before we reached the place, I staggered, and fell into a pit from which the clay had been taken to build one of the huts. Karfa endeavoured to console me with the hopes of a speedy recovery; assuring me, that if I would not walk out in the wet, I should soon be well. I determined to follow his advice, and confine myself to my hut; but was still tormented with the fever, and my health continued to be in a very precarious state for five ensuing weeks. Sometimes I could crawl out of the hut, and sit a few hours in the open air; at other times I was unable to rise, and passed the lingering hours in a very gloomy and solitary manner. I was seldom visited by any person except my benevolent landlord, who came daily to inquire after my health. When the rains became less frequent, and the country began to grow dry, the fever left me; but in so debilitated a condition, that I could scarcely stand upright, and it was with great difficulty that I could carry my mat to the shade of a tamarind tree, at a short distance, to enjoy the refreshing smell of the corn-fields, and delight my eyes with a prospect of the country. I had the pleasure, at length, to find myself in a state of convalescence: towards which the benevolent and simple manners of the Negroes, and the perusal of Karfa's little volume, greatly contributed.

In the mean time, many of the slavees who resided at Kamalia, having spent all their money, and become in a great measure dependent upon Karfa's hospitality, beheld me with an eye of envy, and invented many ridiculous and trifling stories to lessen me in Karfa's esteem. And in the beginning of December, a Sera-Woolli slavee, with five slaves, arrived from Sego: this man too, spread a number of malicious reports concerning me; but Karfa paid no attention to them, and continued to shew me the same kindness as formerly. As I was one day conversing with the slaves which this slavee had brought, one of them begged me to give him some victuals. I told him I was a stranger, and had none to give. He replied, "I gave *you* victuals when you was hungry. — Have you forgot the man who brought you milk at Kar-

rankalla? But (added he, with a sigh) *the irons were not then upon my legs!*" I immediately recollected him, and begged some ground nuts from Karfa to give him, as a return for his former kindness. He told me that he had been taken by the Bambarans, the day after the battle at Joka, and sent to Sego, where he had been purchased by his present master, who was carrying him down to Kajaaga. Three more of these slaves were from Kaarta, and one from Waffela, all of them prisoners of war. They stopped four days at Kamalia, and were then taken to Bala, where they remained until the river Kokoro was fordable, and the grass burnt.

In the beginning of December Karfa proposed to complete his purchase of slaves; and for this purpose collected all the debts which were owing to him in his own country. And on the 19th, being accompanied by three slaves, he departed for Kancaba, a large town on the banks of the Niger; and a great slave-market. Most of the slaves, who are sold at Kancaba, come from Bambarra; for Mansong, to avoid the expence and danger of keeping all his prisoners at Sego, commonly sends them in small parties to be sold at the different trading towns; and as Kancaba is much resorted to by merchants, it is always well supplied with slaves which are sent thither up the Niger in canoes. When Karfa departed from Kamalia, he proposed to return in the course of a month; and during his absence I was left to the care of a good old bushreen who acted as schoolmaster to the young people of Kamalia.

Being now left alone, and at leisure to indulge my own reflections, it was an opportunity not to be neglected of augmenting and extending the observations I had already made on the climate and productions of the country; and of acquiring a more perfect knowledge of the natives, than it was possible for me to obtain in the course of a transient and perilous journey through the country. I endeavoured likewise to collect all the information I could concerning those important branches of African commerce, the trade for gold, ivory, and slaves. Such was my employment, during the remainder of my stay at Kamalia; and I shall now proceed to lay before my readers the result of my researches and inquiries; avoiding, as far as I can, a repetition of those circumstances and observations, which were related, as occasion arose, in the narrative of my journey.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Climate and Seasons. — Winds. — Vegetable Productions. — Population. — General Observations on the Character and Disposition of the Mandingoes; and a summary Account of their Manners and Habits of Life, their Marriages, &c.*

THE whole of my route, both in going and returning, having been confined to a tract of country bounded nearly by the 12th and 15th parallels of latitude, the reader must imagine that I found the climate in most places extremely hot; but no where did I feel the heat so intense and oppressive as in the camp at Benown, of which mention has been made in a former place*. In some parts, where the country ascends into hills, the air is at all times comparatively cool; yet none of the districts which I traversed, could properly be called mountainous. About the middle of June, the hot and sultry atmosphere is agitated by violent gusts of wind (called *tornadoes*), accompanied with thunder and rain. These usher in what is denominated the *rainy season*; which continues until the month of November. During this time the diurnal rains are very heavy: and the prevailing winds are from the south-west. The termination of the rainy season, is likewise attended with violent tornadoes; after which the wind

* Not inserted in this extract. — Edit.

shifts to the north-east, and continues to blow from that quarter, during the rest of the year.

When the wind sets in from the north-east it produces a wonderful change in the face of the country. The grass soon becomes dry and withered; the rivers subside very rapidly, and many of the trees shed their leaves. About this period is commonly felt the *harmattan*, a dry and parching wind, blowing from the north-east, and accompanied by a thick smoky haze; through which the sun appears of a dull red colour. This wind, in passing over the great desert of Sahara, acquires a very strong attraction for humidity, and parches up every thing exposed to its current. It is, however, reckoned very salutary, particularly to Europeans, who generally recover their health during its continuance. I experienced immediate relief from sickness, both at Dr. Laidley's and at Kamalia, during the harmattan. Indeed, the air, during the rainy season, is so loaded with moisture, that clothes, shoes, trunks, and every thing that is not close to the fire, become damp and mouldy; and the inhabitants may be said to live in a sort of vapour bath; but this dry wind braces up the solids, which were before relaxed, gives a cheerful flow of spirits, and is even pleasant to respiration. Its ill effects are, that it produces chaps in the lips, and afflicts ^{kind} many of the natives with sore eyes.

Whenever the grass is sufficiently dry, the Negroes set it on fire; but in Luda-mar, and other Moorish countries, this practice is not allowed; for it is upon the withered stubble that the Moors feed their cattle, until the return of the rains. The burning the grass in Manding exhibits a scene of terrific grandeur. In the middle of the night, I could see the plains and mountains, as far as my eye could reach, variegated with lines of fire; and the light reflected on the sky, made the heavens appear in a blaze. In the day time, pillars of smoke were seen in every direction; while the birds of prey were observed hovering round the conflagration, and pouncing down upon the snakes, lizards, and other reptiles, which attempted to escape from the flames. This annual burning is soon followed by a fresh and sweet verdure, and the country is thereby rendered more healthful and pleasant.

Of the most remarkable and important of the vegetable productions, mention has already been made; and they are nearly the same in all the districts through which I passed. It is observable, however, that although many species of the edible roots which grow in the West India islands, are found in Africa, yet I never saw, in any part of my journey, either the sugar-cane, the coffee or the cocoa tree; nor could I learn, on inquiry, that they were known to the natives. The pine apple, and the thousand other delicious fruits, which the industry of civilized man (improving the bounties of nature), has brought to such great perfection in the tropical climates of America, are here equally unknown. I observed, indeed, a few orange and banana trees near the mouth of the Gambia; but whether they were indigenous, or were formerly planted there by some of the white traders, I could not positively learn. I suspect that they were originally introduced by the Portuguese.

Concerning property in the soil; it appeared to me that the lands in native woods were considered as belonging to the King, or (where the government was not monarchical) to the state. When any individual of free condition, had the means of cultivating more land than he actually possessed, he applied to the chief man of the district, who allowed him an extension of territory, on condition of forfeiture if the lands were not brought into cultivation by a given period. The condition being fulfilled, the soil became vested in the possessor; and for aught that appeared to me, descended to his heirs.

The population, however, considering the extent and fertility of the soil, and the ease with which lands are obtained, is not very great, in the countries which I visited. I found many extensive and beautiful districts, entirely destitute of inhabitants: and in general, the borders of the different kingdoms were either very thinly peopled or entirely deserted. Many places are likewise unfavourable to population, from being unhealthy. The swampy banks of the Gambia, the Senegal, and other rivers towards the coast, are of this description. Perhaps it is on this account chiefly that the interior countries abound more with inhabitants than the maritime districts; for all the Negro nations that fell under my observation, though divided into a number of petty independent states, subsist chiefly by the same means, live nearly in the same temperature, and possess a wonderful similarity of disposition. The Mandingoes, in particular, are a very gentle race; cheerful in their dispositions, inquisitive, credulous, simple, and fond of flattery. Perhaps the most prominent defect in their character, was that insurmountable propensity, which the reader must have observed to prevail in all classes of them, to steal from me the few effects I was possessed of. For this part of their conduct no complete justification can be offered, because theft is a crime in their own estimation; and it must be observed, that they are not habitually and generally guilty of it towards each other. This, however, is an important circumstance in mitigation; and before we pronounce them a more depraved people than any other, it were well to consider whether the lower order of people in any part of Europe, would have acted, under similar circumstances, with greater honesty towards a stranger, than the Negroes acted towards me. It must not be forgotten, that the laws of the country afforded me no protection; that every one was at liberty to rob me with impunity; and finally, that some part of my effects were of as great value, in the estimation of the negroes, as pearls and diamonds would have been in the eyes of a European. Let us suppose a black merchant of Hindostan to have found his way into the centre of England, with a box of jewels at his back; and that the laws of the kingdom afforded him no security; in such a case, the wonder would be, not that the stranger was robbed of any part of his riches, but that any part was left for a second depredator. Such, on sober reflection, is the judgment I have formed concerning the pilfering disposition of the Mandingo Negroes towards myself. Notwithstanding I was so great a sufferer by it, I do not consider that their natural sense of justice was perverted or extinguished: it was overpowered only, for the moment, by the strength of a temptation which it required no common virtue to resist.

On the other hand, as some counterbalance to this depravity in their nature, allowing it to be such, it is impossible for me to forget the disinterested charity, and tender solicitude, with which many of these poor heathens (from the sovereign of Sego, to the poor women who received me at different times into their cottages when I was perishing of hunger) sympathised with me in my sufferings; relieved my distresses; and contributed to my safety. This acknowledgment, however, is perhaps more particularly due to the female part of the nation. Among the men, as the reader must have seen, my reception, though generally kind, was sometimes otherwise. It varied according to the various tempers of those to whom I made application. The hardness of avarice in some, and the blindness of bigotry in others, had closed up the avenues to compassion; but I do not recollect a single instance of hardheartedness towards me in the women. In all my wanderings and wretchedness, I found them uniformly kind and compassionate; and I can truly say as my predecessor Mr. Ledyard, has eloquently said before me; "To a woman, I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer."

"If

“ If I was hungry or thirsty, wet or sick, they did not hesitate, like the men, to perform a generous action. In so free and so kind a manner did they contribute to my relief; that if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and if hungry, I eat the coarsest morsel with a double relish.”

It is surely reasonable to suppose, that the soft and amiable sympathy of nature, which was thus spontaneously manifested towards me in my distress, is displayed by these poor people as occasion requires, much more strongly towards persons of their own nation and neighbourhood, and especially when the objects of their compassion are endeared to them by the ties of consanguinity. Accordingly, the maternal affection (neither suppressed by the restraints, nor diverted by the solitudes of civilized life) is every where conspicuous among them; and creates a correspondent return of tenderness in the child. An illustration of this has been given; “ Strike me,” said my attendant, “ but do not curse my mother.” The same sentiment I found universally to prevail, and observed in all parts of Africa, that the greatest affront which could be offered to a Negro, was to reflect on her who gave him birth.

It is not strange, that this sense of filial duty and affection among the Negroes, should be less ardent towards the father than the mother. The system of polygamy, while it weakens the father's attachment, by dividing it among the children of different wives, concentrates all the mother's jealous tenderness to one point, the protection of her own offspring. I perceived with great satisfaction too, that the maternal solicitude extended not only to the growth and security of the person, but also, in a certain degree, to the improvement of the mind of the infant; for one of the first lessons in which the Mandingo women instruct their children, is *the practice of truth*. In the case of an unhappy mother, whose son was murdered by Moorish banditti, at Funingkedey, her only consolation in her uttermost distress was the reflection that the poor boy, in the course of his blameless life, *had never told a lie*. Such testimony from a fond mother, on such an occasion, must have operated powerfully on the youthful part of the surrounding spectators. It was at once a tribute of praise to the deceased, and a lesson to the living.

The Negro women suckle their children until they are able to walk of themselves. Three years nursing is not uncommon; and during this period the husband devotes his whole attention to his other wives. To this practice it is owing, I presume, that the family of each wife is seldom very numerous. Few women have more than five or six children. As soon as an infant is able to walk, it is permitted to run about with great freedom. The mother is not over solicitous to preserve it from slight falls, and other trifling accidents. A little practice soon enables the child to take care of itself, and experience acts the part of a nurse. As they advance in life, the girls are taught to spin cotton, and to beat corn, and are instructed in other domestic duties; and the boys are employed in the labours of the field. Both sexes, whether bush-reens or kafirs, on attaining the age of puberty are circumcised. This painful operation is not considered by the kafirs so much in the light of a religious ceremony as a matter of convenience and utility. They have, indeed, a superstitious notion that it contributes to render the marriage state prolific. The operation is performed upon several young people at the same time; all of whom are exempted from every sort of labour for two months afterwards. During this period, they form a society called *Solimana*. They visit the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, where they dance and sing, and are well treated by the inhabitants. I had frequently, in the course of my journey, observed parties of this description, but they were all males. I had, however, an opportunity of seeing a female *Solimana* at Kamalia.

In the course of the celebration, it frequently happens that some of the young women get married. If a man takes a fancy to any one of them, it is not considered as absolutely necessary, that he should make an overture to the girl herself. The first object is to agree with the parents, concerning the recompence to be given them, for the loss of the company and services of their daughter. The value of two slaves is a common price, unless the girl is thought very handsome; in which case, the parents will raise their demand very considerably. If the lover is rich enough, and willing to give the sum demanded, he then communicates his wishes to the damsel; but her consent is by no means necessary to the match; for if the parents agree to it, and eat a few *kolla-nuts*, which are presented by the suitor as an earnest of the bargain, the young lady must either have the man of their choice, or continue unmarried, for she cannot afterwards be given to another. If the parents should attempt it, the lover is then authorized, by the laws of the country, to seize upon the girl as his slave. When the day for celebrating the nuptials is fixed on, a select number of people are invited to be present at the wedding; a bullock or goat is killed, and great plenty of victuals dressed for the occasion. As soon as it is dark, the bride is conducted into a hut, where a company of matrons assist in arranging the wedding dress, which is always white cotton, and is put on in such a manner as to conceal the bride from head to foot. Thus arrayed, she is seated upon a mat, in the middle of the floor, and the old women place themselves in a circle round her. They then give her a series of instructions, and point out, with great propriety, what ought to be her future conduct in life. This scene of instruction, however, is frequently interrupted by girls, who amuse the company with songs and dances, which are rather more remarkable for their gaiety than delicacy. While the bride remains within the hut with the women, the bridegroom devotes his attention to the guests of both sexes, who assemble without doors, and by distributing among them small presents of *kolla-nuts*, and seeing that every one partakes of the good cheer which is provided, he contributes much to the general hilarity of the evening. When supper is ended, the company spend the remainder of the night in singing and dancing, and seldom separate until day-break. About midnight the bride is privately conducted by the women into the hut which is to be her future residence; and the bridegroom, upon a signal given, retires from his company. The new married couple, however, are always disturbed towards morning by the women, who assemble to inspect the nuptial sheet (according to the manners of the ancient Hebrews, as recorded in scripture), and dance round it. This ceremony is thought indispensably necessary, nor is the marriage considered as valid without it.

The Negroes, as hath been frequently observed, whether Mahomedan or Pagan, allow a plurality of wives. The Mahomedans alone, are by their religion confined to four; and as the husband commonly pays a great price for each, he requires from all of them the utmost deference and submission, and treats them more like hired servants than companions. They have, however, the management of domestic affairs, and each in rotation is mistress of the household, and has the care of dressing the victuals, overlooking the female slaves, &c. But though the African husbands are possessed of great authority over their wives, I did not observe, that in general they treat them with cruelty; neither did I perceive that mean jealousy in their dispositions, which is so prevalent among the Moors. They permit their wives to partake of all public diversions, and this indulgence is seldom abused; for though the Negro women are very cheerful and frank in their behaviour, they are by no means given to intrigue: I believe that instances of conjugal infidelity are not common. When the wives quarrel

rel among themselves, a circumstance which from the nature of their situation, must frequently happen, the husband decides between them; and sometimes finds it necessary to administer a little corporal chastisement, before tranquillity can be restored. But if any one of the ladies complains to the chief of the town, that her husband has unjustly punished her, and shewn an undue partiality to some other of his wives, the affair is brought to a public trial. In these *palavers*, however, which are conducted chiefly by married men, I was informed that the complaint of the wife, is not always considered in a very serious light; and the complainant herself is sometimes convicted of strife and contention, and left without remedy. If she murmurs at the decision of the court, the magic rod of *Mumbo Jumbo* soon puts an end to the business.

The children of the Mandingoes are not always named after their relations; but frequently in consequence of some remarkable occurrence. Thus, my landlord at Kamalia, was called *Karfa*, a word signifying *to replace*; because he was born shortly after the death of one his brothers. Other names are descriptive of good or bad qualities; as *Modi*, "a good man;" *Fadibba*, "father of the town," &c.: indeed the very names of their towns have something descriptive in them; as *Sibidooloo*, "the town of ciba trees;" *Kenneyeto*, "viſtuals here;" *Dofita*, "lift your ſpoon." Others ſeem to be given by way of reproach, as *Bammakoo*, "waſh a crocodile;" *Karankalla*, "no cup to drink from," &c. A child is named, when it is ſeven or eight days old. The ceremony commences by ſhaving the infant's head; and a diſh called *Dega*, made of pounded corn and four milk, is prepared for the gueſts. If the parents are rich, a ſheep or a goat is commonly added. The feaſt is called *Ding koon lee*, "the child's head ſhaving." During my ſtay at Kamalia, I was preſent at four different feaſts of this kind; and the ceremony was the ſame in each, whether the child belonged to a buſhreen or a kafir. The ſchoolmaſter, who officiated as prieſt on theſe occaſions, and who is neceſſarily a buſhreen, firſt ſaid a long prayer over the *dega*; during which every perſon preſent took hold of the brim of the calabafh with his right hand. After this, the ſchoolmaſter took the child in his arms, and ſaid a ſecond prayer; in which he repeatedly ſolicited the bleſſing of God upon the child, and upon all the company. When this prayer was ended, he whiſpered a few ſentences in the child's ear, and ſpit three times in its face; after which he pronounced his name aloud, and returned the infant to the mother. This part of the ceremony being ended the father of the child divided the *dega* into a number of balls, one of which he diſtributed to every perſon preſent. And inquiry was then made, if any perſon in the town was dangerously ſick, it being uſual, in ſuch caſes, to ſend the party a large portion of the *dega*; which is thought to poſſeſs great medical virtues.*

Among the Negroes, every individual, beſides his own proper name, has likewiſe a *kontong*, or ſurname, to denote the family or clan to which he belongs. Some of theſe families are very numerous and powerful. It is impoſſible to enumerate the various *kontongs* which are found in different parts of the country; though the knowledge of many of them is of great ſervice to the traveller: for as every Negro plumes himſelf upon the importance or the antiquity of his clan, he is much flattered when he is addreſſed by his *kontong*.

Salutations among the Negroes to each other, when they meet, are always obſerved; but thoſe in moſt general uſe among the kafirs, are *Abbe haeretto* — *E ning ſeni*, —

* Soon after baptiſm, the children are marked in different parts of the ſkin, in a manner reſembling what is called *tattooing* in the South-ſea Iſlands.

Anawari, &c. all of which have nearly the same meaning, and signify, *are you well*, or to that effect. There are likewise salutations which are used at different times of the day, as *E ning somo*, good morning, &c. The general answer to all salutations, is to repeat the *kuntong* of the person who salutes, or else to repeat the salutation itself, first pronouncing the word *markaba*, my friend.

CHAP. VII. — *The Account of the Mandingoes continued. — Their Nations in respect of the Planetary Bodies, and the Figure of the Earth. — Their religious Opinions, and Belief in a Future State. — Their Diseases and Methods of Treatment. — Their Funeral Ceremonies, Amusements, Occupations, Diet, Arts, Manufactures, &c.*

THE Mandingoes, and, I believe, the Negroes in general, have no artificial method of dividing time. They calculate the years by the number of *rainy seasons*. They portion the year into *moons*, and reckon the days by so many *suns*. The day they divide into morning, mid-day, and evening; and further subdivide it, when necessary, by pointing to the sun's place in the heavens. I frequently inquired of some of them what became of the sun during the night, and whether we should see the same sun, or a different one, in the morning: but I found that they considered the question as very childish. The subject appeared to them as placed beyond the reach of human investigation; they had never indulged a conjecture, nor formed any hypothesis about the matter. The moon, by varying her form, has more attracted their attention. On the first appearance of the new moon, which they look upon to be newly created, the Pagan natives, as well as Mahomedans, say a short prayer; and this seems to be the only visible adoration which the kafirs offer up to the Supreme Being. This prayer is pronounced in a whisper; the party holding up his hands before his face: its purport (as I have been assured by many different people) is to return thanks to God for his kindness through the existence of the past moon, and to solicit a continuation of his favour during that of the new one. At the conclusion, they spit upon their hands, and rub them over their faces. This seems to be nearly the same ceremony which prevailed among the heathens in the days of Job. *

Great attention, however, is paid to the changes of this luminary, in its monthly course: and it is thought very unlucky to begin a journey or any other work of consequence in the last quarter. An eclipse, whether of the sun or moon, is supposed to be effected by witchcraft. The stars are very little regarded; and the whole study of astronomy appears to them as a useless pursuit, and attended to by such persons only as deal in magic.

Their notions of geography are equally puerile. They imagine that the world is an extended plain, the termination of which no eye has discovered; it being, they say, overhung with clouds and darkness. They describe the sea as a large river of salt water, on the farther shore of which is situated a country called *Tobaubo doo*, "the land of the white people." At a distance from *Tobaubo doo*, they describe another country, which they alledge is inhabited by cannibals of a gigantic size, called *Koomi*. This country they call *Jong sang doo*, "the land where the slaves are sold." But of all countries in the world their own appears to them as the best, and their own people as the happiest; and they pity the fate of other nations who have been placed by Providence in less fertile and less fortunate districts.

* Chap. xxxi. ver. 26, 27, 28.

Some of the religious opinions of the Negroes, though blended with the weakest credulity and superstition, are not unworthy of attention. I have conversed with all ranks and conditions upon the subject of their faith, and can pronounce, without the smallest shadow of doubt, that the belief of one God, and of a future state of reward and punishment is entire and universal among them. It is remarkable, however, that except on the appearance of a new moon, as before related, the Pagan natives do not think it necessary to offer up prayers and supplications to the Almighty. They represent the Deity, indeed, as the creator and preserver of all things; but in general they consider him as a Being so remote, and of so exalted a nature, that it is idle to imagine the feeble supplications of wretched mortals can reverse the decrees and change the purposes of unerring Wisdom. If they are asked for what reason then do they offer up a prayer on the appearance of the new moon; the answer is, that custom has made it necessary; they do it, because their fathers did it before them. Such is the blindness of unassisted nature! The concerns of this world, they believe, are committed by the Almighty to the superintendence and direction of subordinate spirits, over whom they suppose that certain magical ceremonies have great influence. A white fowl suspended to the branch of a particular tree; a snake's head, or a few handfuls of fruit, are offerings which ignorance and superstition frequently present, to deprecate the wrath, or to conciliate the favour of these tutelary agents. But it is not often that the Negroes make their religious opinions the subject of conversation: when interrogated, in particular concerning their ideas of a future state, they express themselves with great reverence, but endeavour to shorten the discussion by observing — *mo o mo into allo*, “no man knows any thing about it.” They are content, they say, to follow the precepts and examples of their forefathers, through the various vicissitudes of life; and when this world presents no objects of enjoyment or comfort, they seem to look with anxiety towards another, which they believe will be better suited to their natures; but concerning which they are far from indulging vain and delusive conjectures.

The Mandingoes seldom attain extreme old age. At forty, most of them become grey haired, and covered with wrinkles; and but few of them survive the age of fifty-five or sixty. They calculate the years of their lives, as I have already observed, by the number of rainy seasons (there being but one such in the year); and distinguish each year by a particular name, founded on some remarkable occurrence which happened in that year. Thus they say the year of the *Farbanna war*; the year of the *Kaarta war*; the year on which *Gadou was plundered*, &c. &c.; and I have no doubt that the year 1796, will in many places be distinguished by the name of *Tobaubo tambisang*, “the year the white man passed;” as such an occurrence would naturally form an epoch in their traditional history.

But notwithstanding that longevity is uncommon among them, it appeared to me, that their diseases are but few in number. Their simple diet, and active way of life, preserve them from many of those disorders which imbitter the days of luxury and idleness. Fevers and fluxes are the most common, and the most fatal. For these, they generally apply saphies to different parts of the body, and perform a great many other superstitious ceremonies; some of which are, indeed, well calculated to inspire the patient with the hope of recovery, and divert his mind from brooding over his own danger. But I have sometimes observed among them a more systematic mode of treatment. On the first attack of a fever, when the patient complains of cold, he is frequently placed in a sort of vapour: this is done by spreading branches of the *nauclea orientalis*

upon hot wood embers, and laying the patient upon them, wrapped up in a large cotton cloth. Water is then sprinkled upon the branches, which descending to the hot embers, soon covers the patient with a cloud of vapour, in which he is allowed to remain until the embers are almost extinguished. This practice commonly produces a profuse perspiration, and wonderfully relieves the sufferer.

For the dysentery, they use the bark of different trees reduced to powder, and mixed with the patient's food : but this practice is in general very unsuccessful.

The other diseases which prevail among the Negroes, are the *yaws* : the *elephantiasis* ; and a *leprosy* of the very worst kind. This last mentioned complaint appears, at the beginning, in scurfy spots upon different parts of the body, which finally settle upon the hands or feet, where the skin becomes withered, and cracks in many places. At length, the ends of the fingers swell and ulcerate ; the discharge is acrid and fetid ; the nails drop off, and the bones of the fingers become carious, and separate at the joints. In this manner the disease continues to spread, frequently until the patient loses all his fingers and toes. Even the hands and feet are sometimes destroyed by this inveterate malady, to which the Negroes give the name of *balla jou*, " incurable."

The *Guinea worm* is likewise very common in certain places, especially at the commencement of the rainy season. The Negroes attribute this disease, which has been described by many writers, to bad water ; and allege that the people who drink from wells are more subject to it than those who drink from streams. To the same cause, they attribute the swelling of the glands of the neck (goitres), which are very common in some parts of Bambarra. I observed also, in the interior countries, a few instances of simple gonorrhoea ; but never the confirmed lues. On the whole it appeared to me that the Negroes are better surgeons than physicians. I found them very successful in their management of fractures and dislocations, and their splints and bandages are simple and easily removed. The patient is laid upon a soft mat, and the fractured limb is frequently bathed with cold water. All abscesses they open with the actual cautery ; and the dressings are composed of either soft leaves, Shea butter, or cows' dung, as the case seems, in their judgment, to require. Towards the coast, where a supply of European lancets can be procured, they sometimes perform phlebotomy ; and in cases of local inflammation, a curious sort of cupping is practised. This operation is performed by making incisions in the part, and applying to it a bullock's horn, with a small hole in the end. The operator then takes a piece of bees-wax in his mouth, and putting his lips to the hole, extracts the air from the horn ; and by a dexterous use of his tongue, stops up the hole with the wax. This method is found to answer the purpose, and in general produces a plentiful discharge.

When a person of consequence dies, the relations and neighbours meet together, and manifest their sorrow by loud and dismal howlings. A bullock or goat is killed for such persons as come to assist at the funeral ; which generally takes place in the evening of the same day on which the party died. The Negroes have no appropriate burial places, and frequently dig the grave in the floor of the deceased's hut, or in the shade of a favourite tree. The body is dressed in white cotton, and wrapped up in a mat. It is carried to the grave in the dusk of the evening by the relations. If the grave is without the walls of the town, a number of prickly bushes are laid upon it, to prevent the wolves from digging up the body ; but I never observed that any stone was placed over the grave, as a monument or memorial.

Hitherto I have considered the Negroes chiefly in a moral light ; and confined myself to the most prominent features in their mental character ; their domestic amusements,

occupations, and diet ; their arts and manufactures, with some other subordinate objects, are now to be noticed.

Of their music and dances, some account has incidentally been given in different parts of my journal. On the first of these heads, I have now to add a list of their musical instruments, the principal of which are, —the *koonting*, a sort of guitar, with three strings ; —the *korro*, a large harp, with eighteen strings ; —the *simbing*, a small harp with seven strings ; —the *balafou*, an instrument composed of twenty pieces of hard wood of different lengths, with the shells of gourds hung underneath, to increase the sound ; —the *tangtang*, a drum, open at the lower end ; and lastly, the *tabala*, a large drum, commonly used to spread an alarm through the country. Besides these, they make use of small flutes, bowstrings, elephants' teeth, and bells ; and at all their dances and concerts *clapping of hands* appears to constitute a necessary part of the chorus.

With the love of music is naturally connected a taste for poetry ; and, fortunately for the poets of Africa, they are in a great measure exempted from that neglect and indigence, which in more polished countries commonly attend the votaries of the Muses. They consist of two classes ; the most numerous are the *singing-men*, called *Jilli kea*, mentioned in a former part of my narrative. One or more of these may be found in every town. They sing extempore songs in honour of their chief men, or any other persons who are willing to give "solid pudding for empty praise." But a nobler part of their office is to recite the historical events of their country : hence, in war, they accompany the soldiers to the field in order, by reciting the great actions of their ancestors, to awaken in them a spirit of glorious emulation. The other class are devotees of the Mahometan faith, who travel about the country, singing devout hymns, and performing religious ceremonies, to conciliate the favour of the Almighty ; either in averting calamity, or ensuring success to any enterprise. Both descriptions of these itinerant bards are much employed and respected by the people, and very liberal contributions are made for them.

The usual diet of the Negroes is somewhat different in different districts ; in general, the people of free condition breakfast about daybreak, upon gruel made of meal and water, with a little of the fruit of the tamarind, to give it an acid taste. About two o'clock in the afternoon, a sort of hasty pudding, with a little Shea butter, is the common meal ; but the supper constitutes the principal repast, and is seldom ready before midnight. This consists almost universally of koukous, with a small portion of animal food, or Shea butter, mixed with it. In eating, the Kafirs as well as Mahomedans, use the right hand only.

The beverage of the Pagan Negroes are beer and mead ; of each of which they frequently drink to excess. The Mahomedan converts drink nothing but water. The natives of all descriptions take snuff, and smoke tobacco ; their pipes are made of wood, with an earthen bowl of curious workmanship. But in the interior countries, the greatest of all luxuries is salt. It would appear strange to an European, to see a child suck a piece of rock-salt, as if it were sugar. This, however, I have frequently seen ; although, in the inland parts, the poorer class of inhabitants are so very rarely indulged with this precious article, that to say *a man eats salt with his victuals*, is the same as saying, *he is a rich man*. I have myself suffered great inconvenience from the scarcity of this article. The long use of vegetable food creates so painful a longing for salt, that no words can sufficiently describe it.

The Negroes in general, and the Mandingoes in particular, are considered by the whites on the coast as an indolent and inactive people ; I think without reason. The

nature of the climate is, indeed, unfavourable to great exertion; but surely a people cannot justly be denominated habitually indolent, whose wants are supplied, not by the spontaneous productions of nature, but by their own exertions. Few people work harder, when occasion requires, than the Mandingoes; but not having many opportunities of turning to advantage the superfluous produce of their labour, they are content with cultivating as much ground only as is necessary for their own support. The labours of the field give them pretty full employment during the rains; and in the dry season, the people who live in the vicinity of large rivers employ themselves chiefly in fishing. The fish are taken in wicker baskets, or with small cotton nets; and are preserved by being first dried in the sun, and afterwards rubbed with Shea butter, to prevent them from contracting fresh moisture. Others of the natives employ themselves in hunting. Their weapons are bows and arrows; but the arrows in common use are not poisoned*. They are very dexterous marksmen, and will hit a lizard on a tree, or any other small object, at an amazing distance. They likewise kill Guinea-fowls, partridges, and pigeons, but never on the wing. While the men are occupied in these pursuits, the women are very diligent in manufacturing cotton cloth. They prepare the cotton for spinning, by laying it in small quantities at a time, upon a smooth stone, or piece of wood, and rolling the feeds out with a thick iron spindle; and they spin it with the distaff. The thread is not fine, but well twisted, and makes a very durable cloth. A woman, with common diligence, will spin from six to nine garments of this cloth in one year; which, according to its fineness, will sell for a *minkalli* and a half, or two *minkallies* each†. The weaving is performed by the men. The loom is made exactly upon the same principle as that of Europe; but so small and narrow, that the web is seldom more than four inches broad. The shuttle is of the common construction; but as the thread is coarse, the chamber is somewhat larger than the European.

The women dye this cloth of a rich and lasting blue colour, by the following simple process: the leaves of the indigo when fresh gathered, are pounded in a wooden mortar, and mixed in a large earthen jar, with a strong ley of wood ashes; chamber-ley is sometimes added. The cloth is steeped in this mixture, and allowed to remain until it has acquired the proper shade. In Kaarta and Ludamar, where the indigo is not plentiful, they collect the leaves, and dry them in the sun; and when they wish to use them, they reduce a sufficient quantity to powder, and mix it with the ley as before mentioned. Either way, the colour is very beautiful, with a fine purple gloss; and equal, in my opinion, to the best Indian or European blue. This cloth is cut into various pieces, and sewed into garments, with needles of the natives' own making.

As the arts of weaving, dying, sewing, &c. may easily be acquired, those who exercise them are not considered in Africa as following any particular profession; for almost every slave can weave, and every boy can sew. The only artists which are distinctly acknowledged as such by the Negroes, and who value themselves on exercising appropriate and peculiar trades, are the manufacturers of *leather* and of *iron*. The first of these, are called *Karrankeas* (or as the word is sometimes pronounced, *Gaun-*

* Poisoned arrows are used chiefly in war. The poison, which is said to be very deadly, is prepared from a shrub called *koona* (a species of *echinus*), which is very common in the woods. The leaves of this shrub, when boiled with a small quantity of water, yield a thick black juice, into which the Negroes dip a cotton thread; this thread they fasten round the iron of the arrow, in such a manner that it is almost impossible to extract the arrow, when it has sunk beyond the barbs, without leaving the iron point, and the poisoned thread, in the wound.

† A *minkalli* is a quantity of gold, nearly equal in value to ten shillings sterling.

gay). They are to be found in almost every town, and they frequently travel through the country in the exercise of their calling. They tan and dress leather with very great expedition, by steeping the hide first in a mixture of wood-ashes and water, until it parts with the hair; and afterwards by using the pounded leaves of a tree called *goo*, as an astringent.* They are at great pains to render the hide as soft and pliant as possible, by rubbing it frequently between their hands, and beating it upon a stone. The hides of bullocks are converted chiefly into sandals, and therefore require less care in dressing than the skins of sheep and goats, which are used for covering quivers and saphies, and in making sheaths for swords and knives, belts, pockets, and a variety of ornaments. These skins are commonly dyed of a red or yellow colour; the red, by means of millet stalks reduced to powder; and the yellow, by the root of a plant the name of which I have forgotten.

The manufactures in iron are not so numerous as the *Karrankeas*; but they appear to have studied their business with equal diligence. The Negroes on the coast being cheaply supplied with iron from the European traders, never attempt the manufacturing of this article themselves; but in the inland parts, the natives smelt this useful metal in such quantities, as not only to supply themselves from it with all necessary weapons and instruments, but even to make it an article of commerce with some of the neighbouring states. During my stay at Kamalia, there was a smelting furnace at a short distance from the hut where I lodged, and the owner and his workmen made no secret about the manner of conducting the operation; and readily allowed me to examine the furnace, and assist them in breaking the iron stone. The furnace was a circular tower of clay, about ten feet high, and three in diameter; surrounded in two places with withes, to prevent the clay from cracking and falling to pieces by the violence of the heat. Round the lower part, on a level with the ground (but not so low as the bottom of the furnace, which was somewhat concave), were made seven openings, into every one of which were placed three tubes of clay, and the openings again plastered up in such a manner that no air could enter the furnace, but through the tubes; by the opening and shutting of which they regulated the fire. These tubes were formed by plastering a mixture of clay and grass round a smooth roller of wood, which as soon as the clay began to harden was withdrawn, and the tube left to dry in the sun. The iron-stone which I saw was very heavy and of a dull red colour, with greyish specks; it was broken into pieces about the size of a hen's egg. A bundle of dry wood was first put into the furnace, and covered with a considerable quantity of charcoal, which was brought ready burnt from the woods. Over this was laid a stratum of iron-stone, and then another of charcoal, and so on, until the furnace was quite full. The fire was applied through one of the tubes, and blown for some time with a bellows made of goats' skins. The operation went on very slowly at first, and it was some hours before the flame appeared above the furnace; but after this, it burnt with great violence all the first night; and the people who attended put in at times more charcoal. On the day following the fire was not so fierce, and on the second night some of the tubes were withdrawn, and the air allowed to have freer access to the furnace; but the heat was still very great, and a bluish flame rose some feet above the top of the furnace. On the third day from the commencement of the operation, all the tubes were taken out, the ends of many of them being vitrified with the heat; but the metal was not removed until some days afterwards, when the whole was perfectly cool. Part of the furnace was then taken down, and the iron appeared in the form of a large irregular mass, with pieces of charcoal adhering to it. It was sonorous; and when any portion was broken off, the fracture exhibited

a granu-

a granulated appearance, like broken steel. The owner informed me that many parts of this cake were useless, but still there was good iron enough to repay him for his trouble. This iron, or rather steel, is formed into various instruments, by being repeatedly heated in a forge, the heat of which is urged by a pair of double bellows, of a very simple construction, being made of two goats' skins; the tubes from which unite, before they enter the forge, and supply a constant and very regular blast. The hammer, forceps, and anvil are all very simple, and the workmanship (particularly in the formation of knives and spears) is not destitute of merit. The iron, indeed, is hard and brittle; and requires much labour before it can be made to answer the purpose.

Most of the African blacksmiths are acquainted also with the method of smelting gold, in which process they use an alkaline salt, obtained from a ley of burnt corn-stalks evaporated to dryness. They likewise draw the gold into wire, and form it into a variety of ornaments, some of which are executed with a great deal of taste and ingenuity.

Such is the chief information I obtained concerning the present state of arts and manufactures in those regions of Africa which I explored in my journey. I might add, though it is scarce worthy observation, that in Bambarra and Kaarta, the natives make very beautiful baskets, hats, and other articles, both for use and ornament, from *rustes*, which they stain of different colours; and they contrive also to cover their calabashes with interwoven cane, dyed in the same manner.

In all the laborious occupations above described, the master and his slaves work together, without any distinction of superiority. Hired servants, by which I mean persons of free condition, voluntarily working for pay, are unknown in Africa; and this observation naturally leads me to consider the condition of the slaves, and the various means by which they are reduced to so miserable a state of servitude. This unfortunate class are found, I believe, in all parts of this extensive country, and constitute a considerable branch of commerce, with the states on the Mediterranean, as well as with the nations of Europe.

CHAP. VIII.—*Observations concerning the State and Sources of Slavery in Africa.*

A STATE of subordination, and certain inequalities of rank and condition, are inevitable in every stage of civil society; but when this subordination is carried to so great a length, that the persons and services of one part of the community are entirely at the disposal of another part, it may then be denominated a state of slavery; and in this condition of life, a great body of the Negro inhabitants of Africa have continued from the most early period of their history; with this aggravation, that their children are born to no other inheritance.

The slaves in Africa, I suppose, are nearly in the proportion of three to one to the freemen. They claim no reward for their services, except food and clothing; and are treated with kindness or severity, according to the good or bad disposition of their masters. Custom, however, has established certain rules with regard to the treatment of slaves, which it is thought dishonourable to violate. Thus, the domestic slaves, or such as are born in a man's own house, are treated with more lenity than those which are purchased with money. The authority of the master over the domestic slave, as I have elsewhere observed, extends only to reasonable correction: for the master cannot sell his domestic, without having first brought him to a public trial, before the chief
men.

men of the place*. But these restrictions on the power of the master extend not to the case of prisoners taken in war, nor to that of slaves purchased with money. All these unfortunate beings are considered as strangers and foreigners, who have no right to the protection of the law, and may be treated with severity, or sold to a stranger, according to the pleasure of their owners. There are, indeed, regular markets where slaves of this description are bought and sold; and the value of a slave in the eye of an African purchaser, increases in proportion to his distance from his native kingdom; for when slaves are only a few days' journey from the place of their nativity, they frequently effect their escape; but when one or more kingdoms intervene, escape being more difficult, they are more readily reconciled to their situation. On this account the unhappy slave is frequently transferred from one dealer to another, until he has lost all hopes of returning to his native kingdom. The slaves which are purchased by the Europeans on the coast, are chiefly of this description; a few of them are collected in the petty wars, hereafter to be described, which take place near the coast; but by far the greater number are brought down in large caravans from the inland countries, of which many are unknown, even by name, to the Europeans. The slaves which are thus brought from the interior, may be divided into two distinct classes; *first*, such as were slaves from their birth, having been born of enslaved mothers; *secondly*, such as were born free, but who afterwards, by whatever means, became slaves. Those of the first description are by far the most numerous; for prisoners taken in war (at least such as are taken in open and declared war, when one kingdom avows hostilities against another) are generally of this description. The comparatively small proportion of free people to the enslaved, throughout Africa, has already been noticed; and it must be observed, that men of free condition have many advantages over the slaves, even in war time. They are in general better armed, and well mounted; and can either fight or escape with some hopes of success; but the slaves, who have only their spears and bows, and of whom great numbers are loaded with baggage, become an easy prey. Thus, when Mansong, King of Bambarra, made war upon Kaarta (as I have related in a former Chapter), he took in one day nine hundred prisoners, of which number not more than seventy were free men. This account I received from Daman Jumma, who had thirty slaves at Kemmoo, all of whom were made prisoners by Mansong. Again, when a freeman is taken prisoner, his friends will sometimes ransom him by giving two slaves in exchange; but when a slave is taken, he has no hopes of such redemption. To these disadvantages it is to be added, that the Slavees, who purchase slaves in the interior countries, and carry them down to the coast for sale, constantly prefer such as have been in that condition of life from their infancy, well knowing that these have been accustomed to hunger and fatigue, and are better able to sustain the hardships of a long and painful journey than free men; and on their reaching the coast, if no opportunity offers of selling them to advantage, they can easily be made to maintain themselves by their labour; neither are they so apt to attempt making their escape, as those who have once tasted the blessings of freedom.

Slaves of the second description, generally become such by one or other of the following causes, 1. *Captivity*. 2. *Famine*. 3. *Insolvency*. 4. *Crimes*. A freeman

* In time of famine, the master is permitted to sell one or more of his domestics, to purchase provisions for his family; and in case of the master's insolvency, the domestic slaves are sometimes seized upon by the creditors; and if the master cannot redeem them, they are liable to be sold for payment of his debts. These are the only cases that I recollect, in which the domestic slaves are liable to be sold, without any misconduct or demerit of their own.

may, by the established customs of Africa, become a slave by being taken in war. War is, of all others, the most productive source, and was probably the origin of slavery; for when one nation had taken from another a greater number of captives than could be exchanged on equal terms, it is natural to suppose that the conquerors, finding it inconvenient to maintain their prisoners, would compel them to labour; at first, perhaps, only for their own support, but afterwards to support their masters. Be this as it may, it is a known fact, that prisoners of war in Africa are the slaves of the conquerors; and when the weak or unsuccessful warrior begs for mercy beneath the uplifted spear of his opponent, he gives up at the same time his claim to liberty, and purchases his life at the expence of his freedom.

In a country, divided into a thousand petty states, mostly independent and jealous of each other; where every freeman is accustomed to arms, and fond of military achievements; where the youth who has practised the bow and spear from his infancy, longs for nothing so much as an opportunity to display his valour, it is natural to imagine that wars frequently originate from very frivolous provocation. When one nation is more powerful than another, a pretext is seldom wanting for commencing hostilities. Thus the war between Kajaaga and Kaffon was occasioned by the detention of a fugitive slave: that between Bambarra and Kaarta by the loss of a few cattle. Other cases of the same nature perpetually occur, in which the folly or mad ambition of their princes, and the zeal of their religious enthusiasts give full employment to the scythe of desolation.

The wars of Africa are of two kinds, which are distinguished by different appellations: that species which bears the greatest resemblance to our European contests, is denominated *killi*, a word signifying "to call out," because such wars are openly avowed and previously declared. Wars of this description in Africa commonly terminate, however, in the course of a single campaign. A battle is fought; the vanquished seldom think of rallying again; the whole inhabitants become panic struck; and the conquerors have only to bind the slaves, and carry off their plunder and their victims. Such of the prisoners as, through age or infirmity, are unable to endure fatigue, or are found unfit for sale, are considered as useless; and I have no doubt are frequently put to death. The same fate commonly awaits a chief, or any other person who has taken a very distinguished part in the war. And here it may be observed, that, notwithstanding this exterminating system, it is surprising to behold how soon an African town is rebuilt and repopled. The circumstance arises probably from this; that their pitched battles are few; the weakest know their own situation, and seek safety in flight. When their country has been desolated, and their ruined towns and villages deserted by the enemy, such of the inhabitants as have escaped the *sword*, and the *chain*, generally return, though with cautious steps, to the place of their nativity; for it seems to be the universal wish of mankind to spend the evening of their days where they passed their infancy. The poor Negro feels this desire in its full force. To him no water is sweet but what is drawn from his own well; and no tree has so cool and pleasant a shade as the *tabba* tree* of his native village. When war compels him to abandon the delightful spot in which he first drew his breath, and seek for safety in some other kingdom, his time is spent in talking about the country of his ancestors; and no sooner is peace restored than he turns his back upon the land of strangers, rebuilds with haste his fallen walls, and exults to see the smoke ascend from his native village.

* This is a large spreading tree (a species of *Acacia*) under which the bentang is commonly placed.

The other species of African warfare is distinguished by the appellation of *tegria*, "plundering or stealing." It arises from a sort of hereditary feud which the inhabitants of one nation or district bear towards another. No immediate cause of hostility is assigned, or notice of attack given; but the inhabitants of each watch every opportunity to plunder and distress the objects of their animosity by predatory excursions. These are very common, particularly about the beginning of the dry season, when the labour of the harvest is over and provisions are plentiful. Schemes of vengeance are then meditated. The chief man surveys the number and activity of his vassals, as they brandish their spears at festivals; and elated with his own importance, turns his whole thoughts towards revenging some depredation or insult, which either he or his ancestors may have received from a neighbouring state.

Wars of this description are generally conducted with great secrecy. A few resolute individuals, headed by some person of enterprise and courage, march quietly through the woods, surprise in the night some unprotected village, and carry off the inhabitants and their effects, before their neighbours can come to their assistance. One morning, during my stay at Kamalia, we were all much alarmed by a party of this kind. The King of Fooladoo's son, with five hundred horsemen, passed secretly through the woods, a little to the southward of Kamalia, and on the morning following plundered three towns belonging to Madigai, a powerful chief in Jallonkadoo.

The success of this expedition encouraged the governor of Bangassi, a town in Fooladoo, to make a second inroad upon another part of the same country. Having assembled about two hundred of his people, he passed the river Kokoro in the night, and carried off a great number of prisoners. Several of the inhabitants who had escaped these attacks, were afterwards seized by the Mandingoes, as they wandered about in the woods, or concealed themselves in the glens and strong places of the mountains.

These plundering excursions always produce speedy retaliation: and when large parties cannot be collected for this purpose, a few friends will combine together, and advance into the enemy's country, with a view to plunder, or carry off the inhabitants. A single individual has been known to take his bow and quiver, and proceed in like manner. Such an attempt is doubtless in him an act of rashness; but when it is considered that in one of these predatory wars he has probably been deprived of his child, or his nearest relation, his situation will rather call for pity than censure. The poor sufferer, urged on by the feelings of domestic or paternal attachment, and the ardour of revenge, conceals himself among the bushes, until some young or unarmed person passes by. He then, tyger-like, springs upon his prey, drags his victim into the thicket, and in the night carries him off as a slave.

When a Negro has, by means like these, once fallen into the hands of his enemies, he is either retained as the slave of his conqueror, or bartered into a distant kingdom; for an African, when he has once subdued his enemy, will seldom give him an opportunity of lifting up his hand against him at a future period. A conqueror commonly disposes of his captives according to the rank which they held in their native kingdom. Such of the domestic slaves as appear to be of a mild disposition, and particularly the young women, are retained as his own slaves. Others that display marks of discontent, are disposed of in a distant country; and such of the freemen, or slaves, as have taken an active part in the war, are either sold to the slavees or put to death. War, therefore, is certainly the most general and most productive source of slavery; and the desolations of war often (but not always) produce the second cause of slavery, *famine*; in which case a freeman becomes a slave to avoid a greater calamity.

Perhaps, by a philosophic and reflecting mind, death itself would scarcely be considered as a greater calamity than slavery; but the poor Negro, when fainting with hunger, thinks like ESAU of old; "*Behold I am at the point to die, and what profit shall this birthright do to me?*" There are many instances of freemen voluntarily surrendering up their liberty to save their lives. During a great scarcity which lasted for three years, in the countries of the Gambia, great numbers of people became slaves in this manner. Dr. Laidley assured me that, at that time, many freemen came and begged, with great earnestness, *to be put upon his slave-chain*, to save them from perishing of hunger. Large families are very often exposed to absolute want: and as the parents have almost unlimited authority over their children, it frequently happens, in all parts of Africa, that some of the latter are sold to purchase provisions for the rest of the family. When I was at Jarra, Daman Jumma pointed out to me three young slaves which he had purchased in this manner. I have already related another instance which I saw at Wonda: and I was informed that in Fooladoo, at that time, it was a very common practice.

The third cause of slavery, is *insolvency*. Of all the offences (if insolvency may be so called) to which the laws of Africa have affixed the punishment of slavery, this is the most common. A Negro trader commonly contracts debts on some mercantile speculation, either from his neighbours, to purchase such articles as will sell to advantage in a distant market, or from the European traders on the coast; payment to be made in a given time. In both cases, the situation of the adventurer is exactly the same. If he succeeds, he may secure an independency. If he is unsuccessful, his person and services are at the disposal of another; for in Africa, not only the effects of the insolvent, but even the insolvent himself, is sold to satisfy the lawful demands of his creditors*.

The fourth cause above enumerated, is *the commission of crimes, on which the laws of the country affix slavery as a punishment*. In Africa, the only offences of this class are murder, adultery, and witchcraft; and I am happy to say, that they did not appear to me to be common. In cases of murder, I was informed, that the nearest relation of the deceased had it in his power, after conviction, either to kill the offender with his own hand, or sell him into slavery. When adultery occurs, it is generally left to the option of the person injured, either to sell the culprit, or accept such a ransom for him as he may think equivalent to the injury he has sustained. By witchcraft, is meant pretended magic, by which the lives or healths of persons are affected: in other words, it is the administering of poison. No trial for this offence, however, came under my observation while I was in Africa; and I therefore suppose that the crime and its punishment occur but very seldom.

When a freeman has become a slave by any one of the causes before mentioned, he generally continues so for life, and his children (if they are born of an enslaved mother) are brought up in the same state of servitude. There are, however, a few instances of slaves obtaining their freedom, and sometimes even with the consent of

* When a Negro takes up goods on credit from any of the Europeans on the coast, and does not make payment at the time appointed, the European is authorized, by the laws of the country, to seize upon the debtor himself, if he can find him; or if he cannot be found, on any person of his family; or in the last resort, on any native of the same kingdom. The person thus seized on is detained while his friends are sent in quest of the debtor. When he is found, a meeting is called of the chief people of the place, and the debtor is compelled to ransom his friend by fulfilling his engagements. If he is unable to do this, his person is immediately secured and sent down to the coast, and the other released. If the debtor cannot be found, the person seized on is obliged to pay double the amount of the debt, or is himself sold into slavery. I was given to understand, however, that this part of the law is seldom enforced.

their masters; as by performing some singular piece of service, or by going to battle, and bringing home two slaves as a ransom; but the common way of regaining freedom is by escape; and when slaves have once set their minds on running away, they often succeed. Some of them will wait for years before an opportunity presents itself, and during that period shew no signs of discontent. In general, it may be remarked that slaves who come from a hilly country, and have been much accustomed to hunting and travel, are more apt to attempt their escape, than such as are born in a flat country, and have been employed in cultivating the land.

Such are the general outlines of that system of slavery which prevails in Africa; and it is evident from its nature and extent, that it is a system of no modern date. It probably had its origin in the remote ages of antiquity, before the Mahomedans explored a path across the desert. How far it is maintained and supported by the slave traffic, which, for two hundred years, the nations of Europe have carried on with the natives of the coast, it is neither within my province, nor in my power, to explain. If my sentiments should be required concerning the effect which a discontinuance of that commerce would produce on the manners of the natives, I should have no hesitation in observing, that, in the present unenlightened state of their minds, my opinion is, the effect would neither be so extensive or beneficial, as many wise and worthy persons fondly expect.

CHAP. IX. — *Of Gold-dust, and the Manner in which it is collected. — Process of Washing it. — Its Value in Africa. — Of Ivory. — Surprise of the Negroes at the Eagerness of the Europeans for this Commodity. — Scattered Teeth frequently picked up in the Woods. — Mode of hunting the Elephant. — Some Reflections on the unimproved State of the Country, &c.*

THOSE valuable commodities, gold and ivory (the next objects of our inquiry) have probably been found in Africa from the first ages of the world. They are reckoned among its most important productions in the earliest records of its history.

It has been observed, that gold is seldom or never discovered except in *mountainous* and *barren* countries; nature, it is said, thus making amends in one way for her penuriousness in the other. This, however, is not wholly true. Gold is found in considerable quantities throughout every part of Manding; a country which is indeed hilly, but cannot properly be called *mountainous*, much less *barren*. It is also found in great plenty in Jallonkadoo (particularly about Boori), another hilly, but by no means an infertile country. It is remarkable, that in the place last mentioned (Boori), which is situated about four days' journey to the south-west of Kamalia, the salt-market is often supplied, at the same time, with rock-salt from the Great Desert, and sea-salt from the Rio Grande; the price of each, at this distance from its source, being nearly the same; and the dealers in each, whether Moors from the north, or Negroes from the west, are invited thither by the same motives, that of bartering their salt for gold.

The gold of Manding, so far as I could learn, is never found in any matrix or vein, but always in small grains, nearly in a pure state, from the size of a pin's head to that of a pea; scattered through a large body of sand or clay; and in this state it is called by the Mandingoes *janoo munko*, "gold powder." It is, however, extremely probable, by what I could learn of the situation of the ground, that most of it has originally been washed

washed down by repeated torrents from the neighbouring hills. The manner in which it is collected is nearly as follows :

About the beginning of December, when the harvest is over, and the streams and torrents have greatly subsided, the *manfa*, or chief man of the town, appoints a day to begin *sanoo koo*, "gold washing;" and the women are sure to have themselves in readiness by the time appointed. A hoe or spade for digging up the sand, two or three calabashes for washing it in, and a few quills for containing the gold dust, are all the implements necessary for the purpose. On the morning of their departure, a bullock is killed for the first day's entertainment, and a number of prayers and charms are used to ensure success; for a failure on that day is thought a bad omen. The *manfa* of Kamalia, with fourteen of his people, were, I remember, so much disappointed in their first day's washing, that very few of them had resolution to persevere; and the few that did, had but very indifferent success; which indeed is not much to be wondered at; for instead of opening some untried place, they continue to dig and wash in the same spot where they had dug and washed for years; and where, of course, but few large grains could be left.

The washing the sands of the streams is by far the easiest way of obtaining the gold-dust; but in most places the sands have been so narrowly searched before, that unless the stream takes some new course, the gold is found but in small quantities. While some of the party are busied in washing the sands, others employ themselves farther up the torrent, where the rapidity of the stream has carried away all the clay, sand, &c. and left nothing but small pebbles. The search among these is a very troublesome task. I have seen women who have had the skin worn off the tops of their fingers in this employment. Sometimes, however, they are rewarded by finding pieces of gold, which they call *sanoo birro*, "gold stones," that amply repay them for their trouble. A woman and her daughter, inhabitants of Kamalia, found in one day two pieces of this kind; one of five drachms, and the other of three drachms, weight. But the most certain and profitable mode of washing is practised in the height of the dry season by digging a deep pit, like a draw-well, near some hill which has previously been discovered to contain gold. The pit is dug with small spades or corn hoes, and the earth is drawn up in large calabashes. As the Negroes dig through the different strata of clay or sand, a calabash or two of each is washed, by way of experiment; and in this manner the labourers proceed, until they come to a stratum containing gold; or until they are obstructed by rocks, or inundated by water. In general, when they come to a stratum of fine reddish sand, with small black specks therein, they find gold in some proportion or other, and send up large calabashes full of the sand, for the women to wash; for though the pit is dug by the men, the gold is always washed by the women, who are accustomed from their infancy to a similar operation, in separating the husks of corn from the meal.

As I never descended into any of these pits, I cannot say in what manner they are worked under ground. Indeed, the situation in which I was placed, made it necessary for me to be cautious not to incur the suspicion of the natives, by examining too far into the riches of their country; but the manner of separating the gold from the sand is very simple, and is frequently performed by the women in the middle of the town; for when the searchers return from the valleys in the evening, they commonly bring with them each a calabash or two of sand, to be washed by such of the females as remain at home. The operation is simply as follows :

A portion of sand or clay (for gold is sometimes found in a brown coloured clay), is put into a large calabash, and mixed with a sufficient quantity of water. The woman, whose

whose office it is, then shakes the calabash in such a manner as to mix the sand and water together, and give the whole a rotatory motion; at first gently, but afterwards more quick, until a small portion of sand and water, at every revolution, flies over the brim of the calabash. The sand thus separated, is only the coarsest particles mixed with a little muddy water. After the operation has been continued for some time, the sand is allowed to subside, and the water poured off; a portion of coarse sand, which is now uppermost in the calabash, is removed by the hand, and fresh water being added, the operation is repeated until the water comes off almost pure. The woman now takes a second calabash, and shakes the sand and water gently from the one to the other, reserving that portion of sand which is next the bottom of the calabash, and which is most likely to contain the gold. This small quantity is mixed with some pure water, and being moved about in the calabash, is carefully examined. If a few particles of gold are picked out, the contents of the other calabash are examined in the same manner; but, in general, the party is well contented, if she can obtain three or four grains from the contents of both calabashes. Some women, however, by long practice, become so well acquainted with the nature of the sand; and the mode of washing it, that they will collect gold, where others cannot find a single particle. The gold-dust is kept in quills, stopp'd up with cotton; and the washers are fond of displaying a number of these quills in their hair. Generally speaking, if a person uses common diligence, in a proper soil, it is supposed that as much gold may be collected by him in the course of the dry season as is equal to the value of two slaves.

Thus simple is the process by which the Negroes obtain gold in Manding; and it is evident, from this account, that the country contains a considerable portion of this precious metal; for many of the smaller particles must necessarily escape the observation of the naked eye; and as the natives generally search the sands of streams at a considerable distance from the hills, and consequently far removed from the mines where the gold was originally produced, the labourers are sometimes but ill paid for their trouble. Minute particles only of this heavy metal can be carried by the current to any considerable distance; the larger must remain deposited near the original source from whence they came. Were the gold-bearing streams to be traced to their fountains, and the hills from whence they spring properly examined, the sand in which the gold is there deposited would, no doubt, be found to contain particles of a much larger size*; and even the small grains might be collected to considerable advantage by the use of quicksilver, and other improvements, with which the natives are at present unacquainted.

Part of this gold is converted into ornaments for the women; but, in general, these ornaments are more to be admired for their weight than their workmanship. They are massy and inconvenient, particularly the ear-rings, which are commonly so heavy as to pull down and lacerate the lobe of the ear; to avoid which they are supported by a thong of red leather, which passes over the crown of the head from one ear to the other. The necklace displays greater fancy; and the proper arrangement of the different beads and plates of gold, is the great criterion of taste and elegance. When a

* I am informed that the gold mine, as it is called, in Wicklow, in Ireland, which was discovered in the year 1795, is near the top, and upon the steep slope of a mountain. Here pieces of gold of several ounces weight were frequently found. What would have been gold-dust two miles below was here golden gravel; that is, each grain was like a small pebble in size, and one piece was found which weighed near twenty-two ounces troy.

lady of consequence is in full dress, her gold ornaments may be worth altogether from fifty to eighty pounds sterling.

A small quantity of gold is likewise employed by the Slatees, in defraying the expences of their journies to and from the coast; but by far the greater proportion is annually carried away by the Moors in exchange for salt and other merchandize. During my stay at Kamalia, the gold collected by the different traders at that place, for salt alone, was nearly equal to one hundred and ninety-eight pounds sterling; and as Kamalia is but a small town, and not much resorted to by the trading Moors, this quantity must have borne a very small proportion to the gold collected at Kancaba, Kankaree, and some other large towns. The value of salt in this part of Africa is very great. One slab, about two feet and a half in length, fourteen inches in breadth, and two inches in thickness, will sometimes sell for about two pounds ten shillings sterling, and from one pound fifteen shillings to two pounds, may be considered as the common price. Four of these slabs are considered as a load for an ass, and six for a bullock. The value of European merchandize in Manding varies very much, according to the supply from the coast, or the dread of war in the country; but the return for such articles is commonly made in slaves. The price of a prime slave, when I was at Kamalia, was from *nine* to *twelve* minkallies, and European commodities had then nearly the following value:

18 gun flints,	}	one minkalli.
48 leaves of tobacco,		
20 charges of gunpowder,		
A cutlass,		
A musket from three to four minkallies.		

The produce of the country, and the different necessaries of life when exchanged for gold, sold as follows:

Common provisions for one day, the weight of one *teelee-kiffi*, (a black bean, six of which make the weight of one minkalli); — a chicken, one *teelee-kiffi*, — a sheep, three *teelee-kiffi*, — a bullock, one minkalli, — a horse from ten to seventeen minkallies.

The Negroes weigh the gold in small balances, which they always carry about them. They make no difference in point of value, between gold dust and wrought gold. In bartering one article for another the person who receives the gold always weighs it with his own *teelee-kiffi*. These beans are sometimes fraudulently soaked in Shea butter, to make them heavy; and I once saw a pebble ground exactly into the form of one of them: but such practices are not very common.

Having now related the substance of what occurs to my recollection concerning the African mode of obtaining gold from the earth, and its value in barter, I proceed to the next article, of which I proposed to treat, namely, *ivory*.

Nothing creates a greater surprise among the Negroes on the sea coast, than the eagerness displayed by the European traders to procure elephants' teeth; it being exceedingly difficult to make them comprehend to what use it is applied. Although they are shewn knives with ivory hafts, combs, and toys of the same material, and are convinced that the ivory thus manufactured, was originally parts of a tooth, they are not satisfied. They suspect that this commodity is more frequently converted in Europe, to purposes of far greater importance; the true nature of which is studiously concealed from them, lest the price of ivory should be enhanced. They cannot, they say, easily persuade themselves that ships would be built, and voyages undertaken, to procure

procure an article, which had no other value than that of furnishing handles to knives, &c. when pieces of wood would answer the purpose equally well.

Elephants are very numerous in the interior of Africa, but they appear to be a distinct species from those found in Asia. Blumenbach, in his figures of objects of natural history, has given good drawings of a grinder of each; and the variation is evident. M. Cuvier also has given in the *Magazin Encyclopedique*, a clear account of the difference between them. As I never examined the Asiatic elephant, I have chosen rather to refer to those writers, than advance this as an opinion of my own. It has been said that the African elephant is of a less docile nature than the Asiatic, and incapable of being tamed. The Negroes certainly do not at present tame them; but when we consider that the Carthaginians had always tame elephants in their armies, and actually transported some of them to Italy in the course of the Punic wars; it seems more likely that they should have possessed the art of taming their own elephants, than have submitted to the expence of bringing such vast animals from Asia. Perhaps, the barbarous practice of hunting the African elephants for the sake of their teeth, has rendered them more untractable and savage, than they were found to be in former times.

The greater part of the ivory which is sold on the Gambia, and Senegal rivers, is brought from the interior country. The lands towards the coast are too swampy, and too much intersected with creeks and rivers, for so bulky an animal as the elephant to travel through, without being discovered; and when once the natives discern the marks of his feet in the earth, the whole village is up in arms. The thoughts of feasting on his flesh, making sandals of his hide, and selling the teeth to the Europeans, inspire every one with courage; and the animal seldom escapes from his pursuers; but in the plains of Bambarra and Kaarta, and the extensive wilds of Jallonkadoo, the elephants are very numerous; and, from the great scarcity of gunpowder in those districts, they are less annoyed by the natives.

Scattered teeth are frequently picked up in the woods, and travellers are very diligent in looking for them. It is a common practice with the elephant to thrust his teeth under the roots of such shrubs and bushes as grow in the more dry and elevated parts of the country where the soil is shallow. These bushes he easily overturns, and feeds on the roots, which are in general more tender and juicy than the hard woody branches or the foliage; but when the teeth are partly decayed by age, and the roots more firmly fixed, the great exertions of the animal, in this practice, frequently causes them to break short. At Kamalia I saw two teeth, one a very large one, which were found in the woods, and which were evidently broken off in this manner. Indeed it is difficult otherwise to account for such a large proportion of broken ivory, as is daily offered for sale, at the different factories; for when the elephant is killed in hunting, unless he dashes himself over a precipice, the teeth are always extracted entire.

There are certain seasons of the year when the elephants collect into large herds, and traverse the country in quest of food or water; and as all that part of the country to the north of the Niger is destitute of rivers, whenever the pools in the woods are dried up, the elephants approach towards the banks of that river. Here they continue until the commencement of the rainy season, in the months of June or July; and during this time they are much hunted by such of the Bambarrans as have gunpowder to spare. The elephant hunters seldom go out singly; a party of four or five join together; and having each furnished himself with powder and ball, and a quantity of corn-meal in a leather bag, sufficient for five or six days' provision, they enter

the most unfrequented parts of the wood, and examine with great care every thing that can lead to the discovery of the elephants. In this pursuit, notwithstanding the bulk of the animal, very great nicety of observation is required. Thorns, broken branches, the scattered dung of the animal, and the marks of his feet, are carefully inspected; and many of the hunters have, by long experience and attentive observation, become so expert in their search, that as soon as they observe the foot-prints of an elephant, they will tell almost to a certainty at what time it passed, and at what distance it will be found.

When they discover a herd of elephants, they follow them at a distance, until they perceive some one stray from the rest, and come into such a position as to be fired at with advantage. The hunters then approach with great caution, creeping amongst the long grass, until they have got near enough to be sure of their aim. They then discharge all their pieces at once, and throw themselves on their faces among the grass. The wounded elephant immediately applies his trunk to the different wounds, but being unable to extract the balls, and seeing nobody near him, becomes quite furious, and runs about amongst the bushes, until by fatigue and loss of blood he has exhausted himself, and affords the hunters an opportunity of firing a second time at him, by which he is generally brought to the ground.

The skin is now taken off, and extended on the ground with pegs, to dry; and such parts of the flesh as are most esteemed, are cut up in thin slices, and dried in the sun, to serve for provisions on some future occasion. The teeth are struck out with a light hatchet, which the hunters always carry along with them; not only for that purpose, but also to enable them to cut down such trees as contain honey; for though they carry with them only five or six days' provisions, they will remain in the woods for months, if they are successful; and support themselves upon the flesh of such elephants as they kill, and wild honey.

The ivory thus collected, is seldom brought down to the coast by the hunters themselves. They dispose of it to the itinerant merchants, who come annually from the coast with arms and ammunition, to purchase this valuable commodity. Some of these merchants will collect ivory in the course of one season, sufficient to load four or five asses. A great quantity of ivory is likewise brought from the interior, by the slave coffles; there are, however, some states, of the Mahomedan persuasion, who, from motives of religion, will not deal in ivory, nor eat of the flesh of the elephant, unless it has been killed with a spear.

The quantity of ivory collected in this part of Africa, is not so great, nor are the teeth in general, so large as in the countries nearer the Line: few of them weigh more than eighty, or one hundred pounds; and upon an average, a bar of European merchandize may be reckoned as the price of a pound of ivory.

I have now, I trust, in this and the preceding chapters, explained with sufficient minuteness, the nature and extent of the commercial connection which at present prevails, and has long subsisted, between the Negro natives of those parts of Africa which I visited, and the nations of Europe; and it appears that slaves, gold, and ivory, together with a few other articles, *viz.* bees-wax and honey, hides, gums, and dye-woods, constitute the whole catalogue of exportable commodities. Other productions, however, have been incidentally noticed as the growth of Africa; such as grain of different kinds, tobacco, indigo, cotton-wool, and perhaps a few others; but all of these (which can only be obtained by cultivation and labour) the natives raise sufficient only for their own immediate expenditure; nor, under the present system of their laws, manners, trade, and government, can any thing farther

farther be expected from them. It cannot, however, admit of a doubt, that all the rich and valuable productions, both of the East and West Indies, might easily be naturalized, and brought to the utmost perfection, in the tropical parts of this immense continent. Nothing is wanting to this end but example, to enlighten the minds of the natives, and instruction to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects. It was not possible for me to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil, the vast herds of cattle, proper both for labour and food, and a variety of other circumstances favourable to colonization and agriculture, and reflect, withal, on the means which presented themselves of a vast inland navigation, without lamenting that a country, so abundantly gifted and favoured by nature, should remain in its present savage and neglected state. Much more did I lament, that a people of manners and disposition so gentle and benevolent, should either be left as they now are, immersed in the gross and uncomfortable blindness of pagan superstition, or permitted to become converts to a system of bigotry and fanaticism; which, without enlightening the mind, often debases the heart. On this subject many observations might be made; but the reader will probably think that I have already digressed too largely; and I now, therefore, return to my situation at Kamalia.

CHAP. X. — *Transactions at Kamalia resumed. — Arabic MSS. in Use among the Mahomedan Negroes. — Reflections concerning the Conversion and Education of the Negro Children. — Return of the Author's Benefactor, KARFA. — Further Account of the Purchase and Treatment of Slaves. — Fast of Rhamadan, how observed by the Negroes. — Author's Anxiety for the Day of Departure. — The Caravan sets out. — Account of it on its Departure, and Proceedings on the Road until its Arrival at Kinytakooro.*

THE schoolmaster, to whose care I was entrusted during the absence of Karfa, was a man of a mild disposition, and gentle manners; his name was Fankooma; and although he himself adhered strictly to the religion of Mahomet, he was by no means intolerant in his principles towards others who differed from him. He spent much of his time in reading; and teaching appeared to be his pleasure, as well as employment. His school consisted of seventeen boys, most of whom were sons of Kafirs; and two girls, one of whom was Karfa's own daughter. The girls received their instructions in the day-time, but the boys always had their lessons by the light of a large fire before daybreak, and again late in the evening; for being considered, during their scholarship, as the domestic slaves of the master, they were employed in planting corn, bringing fire-wood, and in other servile offices through the day.

Exclusive of the Koran, and a book or two of commentaries thereon, the schoolmaster possessed a variety of manuscripts, which had partly been purchased from the trading Moors, and partly borrowed from bushreens in the neighbourhood, and copied with great care. Other manuscripts had been produced to me at different places in the course of my journey; and on recounting those I had before seen, and those which were now shewn to me, and interrogating the schoolmaster on the subject, I discovered that the negroes are in possession (among others) of an Arabic version of the Pentateuch of Moses, which they call *Taureta la Moosa*. This is so highly esteemed that it is often sold for the value of one prime slave. They have likewise a version of the Psalms of David (*Zabora Dawidi*); and, lastly, the book of Isaiah, which

which they call *Lingeeli la Ifa*, and it is in very high esteem. I suspect, indeed, that in all these copies, there are interpolations of some of the peculiar tenets of Mahomet, for I could distinguish in many passages the name of the prophet. It is possible, however, that this circumstance might otherwise have been accounted for, if my knowledge of the Arabic had been more extensive. By means of those books, many of the converted Negroes have acquired an acquaintance with some of the remarkable events recorded in the Old Testament. The account of our first parents; the death of Abel; the deluge; the lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the story of Joseph and his brethren; the history of Moses, David, Solomon, &c. All these have been related to me in the Mandingo language, with tolerable exactness, by different people; and my surprise was not greater on hearing these accounts from the lips of the Negroes, than theirs, on finding that I was already acquainted with them; for although the Negroes in general have a very great idea of the wealth and power of the Europeans, I am afraid that the Mahomedan converts among them think but very lightly of our superior attainments in religious knowledge. The white traders in the maritime districts take no pains to counteract this unhappy prejudice; always performing their own devotions in secret, and seldom condescending to converse with the Negroes in a friendly and instructive manner. To me, therefore, it was not so much the subject of wonder as matter of regret, to observe, that while the superstition of Mahomet has, in this manner, scattered a few faint beams of learning among these poor people, the precious light of Christianity is altogether excluded. I could not but lament, that although the coast of Africa has now been known and frequented by the Europeans for more than two hundred years, yet the Negroes still remain entire strangers to the doctrines of our holy religion. We are anxious to draw from obscurity the opinions and records of antiquity, the beauties of Arabian and Asiatic literature, &c.; but while our libraries are thus stored with the learning of various countries, we distribute with a parsimonious hand the blessings of religious truth to the benighted nations of the earth. The natives of Asia derive but little advantage in this respect from an intercourse with us; and even the poor Africans, whom we affect to consider as barbarians, look upon us, I fear, as little better than a race of formidable but ignorant heathens. When I produced Richardson's Arabic grammar to some slaves on the Gambia, they were astonished to think that any European should understand and write the sacred language of their religion. At first they suspected that it might have been written by some of the slaves carried from the coast; but on a closer examination, they were satisfied that no bushreen could write such beautiful Arabic; and one of them offered to give me an ass, and sixteen bars of goods, if I would part with the book. Perhaps, a short and easy introduction to Christianity, such as is found in some of the catechisms for children, elegantly printed in Arabic, and distributed on different parts of the coast, might have a wonderful effect. The expence would be but trifling; curiosity would induce many to read it; and the evident superiority which it would possess over their present manuscripts, both in point of elegance and cheapness, might at last obtain it a place among the school-books of Africa.

The reflections which I have thus ventured to submit to my readers on this important subject, naturally suggested themselves to my mind on perceiving the encouragement which was thus given to learning (such as it is) in many parts of Africa. I have observed, that the pupils at Kamalia were most of them the children of Pagans; their parents, therefore, could have had no predilection for the doctrines of Mahomet. Their aim was their children's improvement; and if a more enlightened system had presented itself, it would probably have been preferred. The children,

too, wanted not a spirit of emulation; which it is the aim of the tutor to encourage. When any one of them has read through the Koran, and performed a certain number of public prayers, a feast is prepared by the schoolmaster, and the scholar undergoes an examination, or (in European terms) *takes out his degree*. I attended at three different inaugurations of this sort, and heard with pleasure, the distinct and intelligent answers which the scholars frequently gave to the bushreens, who assembled on those occasions, and acted as examiners. When the bushreens had satisfied themselves respecting the learning and abilities of the scholar, the last page of the Koran was put into his hand, and he was desired to read it aloud: after the boy had finished this lesson, he pressed the paper against his forehead, and pronounced the word *Amen*; upon which all the bushreens rose, and shaking him cordially by the hand, bestowed upon him the title of bushreen.

When a scholar has undergone this examination, his parents are informed that he has completed his education, and that it is incumbent on them to redeem their son, by giving to the schoolmaster a slave, or the price of a slave in exchange; which is always done, if the parents can afford to do it; if not, the boy remains the domestic slave of the schoolmaster until he can, by his own industry, collect goods sufficient to ransom himself.

About a week after the departure of Karfa, three Moors arrived at Kamalia with a considerable quantity of salt, and other merchandize, which they had obtained on credit, from a merchant of Fezzan, who had lately arrived at Kancaba. Their engagement was to pay him his price when the goods were sold, which they expected would be in the course of a month. Being rigid bushreens, they were accommodated with two of Karfa's huts, and sold their goods to very great advantage.

On the 24th of January, Karfa returned to Kamalia with a number of people, and thirteen prime slaves, which he had purchased. He likewise brought with him a young girl whom he had married at Kancaba, as his fourth wife, and had given her parents three prime slaves for her. She was kindly received at the door of the baloon by Karfa's other wives, who conducted their new acquaintance and co-partner into one of the best huts, which they had caused to be swept and white-washed, on purpose to receive her.*

My clothes were by this time become so very ragged, that I was almost ashamed to appear out of doors; but Karfa, on the day after his arrival, generously presented me with such a garment and trowsers, as are commonly worn in the country.

The slaves which Karfa had brought with him were all of them prisoners of war; they had been taken by the Bambarran army in the kingdoms of Waffela and Kaarta, and carried to Sego, where some of them had remained three years in irons. From Sego they were sent, in company with a number of other captives, up the Niger in two large canoes, and offered for sale at Yamina, Bammakoo, and Kancaba; at which places the greater number of the captives were bartered for gold-dust, and the remainder sent forward to Kankaree.

Eleven of them confessed to me that they had been slaves from their infancy; but the other two refused to give any account of their former condition. They were all very inquisitive; but they viewed me at first with looks of horror, and repeatedly asked if my countrymen were cannibals. They were very desirous to know what

* The Negroes white-wash their huts with a mixture of bone-ashes and water, to which is commonly added a little gum.

became of the slaves after they had crossed the salt-water. I told them, that they were employed in cultivating the land; but they would not believe me; and one of them, putting his hand upon the ground, said with great simplicity, "Have you really got such ground as this to set your feet upon?" A deeply-rooted idea that the whites purchase Negroes for the purpose of devouring them, or of selling them to others, that they may be devoured hereafter, naturally makes the slaves contemplate a journey towards the coast with great terror; inasmuch that the slavees are forced to keep them constantly in irons, and watch them very closely to prevent their escape. They are commonly secured, by putting the right leg of one, and the left of another, into the same pair of fetters. By supporting the fetters with a string, they can walk, though very slowly. Every four slaves are likewise fastened together by the necks, with a strong rope of twisted thongs; and in the night an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks.

Such of them as evince marks of discontent are secured in a different manner. A thick billet of wood is cut about three feet long, and a smooth notch being made upon one side of it, the ankle of the slave is bolted to the smooth part by means of a strong iron staple, one prong of which passes on each side of the ankle. All these fetters and bolts are made from native iron; in the present case they were put on by the blacksmith as soon as the slaves arrived from Kancaba, and were not taken off until the morning on which the coffin departed for Gambia.

In other respects, the treatment of the slaves during their stay at Kamalia, was far from being harsh or cruel. They were led out in their fetters every morning, to the shade of the tamarind tree, where they were encouraged to play at games of hazard, and sing diverting songs, to keep up their spirits; for though some of them sustained the hardships of their situation with amazing fortitude, the greater part were very much dejected, and would sit all day in a sort of fullen melancholy, with their eyes fixed upon the ground. In the evening, their irons were examined, and their hand-fetters put on; after which they were conducted into two large huts, where they were guarded during the night by Karfa's domestic slaves. But notwithstanding all this, about a week after their arrival, one of the slaves had the address to procure a small knife, with which he opened the rings of his fetters, cut the rope, and made his escape: more of them would probably have got off, had they assisted each other; but the slave no sooner found himself at liberty, than he refused to stop and assist in breaking the chain which was fastened round the necks of his companions.

As all the slavees and slaves belonging to the coffin were now assembled, either at Kamalia, or some of the neighbouring villages, it might have been expected that we should have set out immediately for Gambia; but though the day of our departure was frequently fixed, it was always found expedient to change it. Some of the people had not prepared their dry provisions; others had gone to visit their relations, or collect some trifling debts; and, last of all, it was necessary to consult whether the day would be a lucky one. On account of one of these, or other such causes, our departure was put off, day after day, until the month of February was far advanced; after which all the slavees agreed to remain in their present quarters, until the *fast-moon was over*. And here I may remark, that loss of time is an object of no great importance in the eyes of a Negro. If he has any thing of consequence to perform, it is a matter of indifference to him whether he does it to-day or to-morrow, or a month or two hence: so long as he can spend the present moment with any degree of comfort, he gives himself very little concern about the future.

The fast of Rhamadan was observed with great strictness, by all the bushreens; but, instead of compelling me to follow their example, as the Moors did on a similar occasion, Karfa frankly told me that I was at liberty to pursue my own inclination. In order, however, to manifest a respect for their religious opinions, I voluntarily fasted three days, which was thought sufficient to screen me from the reproachful epithet of *kafr*. During the fast, all the slatees belonging to the coffle assembled every morning in Karfa's house, where the schoolmaster read to them some religious lessons, from a large folio volume, the author of which was an Arab, of the name of *Sheiffa*. In the evening, such of the women as had embraced Mahomedanism assembled, and said their prayers publicly at the *Misura*. They were all dressed in white, and went through the different prostrations, prescribed by their religion, with becoming solemnity. Indeed, during the whole fast of Rhamadan, the Negroes behaved themselves with the greatest meekness and humility; forming a striking contrast to the savage intolerance and brutal bigotry, which at this period characterise the Moors.

When the first month was almost at an end, the Bushreens assembled at the *Misura*, to watch for the appearance of the new moon; but the evening being rather cloudy, they were for some time disappointed, and a number of them had gone home with a resolution to fast another day, when on a sudden this delightful object showed her sharp horns from behind a cloud, and was welcomed with the clapping of hands, beating of drums, firing muskets, and other marks of rejoicing. As this moon is reckoned extremely lucky, Karfa gave orders that all the people belonging to the coffle should immediately pack up their dry provisions, and hold themselves in readiness; and on the 16th of April, the Slatees held a consultation, and fixed on the 19th of the same month, as the day on which the coffle should depart from Kamalia. This resolution freed me from much uneasiness; for our departure had already been so long deferred, that I was apprehensive it might still be put off until the commencement of the rainy season; and although Karfa behaved towards me with the greatest kindness, I found my situation very unpleasant. The slatees were unfriendly to me; and the trading Moors, who were at this time at Kamalia, continued to plot mischief against me, from the first day of their arrival. Under these circumstances, I reflected, that my life in a great measure depended on the good opinion of an individual, who was daily hearing malicious stories concerning the Europeans; and I could hardly expect that he would always judge with impartiality between me and his countrymen. Time had, indeed, reconciled me, in some degree, to their mode of life; and a smoky hut, or a scanty supper, gave me no great uneasiness; but I became at last wearied out with a constant state of alarm and anxiety, and felt a painful longing for the manifold blessings of civilized society.

On the morning of the 17th, a circumstance occurred, which wrought a considerable change in my favour. The three trading Moors who had lodged under Karfa's protection, ever since their arrival at Kamalia, and had gained the esteem of all the bushreens, by an appearance of great sanctity, suddenly packed up their effects, and, without once thanking Karfa for his kindness towards them, marched over the hills to Bala. Every one was astonished at this unexpected removal; but the affair was cleared up in the evening, by the arrival of the Fezzan merchant from Kancaba (mentioned in p. 894.); who assured Karfa, that these Moors had borrowed all their salt and goods from him, and had sent for him to come to Kamalia, and receive payment. When he was told that they had fled to the westward, he wiped a tear from each eye with the sleeve of his cloak, and exclaimed, "*These *shir-rukas* (robbers) are Mahomedans, but they are not men; they have robbed me of*

" two

"two hundred minkallies." From this merchant, I received information of the capture of our Mediterranean convoy by the French, in October 1795.

April 19th. The long wished-for day of our departure was at length arrived : and the slatees, having taken the irons from their slaves, assembled with them at the door of Karfa's house, where the bundles were all tied up, and every one had his load assigned him. The coffle, on its departure from Kamalia, consisted of twenty-seven slaves for sale, the property of Karfa and four other slatees ; but we were afterwards joined by five at Maraboo, and three at Bala ; making in all thirty-five slaves. The free men were fourteen in number, but most of them had one or two wives and some domestic slaves, and the schoolmaster, who was now upon his return for Woradoo, the place of his nativity, took with him eight of his scholars, so that the number of free people and domestic slaves amounted to thirty-eight, and the whole amount of the coffle was seventy-three. Among the freemen were six Jilli keas (singing men), whose musical talents were frequently exerted, either to divert our fatigue, or obtain us a welcome from strangers. When we departed from Kamalia, we were followed for about half a mile by most of the inhabitants of the town, some of them crying, and others shaking hands with their relations, who were now about to leave them ; and when we had gained a piece of rising ground, from which we had a view of Kamalia, all the people belonging to the coffle were ordered to sit down in one place, with their faces towards the west, and the towns-people were desired to sit down in another place, with their faces towards Kamalia. In this situation, the schoolmaster, with two of the principal slatees, having taken their places between the two parties, pronounced a long and solemn prayer ; after which, they walked three times round the coffle, making an impression in the ground with the ends of their spears, and muttering something by way of charm. When this ceremony was ended, all the people belonging to the coffle sprang up, and without taking a formal farewell of their friends, set forwards. As many of the slaves had remained for years in irons, the sudden exertion of walking quick, with heavy loads upon their heads, occasioned spasmodic contractions of their legs, and we had not proceeded above a mile, before it was found necessary to take two of them from the rope, and allow them to walk more slowly until we reached Maraboo, a walled village, where some people were waiting to join the coffle. Here we stopt about two hours, to allow the strangers time to pack up their provisions, and then continued our rout to Bala, which town we reached about four in the afternoon. The inhabitants of Bala, at this season of the year, subsist chiefly on fish, which they take in great plenty from the streams in the neighbourhood. We remained here until the afternoon of the next day, the 20th, when we proceeded to Worumbang, the frontier village of Manding, towards Jallonkadoo. As we proposed shortly to enter the Jallonka Wilderness, the people of this village furnished us with great plenty of provisions ; and on the morning of the 21st we entered the woods to the westward of Worumbang. After having travelled some little way, a consultation was held, whether we should continue our route through the Wilderness, or save one day's provisions by going to Kinytakooro, a town in Jallonkadoo. After debating the matter for some time, it was agreed that we should take the road for Kinytakooro ; but as that town was a long day's journey distant, it was necessary to take some refreshment. Accordingly every person opened his provision-bag, and brought a handful or two of meal, to the place where Karfa and the slatees were sitting. When every one had brought his quota, and the whole was properly arranged in small gourd shells, the schoolmaster offered up a short prayer ; the substance of which was, that God and the holy Prophet might preserve us from robbers and all bad people, that

that our provisions might never fail us, nor our limbs become fatigued. This ceremony being ended, every one partook of the meal, and drank a little water; after which we set forward (rather running than walking), until we came to the river Kokoro, a branch of the Senegal, where we halted about ten minutes. The banks of this river are very high, and from the grass and brushwood which had been left by the stream, it was evident that at this place the water had risen more than twenty feet perpendicular, during the rainy season. At this time it was only a small stream such as would turn a mill, swarming with fish; and on account of the number of crocodiles, and the danger of being carried past the ford by the force of the stream in the rainy season, it is called *Kokoro* (dangerous). From this place we continued to travel with the greatest expedition, and in the afternoon crossed two small branches of the Kokoro. About sunset we came in sight of Kinytakooro, a considerable town, nearly square, situated in the middle of a large and well cultivated plain: before we entered the town, we halted, until the people who had fallen behind, came up. During this day's travel, two slaves, a woman and a girl belonging to a slavee of Bala, were so much fatigued that they could not keep up with the coffee; they were severely whipped, and dragged along until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when they were both affected with vomiting, by which it was discovered that they had *eaten clay*. This practice is by no means uncommon amongst the Negroes; but whether it arises from a vitiated appetite, or from a settled intention to destroy themselves, I cannot affirm. They were permitted to lie down in the woods, and three people remained with them until they had rested themselves; but they did not arrive at the town until past midnight; and were then so much exhausted, that the slavee gave up all thoughts of taking them across the woods in their present condition, and determined to return with them to Bala, and wait for another opportunity.

As this was the first town beyond the limits of Manding, greater etiquette than usual was observed. Every person was ordered to keep in his proper station, and we marched towards the town, in a sort of procession, nearly as follows:—In front, five or six singing men, all of them belonging to the coffee; these were followed by the other free people; then came the slaves fastened in the usual way by a rope round their necks, four of them to a rope, and a man with a spear between each four; after them came the domestic slaves, and in the rear the women of free condition, wives of the slavees, &c. In this manner we proceeded until we came within a hundred yards of the gate, when the singing men began a loud song, well calculated to flatter the vanity of the inhabitants, by extolling their known hospitality to strangers, and their particular friendship for the Mandingoes. When we entered the town, we proceeded to the bentang, where the people gathered round us to hear our *dentegi* (history); this was related publicly by two of the singing men; they enumerated every little circumstance which had happened to the coffee; beginning with the events of the present day, and relating every thing, in a backward series, until they reached Kamalia. When this history was ended, the master of the town gave them a small present; and all the people of the coffee, both free and enslaved, were invited by some person or other, and accommodated with lodging and provisions for the night.

CHAP. XL. — *The Coflee crosses the Jallonka Wilderneys. — Miserable Fate of one of the female Slaves ; — arrives at Sozeeta ; proceeds to Manna. — Some Account of the Jallonkas. — Crosses the main Stream of the Senegal. — Bridge of a singular Construction. — Arrives at Malacotta. — Remarkable Conduct of the King of the Jalofs.*

WE continued at Kinytakooro until noon of the 22d of April, when we removed to a village about seven miles to the westward ; the inhabitants of which being apprehensive of hostilities from the foulahs of Fooladoo, were at this time employed in constructing small temporary huts among the rocks, on the side of a high hill close to the village. The situation was almost impregnable, being every where surrounded with high precipices, except on the eastern side, where the natives had left a pathway sufficient to allow one person at a time to ascend. Upon the brow of the hill, immediately over this path, I observed several heaps of large loose stones, which the people told me were intended to be thrown down upon the foulahs, if they should attempt the hill.

At day-break, on the 23d, we departed from this village, and entered the Jallonka wilderneys. We passed, in the course of the morning, the ruins of two small towns, which had lately been burnt by the foulahs. The fire must have been very intense ; for I observed that the walls of many of the huts were slightly vitrified, and appeared at a distance as if covered with a red varnish. About ten o'clock we came to the river Wonda, which is somewhat larger than the river Kokoro ; but the stream was at this time rather muddy, which Karfa assured me was occasioned by amazing shoals of fish. They were indeed seen in all directions, and in such abundance, that I fancied the water itself tasted and smelt fishy. As soon as we had crossed the river, Karfa gave orders that all the people of the coflee should in future keep close together, and travel in their proper station ; the guides and young men were accordingly placed in the van, the women and slaves in the centre, and the freemen in the rear. In this order, we travelled with uncommon expedition through a woody, but beautiful country, interspersed with a pleasing variety of hill and dale, and abounding with partridges, guinea-fowls, and deer, until sunset ; when we arrived at a most romantic stream called Co-meiffang. My arms and neck having been exposed to the sun during the whole day, and irritated by the rubbing of my dress in walking, were now very much inflamed and covered with blisters ; and I was happy to embrace the opportunity, while the coflee rested on the bank of this river, to bathe myself in the stream. This practice, together with the cool of the evening, much diminished the inflammation. About three miles to the westward of the Co-meiffang we halted in a thick wood, and kindled our fires for the night. We were all by this time very much fatigued ; having, as I judged, travelled this day thirty miles ; but no person was heard to complain. Whilst supper was preparing, Karfa made one of the slaves break some branches from the trees for my bed. When we had finished our supper of kouskous, moistened with some boiling water, and put the slaves in irons, we all lay down to sleep ; but we were frequently disturbed in the night by the howling of wild beasts ; and we found the small brown ants very troublesome.

April 24th. Before day-break the bushreens said their morning prayers, and most of the free people drank a little *moening* (a sort of gruel), part of which was likewise given to such of the slaves as appeared least able to sustain the fatigues of the day.

One of Karfa's female slaves was very sulky, and when some gruel was offered to her, she refused to drink it. As soon as day dawned we set out, and travelled the whole morning over a wild and rocky country, by which my feet were very much bruised; and I was sadly apprehensive that I should not be able to keep up with the coffee during the day; but I was in a great measure relieved from this anxiety, when I observed that others were more exhausted than myself. In particular the woman slave, who had refused victuals in the morning, began now to lag behind, and complain dreadfully of pains in her legs. Her load was taken from her, and given to another slave, and she was ordered to keep in the front of the coffee. About eleven o'clock, as we were resting by a small rivulet, some of the people discovered a hive of bees in a hollow tree, and they were proceeding to obtain the honey, when the largest swarm I ever beheld, flew out, and attacking the people of the coffee, made us fly in all directions. I took the alarm first, and I believe was the only person who escaped with impunity. When our enemies thought fit to desist from pursuing us, and every person was employed in picking out the stings he had received, it was discovered that the poor woman abovementioned, whose name was Nealee, was not come up; and as many of the slaves in their retreat had left their bundles behind them, it became necessary for some persons to return, and bring them. In order to do this with safety, fire was set to the grass, a considerable way to the eastward of the hive, and the wind driving the fire furiously along, the party pushed through the smoke, and recovered the bundles. They likewise brought with them poor Nealee, whom they found lying by the rivulet. She was very much exhausted, and had crept to the stream in hopes to defend herself from the bees by throwing water over her body, but this proved ineffectual; for she was stung in the most dreadful manner.

When the slavees had picked out the stings as far as they could, she was washed with water, and then rubbed with bruised leaves; but the wretched woman obstinately refused to proceed any farther; declaring that she would rather die than walk another step. As entreaties and threats were used in vain, the whip was at length applied: and after bearing patiently a few strokes, she started up, and walked with tolerable expedition for four or five hours longer, when she made an attempt to run away from the coffee, but was so very weak, that she fell down in the grass. Though she was unable to rise, the whip was a second time applied, but without effect; upon which Karfa desired two of the slavees to place her upon the ass which carried our dry provisions; but she could not sit erect; and the ass being very refractory, it was found impossible to carry her forward in that manner. The slavees however were unwilling to abandon her, the day's journey being nearly ended; they therefore made a sort of litter of bamboo canes, upon which she was placed, and tied on it with slips of bark: this litter was carried upon the heads of two slaves, one walking before the other, and they were followed by two others, who relieved them occasionally. In this manner the woman was carried forward until it was dark, when we reached a stream of water, at the foot of a high hill called Gankaran-Kooro; and here we stopt for the night, and set about preparing our supper. As we had eat only one handful of meal since the preceding night, and travelled all day in a hot sun, many of the slaves, who had loads upon their heads, were very much fatigued: and some of them *snap their fingers*, which among the Negroes is a sure sign of desperation. The slavees immediately put them all in irons; and such of them as had evinced signs of great despondency, were kept apart from the rest, and had their hands tied. In the morning they were found greatly recovered.

April 25th. At day-break poor Nealee was awakened ; but her limbs were now become so stiff and painful, that she could neither walk nor stand ; she was therefore lifted, like a corpse, upon the back of the afs ; and the slatees endeavoured to secure her in that situation, by fastening her hands together under the afs's neck and her feet under the belly, with long slips of bark ; but the afs was so very unruly that no sort of treatment could induce him to proceed with his load ; and as Nealee made no exertion to prevent herself from falling, she was quickly thrown off, and had one of her legs much bruised. Every attempt to carry her forward being thus found ineffectual, the general cry of the cofle was, *kang-tegi, kang-tegi*, " cut her throat, cut her throat ;" an operation I did not wish to see performed, and therefore marched onwards with the foremost of the cofle. I had not walked above a mile when one of Karfa's domestic slaves came up to me, with poor Nealee's garment upon the end of his bow, and exclaimed *Nealee affeeleeta* (Nealee is lost). I asked him whether the slatees had given him the garment as a reward for cutting her throat ; he replied, that Karfa and the schoolmaster would not consent to that measure, but had left her on the road, where undoubtedly she soon perished, and was probably devoured by wild beasts.

The sad fate of this wretched woman, notwithstanding the outcry before mentioned, made a strong impression on the minds of the whole cofle, and the schoolmaster fasted the whole of the ensuing day, in consequence of it. We proceeded in deep silence, and soon afterward crossed the river Furkoomah, which was about as large as the river Wonda. We now travelled with great expedition, every one being apprehensive he might otherwise meet with the fate of poor Nealee. It was however with great difficulty that I could keep up, although I threw away my spear, and every thing that could in the least obstruct me. About noon we saw a large herd of elephants, but they suffered us to pass unmolested, and in the evening we halted near a thicket of bamboo, but found no water ; so that we were forced to proceed four miles farther, to a small stream, where we stopt for the night. We had marched this day, as I judged, about twenty-six miles.

April 26th. This morning two of the schoolmaster's pupils complained much of pains in their legs, and one of the slaves walked lame, the soles of his feet being very much blistered and inflamed ; we proceeded, notwithstanding, and about eleven o'clock began to ascend a rocky hill called Boki-Kooro, and it was past two in the afternoon before we reached the level ground on the other side. This was the most rocky road we had yet encountered, and it hurt our feet much. In a short time we arrived at a pretty large river called Boki, which we forded : it ran smooth and clear, over a bed of whinstone. About a mile to the westward of the river, we came to a road which leads to the north-east towards Gadou, and seeing the marks of many horses' feet upon the soft sand, the slatees conjectured that a party of plunderers had lately rode that way, to fall upon some town of Gadou ; and lest they should discover, upon their return, that we had passed, and attempt to pursue us by the marks of our feet, the cofle was ordered to disperse, and travel in a loose manner through the high grass and bushes. A little before it was dark, having crossed the ridge of hills to the westward of the river Boki, we came to a well called *cullong qui* (white sand well), and here we rested for the night.

April 27th. We departed from the well early in the morning, and walked on, with the-greatest alacrity, in hopes of reaching a town before night. The road, during the forenoon, led through extensive thickets of dry bamboos. About two o'clock we came

to a stream called Nunkolo, where we were each of us regaled with a handful of meal, which, according to a superstitious custom, was not to be eaten until it was first moistened with water from this stream. About four o'clock we reached Soofeeta, a small Jallonka village, situated in the district of Kullo, which comprehends all that tract of country lying along the banks of the Black river, or main branch of the Senegal. These were the first human habitations we had seen since we left the village to the westward of Kinytakooro; having travelled in the course of the last five days upwards of one hundred miles. Here, after a great deal of entreaty, we were provided with huts to sleep in; but the master of the village plainly told us that he could not give us any provisions, as there had lately been a great scarcity in this part of the country. He assured us, that before they had gathered in their present crops, the whole inhabitants of Kullo had been for twenty-nine days without tasting corn; during which time, they supported themselves entirely upon the yellow powder which is found in the pods of the *nitta*, so called by the natives, a species of mimosa; and upon the seeds of the bamboo cane, which when properly pounded and dressed, taste very much like rice. As our dry provisions were not yet exhausted, a considerable quantity of kouskous was dressed for supper, and many of the villagers were invited to take part of the repast; but they made a very bad return for this kindness; for in the night they seized upon one of the schoolmaster's boys, who had fallen asleep under the Bentang tree, and carried him away. The boy fortunately awoke before he was far from the village, and setting up a loud scream, the man who carried him, put his hand upon his mouth, and ran with him into the woods: but afterward understanding that he belonged to the schoolmaster, whose place of residence is only three days journey distant, he thought, I suppose, that he could not retain him as a slave without the schoolmaster's knowledge; and therefore stripped off the boy's clothes and permitted him to return.

April 28th. Early in the morning we departed from Soofeeta, and about ten o'clock came to an unwall'd town called Manna; the inhabitants of which were employed in collecting the fruit of the *nitta* trees, which are very numerous in this neighbourhood. The pods are long and narrow, and contain a few black seeds enveloped in the fine mealy powder before mentioned; the meal itself is of a bright yellow colour resembling the flour of sulphur, and has a sweet mucilaginous taste: when eaten by itself it is clammy, but when mixed with milk or water, it constitutes a very pleasant and nourishing article of diet.

The language of the people of Manna is the same that is spoken of all over that extensive and hilly country called Jallonkadoo. Some of the words have a great affinity to the Mandingo, but the natives themselves consider it as a distinct language: their numerals are these,

One	—	<i>Kidding.</i>
Two	—	<i>Fidding.</i>
Three	—	<i>Sarra.</i>
Four	—	<i>Nani.</i>
Five	—	<i>Soolo.</i>
Six	—	<i>Seni.</i>
Seven	—	<i>Soolo ma fidding.</i>
Eight	—	<i>Soolo ma sarra.</i>
Nine	—	<i>Soolo ma nani.</i>
Ten	—	<i>Nuff.</i>

The Jallonkas, like the Mandingoes, are governed by a number of petty chiefs, who are, in a great measure, independent of each other; they have no common sovereign; and the chiefs are seldom upon such terms of friendship as to assist each other, even in war time. The chief of Manna, with a number of his people, accompanied us to the banks of the Bafing, or Black River (a principal branch of the Senegal), which we crossed upon a bridge of bamboos, of a very singular construction. The river at this place is smooth and deep, and has very little current. Two tall trees, when tied together by the tops, are sufficiently long to reach from one side to the other; the roots resting upon the rocks, and the tops floating in the water. When a few trees have been placed in this direction, they are covered with dry bamboos, so as to form a floating bridge, with a sloping gangway at each end, where the trees rest upon the rocks. This bridge is carried away every year by the swelling of the river in the rainy season, and is constantly rebuilt by the inhabitants of Manna, who, on that account, expect a small tribute from every passenger.

In the afternoon we passed several villages, at none of which could we procure a lodging; and in the twilight we received information that two hundred Jallonkas had assembled near a town called Melo, with a view to plunder the coffle. This induced us to alter our course, and we travelled with great secrecy until midnight, when we approached a town called Koba. Before we entered the town, the names of all the people belonging to the coffle were called over, and a freeman and three slaves were found to be missing. Every person immediately concluded that the slaves had murdered the freeman, and made their escape. It was therefore agreed that six people should go back as far as the last village, and endeavour to find his body, or collect some information concerning the slaves. In the mean time the coffle was ordered to lie concealed in a cotton field near a large nitta tree, and nobody to speak except in a whisper. It was towards morning before the six men returned, having heard nothing of the man or the slaves. As none of us had tasted victuals for the last twenty-four hours, it was agreed that we should go into Koba, and endeavour to procure some provisions. We accordingly entered the town before it was quite day, and Karfa purchased from the chief man, for three strings of beads, a considerable quantity of ground nuts, which we roasted and eat for breakfast; we were afterwards provided with huts, and rested here for the day.

About eleven o'clock, to our great joy and surprise, the freeman and slaves, who had parted from the coffle the preceding night, entered the town. One of the slaves, it seems, had hurt his foot, and the night being very dark, they soon lost sight of the coffle. The freeman, as soon as he found himself alone with the slaves, was aware of his own danger, and insisted on putting them in irons. The slaves were at first rather unwilling to submit, but when he threatened to stab them one by one with his spear, they made no further resistance; and he remained with them among the bushes until morning, when he let them out of irons, and came to the town in hopes of hearing which route the coffle had taken. The information that we received concerning the Jallonkas, who intended to rob the coffle, was this day confirmed, and we were forced to remain here until the afternoon of the 30th: when Karfa hired a number of people to protect us, and we proceeded to a village called Tinkintang. Departing from this village on the day following, we crossed a high ridge of mountains to the west of the Black River, and travelled over a rough stony country until sunset, when we arrived at Lingicotta, a small village in the district of Woradoo. Here we shook out the last handful of meal from our dry provision bags; this being the second day (since we
crossed

crossed the Black River) that we had travelled from morning until night without tasting one morsel of food.

May 2d. We departed from Lingicotta; but the slaves being very much fatigued, we halted for the night at a village about nine miles to the westward, and procured some provisions through the interest of the schoolmaster, who now sent forward a messenger to Malacotta, his native town, to inform his friends of his arrival in the country, and to desire them to provide the necessary quantity of victuals to entertain the cofle for two or three days.

May 3d. We set out for Malacotta, and about noon arrived at a village, near a considerable stream of water which flows to the westward; here we determined to stop for the return of the messenger which had been set to Malacotta the day before; and as the natives assured me that there were no crocodiles in this stream, I went and bathed myself. Very few people here can swim; for they came in numbers to dissuade me from venturing into a pool, where they said the water would come over my head. About two o'clock the messenger returned from Malacotta; and the schoolmaster's elder brother being impatient to see him, came along with the messenger to meet him at this village. The interview between the two brothers, who had not seen each other for nine years, was very natural and affecting. They fell upon each other's neck, and it was some time before either of them could speak. At length, when the schoolmaster had a little recovered himself, he took his brother by the hand, and turning round, "This is the man," (said he, pointing to Karfa) "who has been my father in Manding; I would have pointed him out sooner to you, but my heart was too full."

We reached Malacotta in the evening, where we were well received. This is an unwall'd town; the huts for the most part are made of split cane, twisted into a sort of wicker-work, and plastered over with mud. Here we remained three days, and were each day presented with a bullock from the schoolmaster; we were likewise well entertained by the townspeople, who appear to be very active and industrious. They make very good soap, by boiling ground nuts in water and then adding a ley of wood ashes. They likewise manufacture excellent iron, which they carry to Bondou to barter for salt. A party of the townspeople had lately returned from a trading expedition of this kind, and brought information concerning a war between Almami Abdulkader King of Fouta Torra, and Damel King of the Jaloffs. The events of this war soon became a favourite subject with the singing men, and the common topic of conversation in all the kingdoms bordering upon the Senegal and Gambia; and as the account is somewhat singular, I shall here abridge it for the reader's information. The King of Fouta Torra, inflamed with a zeal for propagating his religion, had sent an embassy to Damel. The ambassador, on the occasion, was accompanied by two of the principal bushreens, who carried each a large knife, fixed on the top of a long pole. As soon as he had procured admission into the presence of Damel, and announced the pleasure of his sovereign, he ordered the bushreens to present the emblems of his mission. The two knives were accordingly laid before Damel, and the ambassador explained himself as follows: "With this knife, (said he) Abdulkader will condescend to shave the head of Damel, if Damel will embrace the Mahomedan faith; and with this other knife, Abdulkader will cut the throat of Damel, if Damel refuses to embrace it: — take your choice." Damel coolly told the ambassador that he had no choice to make: he neither chose to have his head shaved, nor his throat cut; and with this answer the ambassador was civilly dismissed. Abdulkader took his measures accordingly, and

with a powerful army invaded Damel's country. The inhabitants of the towns and villages filled up their wells, destroyed their provisions, carried off their effects, and abandoned their dwellings, as he approached. By this means he was led on from place to place, until he had advanced three days journey into the country of the Jaloffs. He had, indeed, met with no opposition; but his army had suffered so much from the scarcity of water, that several of his men had died by the way. This induced him to direct his march towards a watering place in the woods, where his men, having quenched their thirst, and being overcome with fatigue, lay down carelessly to sleep among the bushes. In this situation they were attacked by Damel before daybreak, and completely routed. Many of them were trampled to death as they lay asleep, by the Jaloff horses; others were killed in attempting to make their escape; and a still greater number were taken prisoners. Among the latter, was Abdulkader himself. This ambitious or rather frantic prince, who, but a month before had sent the threatening message to Damel, was now himself led into his presence, a miserable captive. The behaviour of Damel on this occasion is never mentioned by the singing men but in terms of the highest approbation; and it was indeed so extraordinary in an African prince, that the reader may find it difficult to give credit to the recital. When his royal prisoner was brought before him in irons, and thrown upon the ground, the magnanimous Damel, instead of setting his foot upon his neck, and stabbing him with his spear, according to custom in such cases, addressed him as follows: "Abdulkader, answer me this question. If the chance of war had placed me in your situation, and you in mine, how would you have treated me?" "I would have thrust my spear into your heart," returned Abdulkader with great firmness; "and I know that a similar fate awaits me." "Not so," said Damel; "my spear is indeed red with the blood of your subjects killed in battle, and I could now give it a deeper stain, by dipping it in your own; but this would not build up my towns, nor bring to life the thousands who fell in the woods. I will not therefore kill you in cold blood, but I will retain you as my slave, until I perceive that your presence in your own kingdom will be no longer dangerous to your neighbours; and then I will consider of the proper way of disposing of you." Abdulkader was accordingly retained, and worked as a slave for three months; at the end of which period Damel listened to the solicitations of the inhabitants of Foota Torra, and restored to them their king. Strange as this story may appear, I have no doubt of the truth of it: it was told me at Malacotta by the Negroes; it was afterwards related to me by the Europeans on the Gambia; by some of the French at Goree; and confirmed by nine slaves who were taken prisoners along with Abdulkader, by the watering place in the woods, and carried in the same ship with me to the West Indies.

CHAP. XII.—*The Caravan proceeds to Konkadoo, and crosses the Falemé River;—its Arrival at Baniferile, Kirwani, and Tambacunda.—Incidents on the Road.—A Matrimonial Case.—The Caravan proceeds through many Towns and Villages, and arrives at length on the Banks of the Gambia; passes through Medina, the Capital of Woelli; and finally stops at Jindey.—The Author, accompanied by Karfa, proceeds to Pisana.—Various Occurrences previous to his Departure from Africa.*

ON the 7th of May we departed from Malacotta, and having crossed the *Ba lee*, "Honey river," a branch of the Senegal, we arrived in the evening at a walled town, called

called Bintingala; where we rested two days. From thence, in one day more, we proceeded to Dindikoo, a small town situated at the bottom of a high ridge of hills from which this district is named *Konkadoo*, "the country of mountains." These hills are very productive of gold. I was shewn a small quantity of this metal, which had been lately collected: the grains were about the usual size, but much flatter than those of Manding, and were found in white quartz, which had been broken to pieces by hammers. At this town I met with a Negro, whose hair and skin were of a dull white colour. He was of that sort which are called in the Spanish West Indies *Albinos*, or White Negroes. The skin is cadaverous and unsightly, and the natives considered this complexion (I believe truly) as the effect of disease.

May 11th. At daybreak we departed from Dindikoo, and after a toilsome day's travel, arrived in the evening at Satadoo, the capital of a district of the same name. This town was formerly of considerable extent; but many families had left it in consequence of the predatory incursions of the foulahs of Fouta Jalla, who made it a practice to come secretly through the woods, and carry off people from the cornfields, and even from the wells near the town. In the afternoon of the 12th, we crossed the Falemé river, the same which I had formerly crossed at Bondou in my journey eastward. This river, at this season of the year, is easily forded at this place, the stream being only about two feet deep. The water is very pure, and flows rapidly over a bed of sand and gravel. We lodged for the night at a small village called Medina, the sole property of a Mandingo merchant, who, by a long intercourse with Europeans, has been induced to adopt some of their customs. His victuals were served up in pewter dishes, and even his houses were built after the fashion of the English houses on the Gambia.

May 13th. In the morning, as we were preparing to depart, a coffle of slaves belonging to some Serawoolli traders, crossed the river, and agreed to proceed with us to Baniserile, the capital of Dentila; a very long day's journey from this place. We accordingly set out together, and travelled with great expedition through the woods until noon; when one of the Serawoolli slaves dropt the load from his head, for which he was smartly whipped. The load was replaced; but he had not proceeded above a mile before he let it fall a second time, for which he received the same punishment. After this he travelled in great pain until about two o'clock, when we stooped to breathe a little, by a pool of water, the day being remarkably hot. The poor slave was now so completely exhausted that his master was obliged to release him from the rope, for he lay motionless on the ground. A Serawoolli therefore undertook to remain with him, and endeavour to bring him to the town during the cool of the night; in the meanwhile we continued our route, and after a very hard day's travel, arrived at Baniserile late in the evening.

One of our slatees was a native of this place, from which he had been absent three years. This man invited me to go with him to his house; at the gate of which his friends met him, with many expressions of joy: shaking hands with him, embracing him, and singing and dancing before him. As soon as he had seated himself upon a mat, by the threshold of his door, a young woman (his intended bride) brought a little water in a calabash, and kneeling down before him, desired him to wash his hands; when he had done this, the girl, with a tear of joy sparkling in her eyes, drank the water; this being considered the greatest proof she could give him of her fidelity and attachment. About eight o'clock the same evening, the Serawoolli, who had been left in the woods to take care of the fatigued slave, returned and told us that he was dead; the general opinion, however, was that he himself had killed him, or left him to perish

on the road; for the Serawoollies are said to be infinitely more cruel in their treatment of slaves than the Mandingoes. We remained at Baniferile two days, in order to purchase native iron, Shea-butter, and some other articles for sale on the Gambia; and here the slatee, who had invited me to his house, and who possessed three slaves, part of the coffle, having obtained information that the price on the coast was very low, determined to separate from us, and remain with his slaves, where he was, until an opportunity should offer of disposing of them to advantage; giving us to understand that he should complete his nuptials with the young woman before mentioned, in the mean time.

May 16th. We departed from Baniferile, and travelled through thick woods until noon, when we saw at a distance, the town of Julifunda, but did not approach it; as we proposed to rest for the night at a large town called Kirwani, which we reached about four o'clock in the afternoon. This town stands in a valley, and the country, for more than a mile round it, is cleared of wood and well cultivated. The inhabitants appear to be very active and industrious, and seem to have carried the system of agriculture to some degree of perfection; for they collect the dung of their cattle into large heaps during the dry season, for the purpose of manuring their land with it at the proper time. I saw nothing like this in any other part of Africa. Near the town are several smelting furnaces, from which the natives obtain very good iron. They afterwards hammer the metal into small bars, about a foot in length, and two inches in breadth, one of which bars is sufficient to make two Mandingo corn hoes. On the morning after our arrival, we were visited by a slatee of this place, who informed Karfa, that among some slaves he had lately purchased, was a native of Foota Jalla; and as that country was at no great distance, he could not safely employ him in the labours of the field, lest he should effect his escape. The slatee was therefore desirous of exchanging this slave for one of Karfa's, and offered some cloth and Shea-butter, to induce Karfa to comply with the proposal, which was accepted. The slatee thereupon sent a boy to order the slave in question to bring him a few ground nuts. The poor creature soon afterwards entered the court in which we were sitting, having no suspicion of what was negotiating, until the master caused the gate to be shut, and told him to sit down. The slave now saw his danger, and perceiving the gate to be shut upon him, threw down the nuts, and jumped over the fence. He was immediately pursued and overtaken by the slatees, who brought him back, and secured him in irons, after which one of Karfa's slaves was released and delivered in exchange. The unfortunate captive was at first very much dejected, but in the course of a few days his melancholy gradually subsided; and he became at length as cheerful as any of his companions.

Departing from Kirwani on the morning of the 20th, we entered the Tenda wilderness of two days journey. The woods were very thick, and the country shelved towards the south-west. About ten o'clock we met a coffle of twenty-six people, and seven loaded asses, returning from the Gambia. Most of the men were armed with muskets, and had broad belts of scarlet cloth over their shoulders, and European hats upon their heads. They informed us that there was very little demand for slaves on the coast, as no vessel had arrived for some months past. On hearing this, the Serawoollies, who had travelled with us from the Falamé river, separated themselves and their slaves from the coffle. They had not, they said, the means of maintaining their slaves in Gambia, until a vessel should arrive; and were unwilling to sell them to disadvantage; they therefore departed to the northward for Kajaaga. We continued our route through the Wilderness, and travelled all day through a rugged country,

covered with extensive thickets of bamboo. At sunset, to our great joy, we arrived at a pool of water near a large tabba tree, whence the place is called Tabba-gee, and here we rested a few hours. The water at this season of the year is by no means plentiful in these woods; and as the days were insufferably hot, Karfa proposed to travel in the night. Accordingly, about eleven o'clock, the slaves were taken out of their irons, and the people of the coffle received orders to keep close together; as well to prevent the slaves from attempting to escape, as on account of the wild beasts. We travelled with great alacrity until day-break, when it was discovered that a free woman had parted from the coffle in the night: her name was called until the woods resounded; but no answer being given, we conjectured that she had either mistaken the road, or that a lion had seized her unperceived. At length it was agreed that four people should go back a few miles to a small rivulet, where some of the coffle had stooped to drink, as we passed it in the night; and that the coffle should wait for their return. The sun was about an hour high before the people came back with the woman, whom they found lying fast asleep by the stream. We now resumed our journey, and about eleven o'clock reached a walled town called Tambacunda, where we were well received. Here we remained four days, on account of a *palaver* which was held on the following occasion: Modi Lemina, one of the slaves belonging to the coffle, had formerly married a woman of this town, who had borne him two children; he afterwards went to Manding, and remained there eight years, without sending any account of himself, during all that time, to his deserted wife; who, seeing no prospect of his return, at the end of three years, had married another man, to whom she had likewise borne two children. Lemina now claimed his wife; but the second husband refused to deliver her up; insisting that by the laws of Africa, when a man has been three years absent from his wife, without giving her notice of his being alive, the woman is at liberty to marry again. After all the circumstances had been fully investigated in an assembly of the chief men, it was determined that the wife should make her choice, and be at liberty either to return to the first husband, or continue with the second, as she alone should think proper. Favourable as this determination was to the lady, she found it a difficult matter to make up her mind, and requested time for consideration: but I think I could perceive that *first love* would carry the day. Lemina was indeed somewhat older than his rival, but he was also much richer. What weight this circumstance had in the scale of his wife's affections, I pretend not to say.

On the morning of the 26th, as we departed from Tambacunda, Karfa observed to me that there were no Shea trees farther to the westward than this town. I had collected and brought with me from Manding the leaves and flowers of this tree; but they were so greatly bruised on the road that I thought it best to gather another specimen at this place. The appearance of the fruit evidently places the Shea tree in the natural order of *sapotæ*, and it has some resemblance to the *mudhuca* tree, described by Lieutenant Charles Hamilton in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. page 300. About one o'clock we reached Sibikillin, a walled village, but the inhabitants having the character of inhospitality towards strangers, and of being much addicted to theft, we did not think proper to enter the gate. We rested a short time under a tree, and then continued our route until it was dark, when we halted for the night by a small stream running towards the Gambia. Next day the road led over a wild and rocky country, every where rising into hills, and abounding with monkeys and wild beasts. In the rivulets among the hills, we found plenty of fish. This was a very hard day's journey, and it was not until sunset that we reached the village of Koomboo, near to which are

the ruins of a large town formerly destroyed by war. The inhabitants of Koomboo, like those of Sibikillin, have so bad a reputation, that strangers seldom lodge in the village; we accordingly rested for the night in the fields, where we erected temporary huts for our protection, there being great appearance of rain.

May 28th. We departed from Koomboo, and slept at a Foulah town about seven miles to the westward; from which on the day following having crossed a considerable branch of the Gambia, called Neola Kof, we reached a well inhabited part of the country. Here are several towns within sight of each other, collectively called Tenda, but each is distinguished also by its particular name. We lodged at one of them called Koba Tenda, where we remained the day following, in order to procure provisions for our support in crossing the Sinani woods. On the 30th we reached Jalacotta; a considerable town, but much distressed by Foulah banditti, who come through the woods from Bondou, and steal every thing they can lay their hands on. A few days before our arrival, they had stolen twenty head of cattle, and on the day following made a second attempt; but were beaten off, and one of them taken prisoner. Here, one of the slaves belonging to the coffee, who had travelled with great difficulty for the last three days, was found unable to proceed any farther: his master (a singing man) proposed therefore to exchange him for a young girl, belonging to one of the townspeople. The poor girl was ignorant of her fate, until the bundles were all tied up in the morning, and the coffee ready to depart; when, coming with some other young women to see the coffee set out, her master took her by the hand, and delivered her to the singing man. Never was a face of serenity more suddenly changed into one of the deepest distress: the terror he manifested on having the load put upon her head, and the rope fastened round her neck, and the sorrow with which she bade adieu to her companions, were truly affecting. About nine o'clock, we crossed a large plain covered with *ciboa* trees (a species of palm), and came to the river Nerico, a branch of the Gambia. This was but a small river at this time, but in the rainy season it is often dangerous to travellers. As soon as we had crossed this river, the singing men began to vociferate a particular song, expressive of their joy at having got safe into the west country, or, as they expressed it, *the land of the setting sun*. The country was found to be very level, and the soil a mixture of clay and sand. In the afternoon it rained hard, and we had recourse to the common Negro umbrella, a large *ciboa* leaf, which being placed upon the head, completely defends the whole body from the rain. We lodged for the night under the shade of a large tabba tree, near the ruins of a village. On the morning following, we crossed a stream called Noulico, and about two o'clock, to my infinite joy, I saw myself once more on the banks of the Gambia, which at this place being deep and smooth is navigable; but the people told me that a little lower down the stream is so shallow that the coffee frequently cross it on foot. On the south side of the river opposite to this place, is a large plain of clayey ground, called Toombi Toorila. It is a sort of morass, in which people are frequently lost, it being more than a day's journey across it. In the afternoon we met a man and two women, with bundles of cotton cloth upon their heads. They were going, they said, for Datila, to purchase iron, there being a great scarcity of that article on the Gambia. A little before it was dark, we arrived at a village in the kingdom of Woolli, called Seefukunda. Near this village there are great plenty of nitta trees, and the slaves in passing along had collected large bunches of the fruit; but such was the superstition of the inhabitants, that they would not permit any of the fruit to be brought into the village. They had been told, they said, that

some catastrophe would happen to the place when people lived upon nittas, and neglected to cultivate corn.

June 2d. We departed from Sekunda, and passed a number of villages, at none of which was the coffee permitted to stop, although we were all very much fatigued: it was four o'clock in the afternoon before we reached Baraconda, where we rested one day. Departing from Baraconda on the morning of the 4th, we reached in a few hours Medina, the capital of the King of Woolli's dominions, from whom I had received an hospitable receipt in the beginning of December 1795, in my journey eastward. I immediately inquired concerning the health of my good old benefactor, and learnt with great concern that he was dangerously ill. As Karfa would not allow the coffee to stop, I could not present my respects to the King in person; but I sent him word, by the officer to whom we paid customs, that his prayers for my safety had not been unavailing. We continued our route until sunset, when we lodged at a small village a little to the westward of Kootakunda, and on the day following arrived at Jinny; where, eighteen months before, I had parted from my friend Dr. Laidley; an interval, during which I had not beheld the face of a Christian, nor once heard the delightful sound of my native language.

Being now arrived within a short distance of Pisania, from whence my journey originally commenced, and learning that my friend Karfa was not likely to meet with an immediate opportunity of selling his slaves on the Gambia; it occurred to me to suggest to him that he would find it for his interest to leave them at Jinney, until a market should offer. Karfa agreed with me in this opinion; and hired, from the chief man of the town, huts for their accommodation, and a piece of land on which to employ them, in raising corn, and other provisions for their maintenance. With regard to himself, he declared that he would not quit me until my departure from Africa. We set out accordingly, Karfa, myself, and one of the Foulahs belonging to the coffee, early on the morning of the 9th; although I was now approaching the end of my tedious and toilsome journey, and expected in another day to meet with countrymen and friends, I could not part, for the last time, with my unfortunate fellow-travellers, doomed, as I knew most of them to be, to a life of captivity and slavery, in a foreign land, without great emotion. During a wearisome peregrination of more than five hundred British miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings would commiserate mine; and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness. We parted with reciprocal expressions of regret and benediction. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them; and it afforded me some consolation to be told, that they were sensible I had no more to give.

My anxiety to get forward admitting of no delay on the road, we reached Tendakunda in the evening, and were hospitably received at the house of an aged black female called Seniorsa Camilla, a person who had resided many years at the English factory, and spoke our language. I was known to her before I had left the Gambia, at the outset of my journey; but my dress and figure were now so different from the usual appearance of an European, that she was very excusable in mistaking me for a Moor. When I told her my name and country, she surveyed me with great astonishment, and seemed unwilling to give credit to the testimony of her senses. She assured me that none of the traders on the Gambia ever expected to see me again; having

been